THE NILE MOSAIC
OF PALESTRINA

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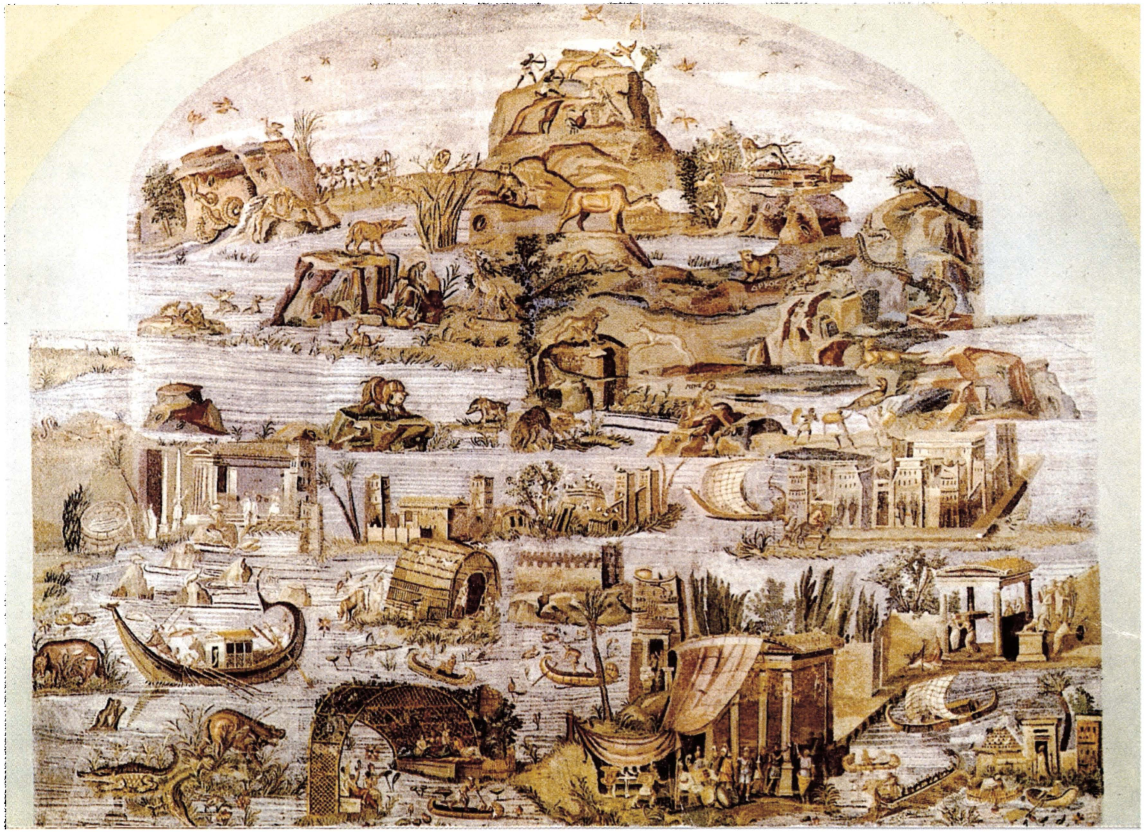

The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina (photo Museo Nazionale Prenestino).

THE NILE MOSAIC OF PALESTRINA

Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy

BY

P.G.P. MEYBOOM

E.J. BRILL
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This series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World presents a forum for studies in the social and cultural function of religions in the Greek and the Roman world, dealing with pagan religions both in their own right and in their interaction with and influence on Christianity and Judaism during a lengthy period of fundamental change. Special attention will be given to the religious history of regions and cities which illustrate the practical workings of these processes.
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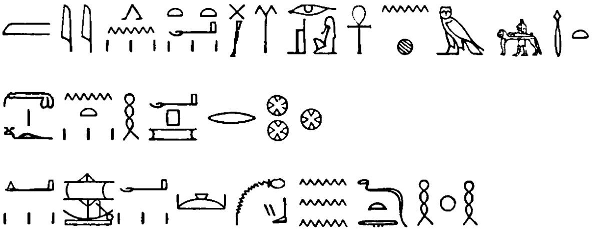
Piae memoriae
Paul A. C. Meyboom
amici optimi

Ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος Πτολεμαῖος, . . . ἐλέφαντάς τε συχνοὺς πολεμιστὰς περιεποιήσατο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἀθεωρήτους καὶ παραδόξους φύσεις ἐποίησεν εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

The second Ptolemy, ... not only collected great herds of war-elephants, but also brought to the knowledge of the Greeks other kinds of animals which had never before been seen and were objects of amazement.

Diodorus III 36, 3.



(Horus issued an order to all the townships and districts of Upper and Lower Egypt:)
"Come let us make Osiris revive by means of the great funeral,
in order that he makes the Nile efflux to your townships,
let us sail to the Abaton, which is for ever and ever."

(Inscription in the temple of Isis at Philae)

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PREFACE

This study was instigated by the inspired teaching of F.L. Bastet, who introduced the fascinating world of iconography and iconology of ancient art to his students. In a later stage, when the religious character of the Nile Mosaic had become apparent, I met M.J. Vermaseren. He read an early draft of this study and accepted it for publication in his EPRO. Regrettably this was prevented by his untimely death and the incomplete state of my manuscript at that time. I vividly remember his interest and friendship. I am grateful to E.J. Brill Publishers and H.S. Versnel for accepting this study for publication as a volume in the series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, the successor of the EPRO.

A long stay in Rome, which allowed me to study the mosaic in detail, was financed by the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (N.W.O.). The Dutch Institute in Rome offered me hospitality, which I accepted with gratitude.

In the course of my research and the writing of this book I have profited from the expertise and help of many friends and colleagues, whom I wish to thank heartily: M.P.C. Ebbeler-Lybeert, F.P.M. Francissen, M. Heijmans, P.F.B. Jongste, M.J. Raven, R.A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. Smeenk, I. Spatharakis, M.L. Verhoef, J.P.A. van der Vin, and H. Whitehouse.

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INTRODUCTION

The famous Nile Mosaic of Palestrina was always an object of interest because it provides an exceptional picture of Egypt. It is the most comprehensive example of the genre of Egyptianising or Nilotic landscapes which became popular in Roman art since the late Hellenistic period. The meaning of this genre, and of the Nile Mosaic itself, is disputed and diverges from exotic decoration, in the manner of Chinoiserie in European art, to evidence of the spread of the Egyptian cults.

In the last decades this interest was stimulated by the important works of G. Gullini and of S. Aurigemma, who were the first scholars to make a distinction between the authentic parts of the mosaic and the restored parts. In his Ph.D. thesis K.M. Phillips made a thorough study of the mosaic. D. Bonneau discussed it in her book on the flood of the Nile. L. Castiglione made important suggestions about the interpretation of some of the scenes in the lower part of the mosaic. H. Whitehouse published the Dal Pozzo copies, which are watercolours of the mosaic, made before the 1640 restoration and which were thought to be lost. These watercolours are of the greatest importance for the reconstruction and the interpretation of the mosaic. I have discussed the date of the mosaic in a study of a group of mosaics from Pompeii. A. Steinmayer-Schareika produced a general study of the mosaic[1].

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[1] When in the summer of 1994 this book was in print, an article by F. Coarelli appeared: La *pompè* di Tolomeo Filadelfo e il mosaico nilotico di Palestrina, *Ktema* 15 (1990) 225 ff. It was impossible to include discussions on his conclusions in the relevant places of this book, and I shall therefore summarize its contents here. In Coarelli's view the upper part of the mosaic represents Aethiopia, the upper zone of the lower part represents Egypt and the foreground of the lower part the Delta. More specifically he recognises in the temple with the Nilometer Assuan, in the island on the right-hand side Hermoupolis Magna, and in the Egyptian temple Memphis. In the foreground the pergola represents Canopus and the harbour on the right-hand side the harbour of Alexandria, between the Pharos island on the right and Cape Lochias with the Royal Palace on the left. The procession represents part of the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II, and in the officer and the woman before the large pavilion he recognises figures who represented Eniautos and Pentetheris in the Procession. Altogether Coarelli presents a mixture of old and new ideas which remain, however, entirely speculative. Moreover, he does not consider the evidence of the Dal Pozzo copies. Furthermore a short discussion of the various problems concerning the

However, most of these studies concern only certain aspects of the mosaic. Moreover, several of them were not accessible to all authors and as a result widely varying opinions on important aspects, such as the date and the interpretation of the mosaic, still exist. It therefore seemed worth-while to reconsider the mosaic in a comprehensive way and try to reach more definite conclusions.

To start with the original appearance of the mosaic will be discussed, the character and date of the building which it originally adorned, and the date of the mosaic. Secondly a comprehensive description of the mosaic will be given in order to establish what exactly is depicted. Then I shall try to achieve an interpretation of the mosaic based on an iconographical analysis. The presence of the mosaic at Praeneste will be explained by means of an iconological study of other early examples of Egyptian scenes in Italy. Finally I shall discuss the mosaic workshop and consider the cultural background of the mosaic.

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mosaic was presented by K. Paslasca, Zur problematik des Nilmosaiks von Palestrina, in *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, Bath 1987* ((1994) 41 ff., who is in favour of an Augustan date. Finally G. Weill-Goudchaux presented a paper at the Fifth International Congress of Egyptologists at Cairo, 1988: Une nouvelle lecture de la mosaïque de Palestrina; see *International Association of Egyptologists—Fifth International Congress of Egyptology, Cairo 1988, Abstracts of Papers,* p. 287. The papers have not yet appeared. The author seems to propose again a Hadrianic date, his interpretation is not revealed in the abstract. I trust that the date and interpretation proposed in this book, which are based on thorough iconographical analysis, will convince the reader.

CHAPTER I

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL MOSAIC

The mosaic as it now appears has a long history which it may be useful to summarize[1]. Originally it decorated the floor of an apsidal recess in the lower storey of the Archbishop's Palace, now a seminary, behind S. Agapito at Palestrina, ancient Praeneste, lying in the Apennines 23 miles to the east of Rome. In antiquity this apse was treated as an artificial grotto-nymphaeum and formed part of a large hall (see figs. 1–5)[2]. The existence of the mosaic is on record from the later part of the 16th century[3].

Between 1624 and 1626 most of the mosaic was cut into sections and removed piecemeal, without a plan of the original being made, and was transported to Rome where it came into the possession of the Cardinal Francesco Barberini[4]. Around 1630 watercolour copies were made of the various pieces for Cassiano dal Pozzo, a man with a strong antiquarian interest and one of the founders of the Accademia dei Lincei[5]. Somewhat later the pieces were repaired by Giovanni Battista Calandra, the head of the mosaic works of St. Peter's, and in 1640 they were returned to Palestrina[6]. Upon arrival, however, the packing boxes were crushed and the pieces badly damaged[7]. Calandra again restored them with the help of the Dal Pozzo copies[8], and reassembled them in an apse at the back of the hall in the Barberini Palace[9], possibly with the inclusion of fragments which had remained on the site[10]. The mosaic remained in this condition until 1853 when it was once again brought to Rome to be restored and was returned to Palestrina in 1855[11]. In the Second World War it was transported in sections to the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome. In 1952 these sections were consolidated. On this occasion the backing of the mosaic was stripped which enabled Aurigemma and Gullini to distinguish between the authentic and the restored parts[12]. It must, however, be recognised that there are several smaller restored parts in the mosaic which could not be detected by examination of the backing since they apparently affected only the surface of the mosaic[13]. There are also small parts of authentic mosaic in seemingly wholly restored parts[14]. After the consolidation the mosaic was returned to Palestrina, put back together and placed upright in the upper hall of the Palazzo Barberini, now the Museo Nazionale Prenestino[15].

The history of the mosaic shows that a considerable part of it has been restored. We may distinguish in the mosaic different parts according to the degree of authenticity. In the first place there are the authentic parts, most of which were copied by the Dal Pozzo artist. In the second place there are the restored parts which were based on the Dal Pozzo watercolours. Thirdly, there are parts which are not only newly made but which are probably also new in content, since they were made to connect the various sections to each other in the 1640 restoration. Furthermore, the Dal Pozzo artist copied some original parts which have not been preserved. The few parts which are original but were not copied by the Dal Pozzo artist may have remained *in situ* until 1640[16]. The completely new parts may also have been based on mosaic fragments which had remained *in situ*. These parts, however, only show either simple landscape or water (cf. fig. 7).

As far as the composition is concerned, we must take into consideration the clearly stated fact that, strange as it may seem, no plan was made of the original mosaic when the larger fragments were lifted[17]. This makes one wonder on what Calandra based his reconstruction. He may have inspected the remains in the cellar of the bishop's palace, but it will not have been easy to establish the original position of all the sections[18]. It is possible that other drawings of the original mosaic existed, but no traces of these remain and if they existed they do not seem to have been used[19]. However, the fact that the mosaic apparently consisted of two parts relating to the subject-matter, and the fact that several sections obviously were parts of larger blocks, does not leave much room for experimenting as we shall see below.

The mosaic is now 4,31 m deep and 5,85 m wide at the base. But the apse in which it originally lay is 4,35 m deep and 6,87 m wide at the base, so the original mosaic must have been 1 m wider and some parts must have been lost. The composition of the remaining parts was adapted to the shape of the apse in the hall of the Barberini Palace[20]. Comparison with one of the Dal Pozzo copies shows that the part in the top left-hand corner, showing the snake and the *thoantes*, originally formed one piece with the part with the *onokentaura* in the top right-hand corner (cf. figs. 7, 9, 10, 14)[21]. So the reconstruction here must be incorrect . The whole composition as it now appears must therefore be critically examined.

Whitehouse's accurate observations concerning the Dal Pozzo copies allowed her to rearrange the original parts of the mosaic in a convincing way (see fig. 8)[22].

It is obvious that several of the authentic pieces were originally joined and formed larger blocks. These blocks were probably cut into sections to enable them to be lifted more easily. The first block is formed by the sections 1, 2 and 4; the second by the sections 6, 7, 10 and 11; the third by sections 8, 12 and 18; whereas the large section 13 forms a block on its own[23]. As far as the arrangement of these blocks is concerned it is noteworthy that there are sections which represent only wild animals in a rocky landscape, and sections which show more complicated scenes with human figures, buildings etc. But there are also some sections which represent both, notably sections 9, 10 and 11. In these pieces the animals all appear in the upper part and the buildings in the lower part. So it seems probable that these sections originally belonged to the central zone of the mosaic and that the animal scenes were placed in the upper half and the genre scenes in the lower half. Therefore the division into two parts, each with their own subject matter, is likely to reflect the arrangement of the original mosaic. Consequently the first two blocks will have been placed in the upper half and the other two in the lower half of the mosaic. The other sections may be assigned to the top or the bottom according to their subject matter; i.e. sections 3 and 5 to the top half; and the remainder, sections 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 (but perhaps not section 21) to the bottom half[24]. Several of the sections from the top half (the upper part of section 1, and sections 2, 3, and 5, 6, 7) show — or originally showed — open sky, so they must have been situated at the top of the upper part[25]. The top half of section 1 having been replaced in its original position to the left of the first block (sections 1, 2, and 4), the whole block would fit the original apse neatly on a level with the left niche, roughly the same position which it occupies now[26]. The subject-matter of section 9 suggests that it must have been placed on the left of section 10[27]. Therefore the large block consisting of sections 6, 7, 10 and 11, must have formed the right-hand side of the upper part, roughly as it does now[28]. Section 5 could have been placed near the upper left-hand corner of section 6[29]. Section 3, which is not joined to any other section, can only have been placed somewhere between sections 2 and 5[30]. If we accept this reconstruction of the upper part, the only place in the lower part where the high block formed by sections 8, 12 and 18 would fit is on the left-hand side where it is now. Section 21 may also be placed there, although this is not certain[31].

An important change in the composition of the lower part has been suggested by Phillips and Whitehouse with regard to the position of section 13. It seems probable that the crenellated wall, which now comes abruptly to an end in the upper left-hand corner of section 13, was originally connected to the tower which appears in the lower right-hand corner of section 8. This would mean that section 13 was originally placed more to the left, next to sections 12 and 18[32]. So section 13 may be moved to the left to occupy the position of sections 15 and 19. Sections 13, 20, 16, 17 and the missing section 14 may all have been connected to each other, since they all depict parts of an arcaded quay which runs obliquely upwards from section 13 on the left-hand side, along the wall in section 20, to the propylon in section 16 on the right-hand side[33]. In the original mosaic this block must therefore have been roughly the same as in the restored version, except that there must have been a space between sections 13 and 17. This space was partly filled with the fragmentary section 14, which was not incorporated in the reconstruction. It is only with regard to the position of sections 13 and 16 that I cannot follow Whitehouse. She not only places the two sections at a fair distance from each other, but also places section 16 at a higher level. This cannot be correct because the trees in both sections obviously belong to the same grove and must have been placed on the same level and closer to each other[34]. Thus rearranged the whole block consisting of sections 13, 20, 16 and 17 should be moved to the left[35]. This only leaves room for sections 15 and 19 on the far right-hand side of the mosaic[36].

It appears that the general effect of the mosaic, as now restored, is not so very different from the original. We can assume that there is only one major difference between the original and the present composition, and that is that the conspicuous pavilion scene should be more or less in the centre of the foreground.

Consequently the pavilion, the propylon in section 16, and the Egyptian temple in section 11 probably lay in a more or less straight line, running obliquely upwards from the centre of the foreground to the upper right-hand side[37]. Furthermore, since parts of the original mosaic are lost we must assume some open spaces, notably between sections 8 and 9, sections 13 and 17, and sections 16 and 15[38].

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGINAL LOCATION AND THE DATE OF THE MOSAIC

1. *Function and date of the building*

The Nile Mosaic originally covered the floor of a partly artificial grotto in the mountainside on which the town of Praeneste was built (see figs. 1–5)[1]. This roughly semi-circular grotto was 6,87 m wide at the front, 4,35 m deep and c. 10 m high. It was situated in the back wall of a large hall, the floor of which was somewhat higher than the floor of the grotto (see figs. 3–5). Apparently the grotto was designed to receive water which seeped through the porous rock of the mountainside, so that the Nile Mosaic was covered by a thin layer of water. In fact it was a large ostentatious nymphaeum at the back of the hall, decorated with imitation rock made of pumice in the style of a natural grotto and with a floor mosaic[2]. This hall had a length of 22 m, a width of 14 m and must have been at least 14 m high. In the basement of this hall was the Aerarium, the treasury of Praeneste[3]. The hall was connected on the left-hand side with a much larger hall which was probably divided into four bays by rows of columns (see fig. 2)[4]. This columnar hall was in its turn connected on the left-hand side with an area of uncertain form which was probably partly open and served as a sort of courtyard[5]. In the back-wall of this space was another grotto-nymphaeum[6]. On the floor of this second grotto lay another mosaic representing an extensive fishing scene, parts of which have been preserved *in situ*. In the following chapters we shall refer to this mosaic as the Fish Mosaic[7]. This whole building complex was c. 90 m wide and the façade of the columnar hall, which probably had three stories, and of the hall at the right-hand side was more than 20 m high[8].

In front of this building complex lay a square in which we may probably recognize the forum of ancient Praeneste. On this square in front of the columnar hall stood a temple, parts of which have been preserved in and below the cathedral of San Agapito[9]. In a way the building complex served as an architectural background to the square and to the temple because it was both wider and higher than the latter[10]. Above this complex rose a system of terraces of an even grander scale (see fig. 1). The mediaeval town of Palestrina was built on these very terraces and the baronial palace, now the Museo Archeologico Prenestino, occupied the highest one[11].

These two complexes are usually called the upper and the lower complex. Ever since the Renaissance these grandiose architectural remains have generally been identified with the famous sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, while the apsidal hall was identified as the actual shrine of the sanctuary[12]. In the course of the second half of the 19th century the grotto with the Fish Mosaic and the remains of the columnar hall were rediscovered[13].

From the last two decades of the century onwards Marucchi has attempted to give a more detailed interpretation of the lower complex and its various parts by using the information which Cicero, *De Divinatione* II 41, 85–86, provides about the oracle of Praeneste. The grotto area with the Fish Mosaic was identified as the *locus saeptus religiose,* the place where the oracular tablets were presumed to have been found in a hole in the rock. Since then this grotto has usually been known as the Antro delle Sorti. The columnar hall, which Marucchi believed to have been a courtyard surrounded by porticoes, was identified as a forecourt to the temple and called the Area Sacra. The apsidal hall was the actual temple, the *Aedes Fortunae*[14].

The same interpretation was given by Delbrück in his publication of the lower complex in 1907[15]. Delbrück considered the presence of the Fish Mosaic and, originally, of the Nile Mosaic to be a further argument in favour of identifying the lower complex as Fortuna's sanctuary. Pliny *NH* XXXVI 64, 189, tells us that Sulla laid a *lithostroton,* presumably a kind of floor mosaic, in the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste. Consequently Delbrück identified these mosaics with Sulla's *lithostroton.* This identification had already been suggested when the Nile Mosaic was first discovered at the beginning of the 17th century, and often still leads to the assumption that the original surroundings of the Nile Mosaic were the sanctuary of Fortuna or formed part of it[16]. The connection with Sulla suited Delbrück's belief that Hellenistic architecture spread over central Italy in the wake of Sulla and his colonists[17].

In the same year new arguments for a Sullan date were offered by Vaglieri. During excavations in the area of the lower complex he had found a fragmentary inscription reading ...RO.LUCUL... . Later another fragment was found reading ...UND M... . Vaglieri connected this inscription to Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73, who was apparently involved in some building activity and who is known as a partisan of Sulla's[18]. Taking into consideration the testimony of ancient writers that Sulla's troops plundered Praeneste in retribution for its support of Marius' cause in 82, he argued that a colony of Sullan veterans was established there. Vaglieri concluded that Sulla had the colony founded and the town rebuilt on a magnificent scale by his partisan Varro Lucullus[19].

This view was accepted by Delbrück who in addition connected the inscription to the Area Sacra [20]. In contrast to Delbrück, however, Vaglieri assumed that the lower complex was a group of public buildings lying on the forum of Praeneste. The Antro delle Sorti was a nymphaeum; the Area Sacra, which he reconstructed as a columnar hall, was a basilica; and the apsidal hall was a public room. He thought that the real sanctuary of Fortuna was the grandiose upper complex which had in fact been ignored by Delbrück[21]. In addition Vaglieri, like Marucchi, believed that the Palestrina mosaics could not be identified with Sulla's *lithostroton* but that they dated from the end of the second or the third century A.D.[22].

Later students based their theories on the works of Marucchi, Delbrück and Vaglieri, in spite of the many contradictory opinions they held, and a framework was constructed which was more or less generally accepted: the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste, i.e. the lower complex, had been destroyed by Sulla's troops in 82 B.C.; consequently Sulla ordered the rebuilding of the sanctuary by his partisan Varro Lucullus and donated a *lithostroton*; this was the sanctuary referred to by Cicero[23].

The upper complex was largely brought to light by allied bombardments in 1944. The remains were unearthed in the following years and the results published by Gullini and Fasolo in 1953[24]. They concluded that this grandiose complex had been built shortly after the middle of the second century B.C. This conclusion was based on the epigraphical evidence, which mostly dates from the period prior to the foundation of the Roman colony in 82 B.C., and on the character of the plan, the style, and the construction of the sanctuary in relation to late Hellenistic architecture in Latium. Only the lower sanctuary was a rebuilding of the original cult centre, the Antro delle Sorti, carried out in the time of Sulla[25].

The early date suggested by Gullini and Fasolo for the upper sanctuary met with strong criticism from Sulla's supporters[26]. Nevertheless, since then Degrassi has made a minute study of the epigraphical evidence and has shown that the upper sanctuary must have been completed c.110–100 B.C. Most inscriptions found in the area show magistrate titles of the independent *Civitas Praenestina* and names of old Praenestine *gentes* which may be dated between 110–100 and 82[27]. The upper sanctuary, therefore, must have been more or less completed around 110, and have been built between 120 and 110[28]. The decoration of the floors and walls and the statuary decoration are equally suggestive of a date prior to the Sullan colony[29]. So, instead of being a sign of Roman colonisation, the great sanctuary of Praeneste was in fact an example of the proud sense of independence which was one of the causes of the Social and Civil Wars[30]. The idea that the sanctuary was destroyed and rebuilt by Sulla was no more than conjecture by Vaglieri[31].

While the character and the date of the upper complex are now established, the character and date of the lower complex are still under discussion. The traditional Sullan date is defended by some but a new date somewhat earlier than that of the upper complex, has been proposed more recently. As regards the function of the lower complex, it is often still identified as a sanctuary. However, besides being attributed to Fortuna it is now occasionally attributed to Isis[32].

Reexamining the two complexes, one is struck in the first place by the lack of any connection between them (see fig. 1). There is no relationship in plan, nor are there stairs or any other means of communication. This is strange if they were parts of the same sanctuary[33]. Those scholars who favour the identity of the lower complex with Cicero's Fortuna sanctuary have tried to explain the lack of connection with the sanctuary above by assuming that the lower complex was either the original sanctuary of Fortuna, or a later addition dating to the time of Sulla.

If we consider Cicero's information more closely it appears that he actually does not offer a description of the sanctuary of Fortuna; he mentions only a few features, which serve to illuminate his discourse on the ridiculousness of divination. The only information he gives is that there was a sacred spot in the rocks where the oracular tablets had been found, which was near to a statue of Fortuna with Jupiter and Juno in her lap; and that an olive tree had stood originally on the spot later to be occupied by the temple of Fortuna. He does not suggest or mention any relationship between the temple and the sacred spot. Considering all this it is hard to relate his information to the lower complex. The identification of the sacred finding spot with either of the two grottoes, and of the temple with the apsidal hall, is entirely conjectural[34].

Because there is no architectural connection between the two complexes, it has also been suggested that the lower complex was a separate sanctuary dedicated to a divinity related to Fortuna, i.e. Isis[35]. This suggestion was based on the existence of some Egyptianising monuments which have been found in, or in the neighbourhood of, the apsidal hall: the Nile Mosaic itself, two small obelisks and two inscriptions mentioning a statue of Isis-Tyche and a Serapeum[36]. The Nile Mosaic may indeed be interpreted as an illustration of the land of Isis who, in the form of Isis-Tyche, may also be associated or equated with Fortuna. However, Nilotic scenes were in no way exclusive to sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods. On the contrary, all the other Nilotic scenes which have been preserved from the Republican period come from houses and villas in or near Pompeii. The precise provenance of the other Egyptianising monuments from Palestrina is unknown. Moreover, they date from the Imperial period and they do not really indicate that the lower complex was a sanctuary[37].

If we consider once more the architecture of the lower complex we see that it consisted of a courtyard or hall with a nymphaeum, which seems to have served as a vestibule to the complex, a large basilica-like hall, and an apsidal hall with a second nymphaeum. This complex lay on a terrace, containing an Aerarium, and overlooked a square, which in all probability was the forum of ancient Praeneste. Such a complex has no parallel in any Greek or Roman sanctuary[38]. However, parallels for various parts of the lower complex may be found in secular architecture, for example on the forum of Pompeii, where at the south side are grouped together various public buildings including a curia, halls for the Duoviri and the Aediles, a basilica with a Chalcidicum, and a Comitium. Considering all this Vaglieri's original interpretation, that these buildings were a group of secular buildings on the forum of Praeneste, has been defended again by Mingazzini and Kähler and most recently by Lauter. In their view the different parts of the lower complex from left to right may be identified respectively as a Chalcidicum, a forecourt or vestibule, a basilica, and a public hall serving as a curia, tribunal hall or hall of the Aediles etc., with beneath it the Aerarium of the town[39].

Nymphaea were often connected with public places and buildings. They were often decorated with imitation rock, mosaics and statues. Nilotic scenes and fishing scenes were naturally very appropriate and popular for nymphaea, because they illustrate affluence in water as well as affluence given by water[40]. The fact that the floors of the grottoes were covered with mosaics and with water makes them hardly suitable for ritual purposes[41]. Room for ritual purposes could just as easily have been found in the upper complex and in fact has been identified there. The sacred spot where the oracular tablets supposedly had been found is now recognised in the ornamental well on the terrace of the hemicycles of the upper complex, while a square base beside it is thought to have supported the statue of Fortuna nursing Jupiter and Juno. The actual temple of Fortuna is now recognised in the circular building which formed the summit of the upper complex (see fig. 1)[42].

A decisive argument against the interpretation of the lower complex as a sanctuary of Isis is the colossal scale and the central position of the complex, which must have dominated the square lying in front of it. This implies that it must have had a public function. The cult of Isis became a public cult in Rome, with strong opposition, only in 43 B.C. and the first public sanctuary was founded as late as the first century A.D. The earlier Isea in Central Italy we have information about, those of Puteoli, Pompeii and Rome, were founded roughly about 100 B.C. and served private cults. Consequently these sanctuaries were of a comparatively modest size. For these reasons the lower complex, or part of it, can not have been an Iseum in the Hellenistic period[43].

To summarize: the lower complex consists of a group of different buildings for which the parallels are to be found not in sacral but in secular architecture. It does not correspond in any way to Cicero's information about the sanctuary of Fortuna; nor is there any firm indication of any other religious function. For these reasons it is more logical to identify the lower complex with what it actually seems to be, i.e. a group of public buildings situated on the forum of Praeneste. This complex consisted of an entrance-court or hall with an ornate nymphaeum, a basilica, an Aerarium and a large public hall, which could serve various purposes and which contained a second nymphaeum[44].

Although it is now generally accepted that the upper complex dates from the later part of the second century B.C., the traditional Sullan date for the lower complex is maintained by Gullini and others. In the last decades an earlier date has also been suggested, and more recently a date in the third quarter of the second century has been argued by Lauter[45]. If we look at the construction of the lower complex it appears that the *opus incertum*, with regard to the sizes and shapes of the stones and of the rectangular corner blocks, is more or less identical to that of the upper complex[46]. The Doric frieze with various kinds of rosettes, running along the podium of the hall of the lower complex, is identical to that of an altar and similar to that of a *puteal*, both standing on one of the terraces of the upper complex[47]. The capitals in the lower complex are all of the Italo-Corinthian type with the soft and curly leaves of the *acanthus mollis*. The same type is used in the upper complex, but on the columns of the large hemicycle of the upper terrace are found capitals of the Graeco-Corinthian type with the *acanthus spinosa*. This type gradually superseded the Italo-Corinthian type in the later part of the second and the beginning of the first centuries B.C.[48]. Assuming that the columnar hall was a basilica, Lauter places it in a stage of development prior to that of the basilica of Pompeii, which dates from c.110 B.C. For these reasons he dates the basilica complex somewhat earlier than the upper complex, i.e. in the third quarter of the second century B.C.[49].

Looking at the lay-out of the two complexes on the mountainside of Praeneste, we note that looking upwards from the forum one saw first the lower complex and then, more or less on the same axis, the upper complex rising above and on both sides of the old temple on the forum (cf. fig. 1)[50]. Although the lower complex is not wholly symmetrical the basilica front forms its centre and is placed nearly on the axis of the forum temple. The terraces of the upper complex rise from the axis of the basilica in a broad and strictly symmetrical composition. This spatial relationship between the different buildings strongly suggests that the planning departed from the forum and then gradually continued uphill. The two complexes seem to be stages of a continuous process of embellishing the town of Praeneste with religious and secular public buildings[51]. So the position and the plan of the lower complex, as well as details in construction and style, suggest that it was built shortly before the upper complex. A date c. 125 – 120 therefore seems the most plausible[52].

One of the arguments for a Sullan date for the lower complex was the inscription mentioning Varro Lucullus, the supposed founder of the Sullan colony of Praeneste. The problem with this inscription is that its original position is not known. It was found between S. Agapito and the apsidal hall, but it is not possible to establish its precise provenance[53]. Considering that all the architectural evidence suggests that the basilica complex was built in the second century B.C., we can only assume that, if the inscription belonged to the basilica at all, it must have been applied at a later date[54].

The other argument for the identification of the lower complex as Fortuna's sanctuary and for its Sullan date is the identification of the Fish and Nile Mosaics with the *lithostroton* which Sulla is alleged to have laid in the Fortuna sanctuary and which was a new type of pavement for his time. This identification, which was already suggested in the 17th century, long remained a matter of debate since scholars could not agree upon the character of the *lithostroton*. In recent times it has been more generally recognised that a *lithostroton* was not a kind of floor mosaic but a kind of pavement made of pieces or slabs of marble or other types of stone. Such pavements appear in Central Italy from about the end of the second century and the first quarter of the first century B.C.[55]. Moreover, the Palestrina mosaics, which happen to be two in number, are not really pavements like the plain white floor mosaics in the hall and in the courtyard of the lower complex. The Palestrina mosaics decorated the floors of nymphaea. They were executed in refined *opus vermiculatum* and were not supposed to be walked upon but were covered with water. They were mosaic-paintings or *emblemata* of a large size. This genre had been widespread in the Hellenistic world since the second century

B.C. and can hardly have been considered a novelty in the time of Sulla[56].

So it is obvious that the arguments which serve to identify the Palestrina mosaics with Sulla's *lithostroton* are not really valid. Hence, the existence of these mosaics may not be used, either to identify the lower complex as part of the sanctuary of Fortuna, or to accord a Sullan date to it [57].

2. *The date of the mosaic*

In the course of time many dates have been proposed for the Nile Mosaic ranging from the time of Sulla, through the ages of Augustus and Hadrian, right up to the third century A.D.[58]. This is understandable since parallels for such a comprehensive and detailed scene are otherwise unknown. The style of the lettering of the inscriptions does not offer conclusive evidence either[59].

Because of this lack of comparable material students have in the past suggested periods when a specific interest in Egypt was known to exist, such as the reigns of Augustus or Hadrian, to explain the existence of the Nile Mosaic[60]. It is, however, not true that Roman interest in Egypt began only after Augustus' conquest of Egypt in 30 B.C. Egyptian and Egyptianising scenes and motifs appear in Romano-Campanian art from the beginning of the first century B.C.[61]. In recent times an early date for the mosaic, somewhere in the first century B.C., has become more widely accepted. In general an early date is supported by the fact that most of the parallels for details in the Nile Mosaic date from the later Hellenistic period, as we shall see in the next chapter[62]. A date in the time of Sulla has been especially favoured. This date is based on the presumption that the Nile Mosaic is identical with the *lithostroton* which Sulla is alleged to have laid in the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste, and on the consequent conjecture that the building in which the Nile Mosaic was found was the temple of Fortuna, or part of it. We have seen already that the arguments for these identifications cannot be upheld[63].

Unfortunately no good parallels exist for the Nile Mosaic. However, there is good comparative material for the Fish Mosaic. This lay in the nymphaeum on the other side of the basilica, forming a kind of companion piece[64]. Both the Fish Mosaic and the Nile Mosaic are made in refined *opus vermiculatum,* in which detailed parts are made up of minute tesserae of various shapes, and larger tesserae of more regular shape are used in plainer parts. The materials of the tesserae seem to be similar in both mosaics[65]. Both mosaics show the same kind of composition, i.e. a bird's eye view of a land- or seascape, and both show an exceptional interest in fauna and flora[66]. Because of these essential conformities the mosaics must be more or less contemporary[67].

In an earlier study I compared the Fish Mosaic to a group of Pompeian fish mosaics[68]. The Palestrina Fish Mosaic represented a view of a bay with a large number of fish, including a fight between an octopus and a moray. It appeared that the Pompeian fish mosaics, which are all smaller *emblemata*, show the same octopus group and a selection of the same fish. In fact they appeared to be variations, on a smaller scale, of the Palestrina Fish Mosaic. The finest and the earliest of the Pompeian fish mosaics is the one from the Casa del Fauno which may be dated c. 110–100 B.C. This is also the mosaic which is stylistically and iconographically most closely related to the one at Palestrina, although it does not depict the whole composition. The strong similarity between these mosaics can only be explained by assuming that they were made after the same models and possibly even by the same artists. The other Pompeian fish mosaics become gradually more simple and may be dated somewhat later, between 100 and 60 B.C. So it appeared from comparison with Pompeian fish mosaics that the Palestrina Fish Mosaic is the most comprehensive example of the group and that it is most closely related to the Casa del Fauno Fish Mosaic. Consequently it may be dated in the same period, and perhaps a little earlier than the latter, i.e. between 120 and 110 B.C.[69].

As far as the Nile Mosaic is concerned, we have already stated that no good parallels exist. Nevertheless, it is interesting to compare it to the only other Nilotic mosaic which is as yet known from this period, and which happens to come also from the Casa del Fauno (fig. 28)[70]. This mosaic, which may be dated c. 90 B.C., shows a much simpler Nilotic scene consisting only of water with various Egyptian animals and plants, such as a hippopotamus and a crocodile, a mongoose and a cobra, ibises, ducks, etc. In spite of this simplicity, remarkable similarities in details may be noted. The hippopotamus head rising from the water is strikingly reminiscent of the one in the Nile Mosaic. Only it is now facing us instead of facing the hunters who are missing in this case (fig.19). Equally noteworthy are the very accurately rendered flowers, buds, seedheads and leaves of the Indian lotus, and some other plants, which all appear exactly in the same form in the Nile Mosaic. In later Nilotic scenes these are depicted in a more schematic way. The water surface is indicated as in the Nile Mosaic by means of striation in varying colours[71]. Actually, the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno is very similar to the more simple watery parts in the foreground of the Nile Mosaic (e.g. fig. 21)[72]. There exist only two other mosaics with Nilotic scenes from Pompeii. These are small *emblemata* which may be dated in the later part of the first century B.C. They show pygmies feasting in boats on the flooded Nile. In both cases the composition is reminiscent of the hippopotamus hunt in the Nile Mosaic. Furthermore they have some details in common, like the cabin boat and the hippopotamus head rising from the water. However, the style is different and the interest in, and detailed representation of, the fauna and flora are absent[73].

The similarity in details between the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno and the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina betrays accurate knowledge on the part of the artist of the Casa del Fauno mosaic, of a complex scene like the Nile Mosaic or its models[74]. Not only the Pompeian fish mosaics but also the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno show the same tendency towards selection and simplification and they all seem to have been inspired by the Palestrina mosaics. This relationship may be explained in the following way. The artists who created these elaborate scenes must have used some sort of models in the form of preparatory sketches, cartoons etc. It seems that these models were used, in an eclectic way, also by the artists who created the Casa del Fauno mosaics[75]. All this strongly suggests that the Palestrina mosaics were made slightly earlier than the Casa del Fauno mosaics. Furthermore, the materials of the tesserae of the Palestrina mosaics and the Casa del Fauno mosaics seem to be more or less identical[76]. Since the artists who created the mosaics of Praeneste and those of the Casa del Fauno used the same models and possibly the same materials and worked in the same period, it seems reasonable to assume that there existed a relationship between them. Apparently these artists were itinerant and perhaps they belonged to one and the same workshop. They first created the

Palestrina mosaics in the later part of the second century. At the end of the second century and during the first decades of the first century B.C., they executed private commissions at Pompeii, especially in the Casa del Fauno, where the majority of its preserved works come from. For that reason I have suggested elsewhere that these artists belonged to one and the same workshop, which I proposed to call the Workshop of the Casa del Fauno[77].

The rooms adjacent to the nymphaea containing the Palestrina mosaics have plain white mosaic pavements. In the apsidal hall the pavement is framed by a narrow black band. Similar mosaic pavements may be found in the Casa del Fauno. The fragmentary remains of the wall decoration in the apsidal hall seem to belong to the period of the First Style. All these data suggest a date towards the end of the second century for the Palestrina mosaics[78].

We have already seen that the building complex which the Palestrina mosaics adorned was probably built around 120[79]. In the next chapter we shall see that in the Nile Mosaic many details of architecture, dress, armour and the like are suggestive of the later Hellenistic period[80]. In every respect the mosaics seem to be contemporary with their architectural surroundings. Hence there is no basis for assuming that the mosaics should date from a period radically different from the buildings. It seems only logical, although not necessarily so, that the decoration of the nymphaea was undertaken at the same time as, or within a short period of, their construction[81]. Considering all the arguments we can conclude that the Palestrina mosaics date from the last quarter of the second century and, more precisely, from between 120 and 110 B.C.[82]

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION

The Nile Mosaic is now 5,85 m wide at the base and has a maximum height of 4,31 m. The tesserae vary considerably in size, from a few millimetres in detailed parts to considerably more in plain parts. Large ones are to be found especially in the restored parts. The shapes are irregular in detailed scenes and are often squarish in plain parts. They show a large variety of colours and tones[1].

All the figurative parts of the mosaic, except the two small sections 20 and 21, are also represented in the Dal Pozzo copies. The rest of it is modern fabrication and depicts mainly water and rocks, with some shrubs and flowers (cf. fig. 7). It is best therefore to describe the mosaic in parts which correspond to the original sections and to the Dal Pozzo copies. The numbers of these sections, except 20 and 21, have been taken from Whitehouse, who followed the numbering of the Dal Pozzo copies. It seems, however, more logical to describe the sections not according to their number, but in a sequence which is based on their position in the mosaic because this underlines their coherence (cf. fig. 7).

Section 1 (figs. 9, 10, 14)[2]

The Dal Pozzo copy no. 1 (fig. 10) shows as one unit two pieces which are now placed at opposite ends at the top of the mosaic, i.e. the part with the *onokentaura* in the top right-hand corner (figs. 7, 14) and the part with the snake and the *thoantes* in the top left-hand corner (cf. figs. 7, 9). From the subject matter of this scene it appears that the Dal Pozzo copy must represent the original situation. The birds fluttering around the bush seem to be falling. This unnatural position can only be explained by connecting them with the snake, which has already caught a bird in its mouth. Pliny and Aelian relate a story that large snakes catch and gulp down birds passing over them, even though they are flying high and fast. A similar story must be represented here[3]. In the centre of the original section there is a yellowish and brownish rocky outcrop with a flat table-like top. It is strongly reminiscent of the sandstone table-top hills which are characteristic of the Nile valley (cf. fig. 89). It contains shiny reddish and greenish oval stones which probably represent semi-precious stones like garnets. Nubia was rich in semi-precious stones which were imported into Egypt from ancient times[4]. A greyish ungulate, with a seemingly human head covered with long hair, stands on top of the rocky outcrop, an unnatural position for an animal[5]. Below it is the inscription HONOKENTAYPA. Apparently it is a female specimen of the *onokentauros*, the ass-centaur, a hybrid of man and ass, a variant of the better known centaur. This fantastic animal was described as an Aethiopian animal by a certain Pythagoras who explored the Red Sea coast in the time of Ptolemy II[6]. Perhaps it is based on the gnu, the existence of which seems to have been vaguely known in antiquity[7]. Aethiopia was the ancient name for that part of the African continent which lay below the first cataract at Assuan. It covered most of the Sudan, or Nubia, and the northern part of modern Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, with which it must not be confused[8]. To the right of the *onokentaura* a monkey, probably a kind of guenon, sits on a rock. There are only two major kinds of monkeys in the Sudan, i.e. guenons and baboons. Since this specimen lacks the characteristics of the baboon it must be a guenon[9]. To the left of the rock there is a bush, possibly a tooth-brush tree, a common North African shrub[10]. Several herons are flying around it[11]. Some of these seem to be falling down towards the large snake, coiled at the foot of the rock, which has caught a bird in its mouth. Aethiopia was notorious for its large snakes, which are rock pythons (cf. fig. 29)[12]. The capture of an Aethiopian giant snake in the reign of Ptolemy II is described by Agatharchides of Cnidos, who about the middle of the second century B.C. wrote a book entitled Περὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης (On the Red Sea). This work, for which early Ptolemaic exploration reports were used, like that of Pythagoras mentioned above, offered the first comprehensive description of the coastal area of the Red Sea. Regrettably it has not been preserved, yet excerpts may be found in Diodorus, Strabo and Photius, and quotations in Pliny and Aelian[13]. To the right of the snake there are two yellowish spotted animals facing each other, with the inscription ΘѠANTEC. This is a unique plural apparently related to the singular θώς which was used indiscriminately for jackals, wolves, and other kinds of wild dogs. The creatures here depicted are spotted hyenas, Sudanese animals, which are also described by Agatharchides. Their spotted skin is exceptional for canines and is reminiscent of that of the cheetah. As a result the spotted hyena was believed to be a cross-breed between a wolf and a cheetah, as stated in Ps. Oppian's *Cynegetica* (III, 336 ff.) (see figs. 30 a, b)[14].

Section 2 (fig. 11)[15]

Section 2 directly joins with the right-hand side of section 1. The top shows a group of six archers who emerge from behind the rocky outcrop of section 1 to take up position on a flat piece of land. The hunters are black and have short hair; they clearly belong to the negro race. They wear short white chitons, frayed at the edges, some with short sleeves, and are armed with bows and round shields. They seem to represent Trogodytes, the inhabitants of the desert land between the Nile and the Red Sea[16]. They are aiming to the right, possibly at the herons in section 3[17]. Below and to the right of the hunters there is a bush of what seems to be a desert rose, a shrub or tree which is characteristic of the southern Sudan[18]. Two monkeys are sitting in it. The one on the left is crawling along a branch. Above it there is the inscription CΦINΓIA, probably the plural form of the diminutive of sphinx. Here it apparently indicates a sphinx-monkey, one of the species of Aethiopian monkeys given by Agatharchides. It is probably a kind of guenon, like the red monkey[19]. The monkey at the top of the bush, which seems to be resting, is possibly another red monkey. Guenons had been sent to Egypt from ancient times as tribute by the Nubians[20]. To the left of the bush there is an animal on a high granite rock. Such rocks are characteristic of the area of the first cataract at Assuan[21]. Below the animal is the inscription ΞIOIΓ. This incomprehensible word is apparently the remnant of a larger inscription[22]. The heavy body of the animal resembles both the rhinoceros which appears in section 9 (fig. 16) and the hippopotami which appear in the lower part of the mosaic in sections 12 and 18 (fig. 19). But its striking long snout and sharp teeth are quite different from those of the hippopotami in the lower part, being reminiscent rather of the snout of a crocodile (see fig. 19). It looks like a somewhat fantastic kind of hippopotamus (cf.

fig. 31). Perhaps it represents the *sarkophagos tauros*, the 'carnivorous buffalo', an Aethiopian animal which is described by Agatharchides[23]. Below and to the right of this fantastic hippopotamus another guenon, probably a green monkey, is perched on a rock[24]. Two large crabs are swimming in the water towards the rocks[25].

Section 4 (fig. 9)[26]

Section 4 fits next to the lower left hand side of section 2, below section 1. Two otters are swimming in the water and have caught fish in their mouths. Above them is the word ENYΔPIC, meaning water-animal [27]. To the left two turtles or tortoises are sitting on a rock[28]. Tortoises and otters were common in the Nile.

Section 3 (fig. 12)[29]

The negro hunters of section 2 are found also in the third section. The two hunters who appear here wear a *chiton exomis*, which is fastened on one shoulder only.[30]. In front of the hunters a large hound attempts to pounce on a heron[31], the sole survivor of others that may originally have been depicted[32]. Below the hound there is a peacock. Although in origin an Indian bird, the peacock could also be associated with Africa, just as in general Indian and African creatures were often confused[33]. Below the peacock there are two birds, one white, one brown. They may be varieties of herons[34]. To the left of them, partly behind the rock, we see the hind-quarters of an animal. The leg is similar to the hind-leg of the hippopotamus in section 2[35]. From the Dal Pozzo copy of this section it would seem that the artist had begun to sketch an elephant on the right-hand side of the rock, where there is now sky, but did not finish it, probably because too little of the original was left. The presence of an elephant would be quite natural in an Aethiopian animal scenery, and traces of an elephant originally appeared also in section 6[36]. Apparently, however, this part of the mosaic was damaged to such a degree that the artist was not sure whether he was copying animals or rock formations[37]. In the lower left-hand corner of this section there is a striped hyena, an animal that was common in North Africa. Above it is the inscription KPOKOTTAC, the Aethiopian name for hyena, which is given also by Agatharchides[38]. On the right-hand side there is an animal with the inscription VABOYC which apparently represents a dromedary. The dromedary was not a Sudanese but an Arabian animal. It was not unknown in Egypt but was only introduced on a large scale in the Ptolemaic period. The name *nabous* is otherwise reported only by Pliny, who states that it was the Aethiopian name for the giraffe. The giraffe and the dromedary were believed to be related animals and so were liable to be confused. Two giraffes with their Greek name *kamelopardalis* 'spotted camel' are depicted in section 5[39].

Section 5 (fig. 11)[40]

Section 5 may have joined section 6, as it does now. In the Dal Pozzo copy the background in the top left-hand corner seems to be sky, indicating that in origin this section was probably placed in the sky-line area of the mosaic. Moreover, there was probably a tree on the left-hand side on which the left giraffe was feeding[41]. Two giraffes are depicted and below them there is the inscription Κ.ΜΕΛΟΠΑΡΑΑΛΙ, originally probably *kamelopardalis*, spotted camel, the Greek name for the giraffe[42]. The giraffe, which lived in the southern Sudan (see fig. 32), was occasionally brought to Egypt as tribute by the Nubians but to the classical world it was first revealed when a specimen appeared in the Grand Procession staged by Ptolemy II, c. 279–270 B.C., which showed exotic animals and products from the Ptolemaic realm[43]. The giraffe is described as an Aethiopian animal by Agatharchides. The earliest representation of it from the classical world is found in a wall-painting showing a hunting scene with Aethiopian animals in a tomb at Marissa in Palestine dating from the end of the third century B.C. (see fig. 59)[44]. While that picture reveals a total lack of observation of the real animal on the part of the artist, the rendering in the Nile Mosaic is much better, especially with regard to the natural position of the animals while feeding. The first time a live giraffe appeared in Rome was during the games of Caesar in 46 B.C.[45]. Below the giraffes a small animal is lying on its back. It is difficult to identify, but it could be some small desert animal like a shrew, a hedgehog or a dassie[46].

Section 6 (fig. 13)[47]

On the upper left-hand side of section 6 we see part of what must originally have been a large tree carrying conspicuous bunches of fruit. It could quite possibly be a persea, a huge tree which was characteristic of the Sudan[48]. A monkey is crawling along a large branch and above it there is the inscription KHIYIEN, probably a misspelling for KHΠION, a diminutive of *kepos,* a kind of monkey. This creature was first spotted by the explorer Pythagoras and is described by Agatharchides along with the Aethiopian monkeys. The monkey in the Nile Mosaic seems to be a baboon. Baboons had long been brought to Egypt by the Nubians (cf. fig. 32)[49]. At the end of the branch there is a reddish bird. Nothing like it exists in nature, and perhaps it may simply stand for exotic birds in general[50]. Immediately to the right of it, on the edge of the rock, where we now see water, the Dal Pozzo copyist saw sky and the remains of an elephant, i.e. a foreleg and a trunk between two tusks. The existence of elephants in Aethiopia was vaguely known in Egypt and this led to the elephant hunt expeditions of Ptolemy II and his successors in the third century B.C. A tame African elephant attended by a negro figures in the Marissa frieze (fig. 61)[51]. Beneath the monkey, on a granite outcrop, there is a lioness suckling her young, and below her is the inscription ΛEAINA. The lion was a common African animal[52]. A little lower and to the right a fine onager is to be seen. Various kinds of asses and donkeys, wild and domesticated, lived in Egypt and Aethiopia, but the onager is actually an Asiatic animal (cf. fig. 29)[53]. On the rock beneath the lioness there is a lizard with above it the inscription CAY.OC TCHXICNIE, possibly for CAYPOC ΠHXYAIOC, meaning a one-cubit-long lizard. Many kinds of lizards lived in the Nile valley. This one could be a rock lizard[54]. To the left of the lizard is the inscription EΦΛΛOC, which may perhaps be reconstructed as *choirelaphos,* meaning horned boar. This would identify the wart-hog immediately below it in section 10[55]. In the lower right-hand side of section 6 we see an animal with a spotted skin next to the inscription ΛYNΞ. The African lynx, the caracal, is not spotted. This animal may rather represent a wild cat or perhaps the Sudanese serval[56]. To the right of it we see another inscription ΔΓEΛAPY, possibly meaning *agelarchos,* or leader, and indicating perhaps the leader of the hunters in section 11 (fig. 18)[57].

Section 7, upper part (fig. 14)[58]

In the seventh section we see a bear with the inscription ΔΡΚΟC, apparently standing for ΑΡΚΟC. The bear does not live in Africa in natural circumstances but Syrian bears were occasionally imported into Egypt[59]. Next to it is a pair of cheetahs with the inscription ΤΙΓΡΙC. The hunting leopard or cheetah was common in Africa and had from ancient times been brought to Egypt by the Nubians as tribute. *Tigris* may originally have been a name for the cheetah[60]. A large snake coils around a rocky outcrop, and a doum palm may be recognised by its characteristic forked trunk[61]. Another monkey, possibly an Anubis baboon, sits below it. On the Dal Pozzo copy it is accompanied by the inscription CATTYOC, probably for *satyros*, which has not been preserved in the mosaic[62]. At the bottom of this section there is a strange animal sitting on a rock. It has the body of a reptile and a square doglike head. Below it is the inscription ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΟCΧΕΡCΑΙΟC, land crocodile. It seems to be a desert monitor[63].

Section 9, upper part (fig. 16)[64]

Section 9, which probably joined the left edge of section 10, contains two animals in the top half, while in the bottom half we see a building complex. We shall describe the latter part together with the scenes belonging to the lower part of the mosaic. On the left-hand side of the upper half of the section we see a white rhinoceros on a rocky outcrop and below it the inscription ΡΙΝΟΚΕΥωC. The African rhinoceros lived in the southern Sudan (see fig. 32). Its existence was vaguely known to the Egyptians and became known to the classical world when a specimen appeared in the Procession of Ptolemy II. It is described by Agatharchides and some early attempts to depict it are found in the Marissa frieze (figs. 61, 63). The first time a live rhinoceros appeared in Rome was presumably during the games of Pompey in 55 B.C.[65]. To the right of the rhinoceros we see a piece of ground with another animal on it. Below it there is the inscription ΧΟΙΡΟΠΙΘΙΚ, usually completed as *choiropithekos,* meaning hog-monkey. It probably represents a river-hog, which lived in the southern Sudan[66].

Section 10, upper part (fig. 17)[67]

The upper part of section 10 fits onto the lower part of section 6. We shall describe the scenery of the lower part of this section together with the bottom half of the mosaic. On the right-hand side there is another hunter kneeling in front of the rocks and aiming his bow to the left. In the upper left-hand corner there are two wart-hogs. These Sudanese animals are described by Agatharchides as boars with horns, presumably because of their large tusks[68].

Section 11, upper part (fig. 18)[69]

The upper part of section 11 fits onto the lower part of section 7. We shall describe the lower part of this section together with the lower half of the mosaic. Immediately below the desert monitor in section 7 there is another reptile with the inscription ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΟ ΠΑΡΔΑΛΙϹ, which is apparently a Nile monitor[70]. Below this five more hunters appear, two of them emerging from behind rocks. They look agitated and are pointing to the left. They are dressed in ragged white *exomides*, one of which is so wide that it completely covers the man's upper arm. The hunters are armed with oval or round shields and bows[71].

Section 21 (fig. 15)[72]

Section 21 was not copied by the Dal Pozzo copyist. It may have remained at Palestrina, together with section 20, until it was incorporated into the 1640 reconstruction, but we cannot be sure of its original position. The animals represented in it are typical of the Nile fauna and there are no inscriptions, so it may have belonged to the fauna of the lower part of the mosaic. However, we shall describe it together with the upper half of the mosaic because it contains only animals[73]. A mongoose and a cobra are seen facing each other. The deadly rivalry between mongooses and snakes was a popular motif in Nilotic scenes[74]. On the right there is a dog which turns its head to look back. Dogs also figure among the Nilotic fauna[75].

Having described the sections in the upper part, which contain mainly Sudanese animals and negroes hunting them, we may continue with the lower part, which shows more complicated scenes. We shall begin with those sections which make up the top part of the lower half and formed the transition between the two halves, i.e. section 8 and the lower parts of sections 9, 10 and 11. We will then continue with sections 12–18, which are on the left-hand side of the mosaic and move from there towards the edge of the right-hand side.

Section 8 (fig. 15)[76]

On the left-hand side of section 8 we see a round well. It is usually considered to be a Nilometer, i.e. a well with a scale to measure the rise of the Nile during the annual flood (see fig. 33). The water in the well splashes against the wall[77]. To the right is a large rectangular pillar, which may originally have carried a statue (cf. figs. 48, 50, 87)[78]. To the left of the well a shrub is visible which could perhaps be a tamarisk, and behind the pillar is a date palm[79]. To the right of the pillar there are two obelisks[80]. In front of the pillar appear two women dressed in long mantles. In front of the obelisks is a third woman wearing a wreath and dressed in a chiton which leaves one shoulder bare. She raises her right arm presumably to announce the arrival of the flood. Two other women are standing further to the right beside the temple. They are dressed in chitons and the one on the right also wears a wreath[81]. These two women are looking to the right at a fisherman. He is dressed in an *exomis* which is frayed at the edges and wears a *pilos* on his head, the usual dress for poor peasants and fishermen (cf. fig. 36). He carries a trident over his left shoulder and stretches out his right hand to the two women as though he were addressing them[82].

Behind these figures is a prostyle temple on a podium which consists of two steps. The naos of the temple has pilasters at the corners and the pronaos consists of a row of three columns with a pillar at each corner. The pronaos has parapet walls at the sides. The columns have plain shafts, plain flat capitals and no bases, so are evidently of the Doric order. The entablature consists of an architrave and a frieze, both plain. The roof and the pediment are curved, an innovation in Greek architecture which was created in Ptolemaic Egypt following an ancient Egyptian tradition[83]. The acroterium above the middle of the pediment is damaged at the top. Compared with the central acroteria of the temple in section 9 this acroterium can be seen to have been of the same kind, representing a lotus flower in the form of a bud between two outward curling leaves. The corner acroteria seem to consist of one or two leaves. Antefixes, pointed or slightly outward-curving, appear along the ridge and side of the roof[84].

The temple is a small Hellenistic shrine showing some Egyptian elements. Only a few such temples have actually been preserved but they appear frequently in Egyptianising scenes in Roman paintings (cf. figs. 34–35)[85]. At the back of the temple is a tower with windows in the upper storeys. Noteworthy are the sagging upper edge and the sagging horizontal lines in the walls, features which are often seen in buildings and towers in Egyptianising scenes, and which indicate mud-brick walls strengthened with wooden beams (cf. fig. 37)[86]. Another similar tower stands beneath the first[87]. Towers such as these served as tower houses and were often connected to temples whose staff they housed. They frequently appear in Egyptianising landscapes (cf. figs. 34, 35, 37)[88]. Rocks rise from the water in front of the temple and waterbirds can be seen sitting on them or diving from them into the water. These birds must be cormorants. A blue heron is standing in the water amongst them[89].

Section 9, lower part (fig. 16)[90]

The lower part of section 9 represents an island with a temple on it. On the left-hand side there are two date palms[91]. The temple itself is seen obliquely from behind. A wall runs around the temple on three sides but not at the back. This wall is crowned with rounded merlons, widely spaced, and is interrupted by dark vertical lines at regular intervals. Two towers, similar to the ones in section 8, are connected to it, one at the front and one on the far right-hand side. The one at the front might serve as an entrance tower. The temple consists of a naos and a pronaos with one row of columns. On the corner at the front of the cella we see a pilaster. Both the columns and the pilaster are plain and have the same Doric capitals as those of the temple in section 8. The pronaos has parapet walls at the sides[92]. The sloping sides of the pediments are slightly concave. On the tops of the pediments we see acroteria in the shape of a lotus bud between two leaves. Acroteria of a similar shape appear on the corners. The roof of the temple is covered with tiles. Garlands are hung around the naos (cf. fig. 87). The temple is once again of a type familiar in Egyptianising landscapes (cf. figs. 34, 35)[93]. To the right of the right-hand tower of the temple there is a reed hut with a round roof. Reed huts, the houses of poor peasants and fishermen, are found in great variety in Nilotic scenes (see figs. 35, 38)[94]. To the right of the hut we see part of a tree flowering with a mass of yellowish blossom, probably an Egyptian mimosa. A similar tree appears on the left-hand side of section 10, so the two sections may have joined at this point[95].

Section 10, lower part (fig. 17)[96]

In section 10 we see the continuation of the scene in section 9. It consists of a farm complex including a large round hut, probably a granary, a smaller reed hut, and two towerhouses connected by a wall. Such farms are found frequently in Roman Nilotic scenes (cf. figs. 35, 38)[97]. Black and white ibises are visible all over the buildings. On the right there is another doum palm[98]. To the right of the island we see a boat with a papyrus sail. It has a long prow and high stern which curves over, and can be recognised as a common Egyptian ferry or cargo boat[99]. Sailors are sitting in it and some are adjusting the sail. The high stern with the helmsman has actually been preserved in section 11, indicating that these two sections join here[100].

Section 11, lower part (fig. 18)[101]

This section is for the greater part occupied by a large temple, which is in the Egyptian style and stands on a platform. The entrance to the temple complex is flanked by two large towers, the sides of which are tapered; they have a high cornice at the top. They are the characteristic pylon towers of Egyptian temples (cf. figs, 39, 41, 42). Noteworthy are the dark patches in the upper part of the towers, which look like windows. In fact they are openings through which cantilever brackets could be extended for flagstaffs, to be erected in front of the towers[102]. Above the door there is a window and above that in turn a figure of an eagle, an unusual feature for an Egyptian temple (cf. figs. 40–42)[103].

On each side of the entrance there are two statues which seem to be of greenish basalt. They stand on small bases and cast their shadows on the towers. Statues beside entrances are a regular feature of Egyptian temples (cf. fig. 39). In this case they seem to represent only the outline of a body with the arms crossed over the breast. This mummy-like appearance is characteristic of Osiris, the god of the realm of the dead , so they must be Osiris statues (see fig. 49)[104]. They have lotus flowers, a symbol of regeneration, on their heads (cf. figs. 48, 72)[105].

To the left and the right of the pylon there are walls, and at the frontcorners of the complex there are towers of the familiar type with windows, strengthening beams and the typical sagging upper edge. The tower on the right-hand side, moreover, has a door. On top of each tower stands a waterjar. There are similar towers at the sides and the back, all of which are connected by walls[106].

In this enclosure there is a rectangular building with a large door crowned by a straight lintel. It has a row of windows, a large cornice and corner acroteria. This central building is placed on the axis of the front pylon and seems to be connected to it by means of walls[107]. Such an arrangement, with a monumental entrance pylon at the front and a central building surrounded symmetrically by fortified domestic buildings was the usual pattern for large Egyptian temples. The form of the actual temple, a high rectangular building with a single door, was originally reserved for small temples and became more widely used in the Ptolemaic period. The naturalistic eagle above the door also suggests a date in the Graeco-Roman period (see fig. 40)[108]. In contrast to the other temples in the Nile Mosaic, therefore, this temple is Egyptian in style. As such it is unique in Roman Nilotic scenes. The only comparable representations of Egyptian pylon temples are found on Alexandrian bone tesserae and coins from the Imperial period (cf. figs. 41, 42)[109].

In front of the temple, on the left, we see a man riding a donkey while another man walks behind them. Each is dressed in a sleeved chiton and wears a *pilos.* The man on foot points to the temple, and the rider looks in the same direction. They are obviously travellers[110].

Sections 12 and 18 (fig. 19)[111]

Since sections 12 and 18 form one scene we shall describe them together. The subject is a hippopotamus hunt from a boat. The boat has a long, high prow terminating in an animal's head, and a high stern which curves over and ends in a long narrow fin-shaped end-piece to which a ribbon is tied. In the centre of the boat there is a cabin with a curved roof. The front is closed except for a door which is open. On each side there are two columns connected by low walls of lattice work. Such partly open cabins, or kiosks, stem from an old Egyptian tradition (cf. fig. 44)[112]. A half-naked man sitting on the stern is steering by means of two rudders, while three men handle the oars. Three other men standing in the prow, dressed in chitons and wearing *piloi* and short cloaks, throw harpoons at some hippopotami. All the men have beards. Because of their un-Egyptian appearance they may be cleruchs, Greek settlers[113]. The hippopotamus on the left, which is standing on dry land, has been hit by a harpoon and turns its back on the hunters. A second hippopotamus raises its head from the water[114]. A third hippopotamus, which has also been hit by harpoons, stands beneath the boat on a small island covered with plumed reed, probably giant reed[115]. Two crocodiles leave the island to seek safety in the water[116]. Above the first hippopotamus we see a pair of ducks, frequent inhabitants of Nilotic landscapes[117]. Behind the animal's head on the prow of the ship a fish is visible, possibly a Nile perch[118]. Hippopotamus hunts are common both in ancient Egyptian and in Roman Nilotic scenes (cf. fig. 43)[119].

Section 15 (fig. 20)[120]

Sections 15 and 19 were probably originally positioned on the far right-hand side of the mosaic (see fig. 8)[121]. Section 15 consists mainly of a small grass-covered island, occupied by a large reed hut with a curved roof. To the left of the hut is a stone wall, probably forming a small enclosure. An ibis is seated on the wall and other ibises are walking over the roof of the hut[122]. In front of the entrance of the hut we see a peasant and a fisherman wearing ragged chitons and *piloi*. The one on the left leans on a stick (cf. fig. 36), while the other is seated on the ground, holding a trident. Further to the left a third peasant, similarly dressed, watches over a drinking cow. Huts with peasants, cattle and ibises appear frequently in Roman Nilotic landscapes (fig. 35, 38)[123]. Below this scene another man, naked apart from a *pilos*, is rowing a papyrus canoe between lotus flowers and leaves. A frog sits on a lotus leaf, and a young shrub rises from the water[124]. The herdsmen and fishermen, dressed in ragged clothes or naked, represented here and elsewhere in the mosaic, are the marshdwellers who were the poorest people in Egypt[125]. One of the Dal Pozzo copies of this section shows that a coracle-like boat and part of the stern or prow of a larger boat may originally have appeared in the upper left-hand corner of this section[126].

Section 19 (figs. 20,21)[127]

Originally section 19, too, was probably positioned on the far right-hand side of the mosaic. The whole of the relevant section now displayed in the Nile Mosaic was made in the seventeenth century because the original had passed into other hands; it is now preserved in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin[128]. This explains the strange difference in width between the near and far sides of the pergola. The part in the foreground must originally have been considerably wider than at present. On the right, behind the pergola, there is a piece of land with a wooden fence and a wall surrounded by bushes. This looks like a ruin, but it seems more probable that the effect is due to the restoration and that originally a complete building like a towerhouse stood to the right of the pergola[129]. The pergola consists of reed lattice-work curved to form a vault and overgrown with vines. Inside the pergola there are two stone benches covered with red mattresses on which members of a drinking party are reclining[130].

On the bench in the foreground are two men and a woman, and on the opposite bench two women and two men. The women wear white chitons with narrow shoulder-straps which have slipped down their shoulders. The women on the opposite bench have in addition blue mantles around their hips. Their hair is held in a knot at the neck and falls in ringlets over their shoulders. The men wear red or white mantles, wrapped around their bodies so as to leave their torsos naked, except for the man in the foreground who has a fold of his mantle over his shoulder[131]. All the figures, except the woman on the left, wear head-dresses of plaited red and green bands[132]. Some of them hold metal (silver) drinking vessels, a rhyton with an animal-protome and two bowls[133]. Others are playing musical instruments, a transverse flute and a small triangular harp (see figs. 45, 46)[134]. The woman and the man in the foreground are pointing to bunches of grapes hanging from the pergola[135]. Pergolas containing banqueters are a typical feature of Nilotic scenes and represent the revelry of the people at the time of the inundation (cf. fig. 47)[136].

In the water, as everywhere else on the mosaic, there are lotus flowers, lotus bulbs, leaves and seedheads on long stalks. The lotus plants do not belong to the traditional Egyptian type but, to judge from the specific colour and form of the flowers and leaves, to the Indian type[137]. A man wearing a *pilos* and a loin-cloth held together with a knot at the front in the Egyptian manner, is punting a papyrus canoe. In the stern of his boat lies a heap of lotus flowers which he probably has gathered in order to make bread [138]. It is remarkable that the water runs through the pergola and that the man in the papyrus boat seems to have rowed through it. In reality such a situation is hardly imaginable and in other Nilotic scenes pergolas may be close to the water but always stand firmly on dry ground. Perhaps this situation is based on a misunderstood representation of an intricate garden arrangement on the Nile bank[139].

Section 13 (fig. 22)[140]

This is the largest and most intricate of all the sections. In the top left-hand corner we see a rock on which a crenellated wall and a tower are situated. We have already seen that the left-hand corner of this part probably originally joined the tower in the lower right-hand corner of section 8. Together they probably formed another temple enclosure[141]. In the water below the rock a man with a grey beard is punting a papyrus canoe. He wears a loin-cloth, and a lotus leaf as headgear. Apparently he belongs to the poorest class in Egypt. Lotus flowers, seed heads and leaves rise from the water and ducks are swimming in it[142]. Below the punter there is more land. Here we see a date palm bearing fruit[143]. A little to the right there is a large tower house (cf. fig. 37). It has a monumental entrance which consists of two pilasters carrying an entablature with a plain architrave surmounted by a row of dentils and a cavetto cornice; in front of the pilasters are two low projecting walls. The pilasters and the fronts of the projecting walls show a dark band in the centre, which probably represents a marble inlay[144]. In front of the entrance there is a large libation bowl on an ornate stand, with a palm-branch standing beside it[145]. Inside the door a human figure dressed in a mantle raises its right arm. Another, shadowy, figure leans against the door, and yet another appears on the roof of the tower together with a large waterjar[146].

Below and to the right of the tower we see the main scene in this section. It consists of a group of soldiers assembled in front of a building which looks like a pronaos. This building consists of four columns and a back wall supporting a segmental pediment and a curved roof. It is usually called a temple but, since there is no trace of a door or a cella, it is in fact only a portico; so it is more likely to have been a shrine or pavilion (cf. fig. 48)[147]. The columns of the portico are smooth and stand on high rectangular pedestals with projecting mouldings at the top and bottom. They have Ionic bases of the Italic type with a pair of plinths beneath. The capitals are plain and take the form of rather high calyces above a pair of annulets. A pilaster of the same form as the columns is situated at the corner of the back wall[148]. The entablature consists of an architrave and a frieze, both plain. The pediment and the roof are curved. There are rows of modillions below both the straight and the raking cornices[149]. The roof is covered with tiles, and has rather flat acroteria at the corners. Along its side and ridge there are small antefixes which may have been of the same kind as those of the temple in section 8[150]. On top of the front and back pediments we see an acroterium in the form of a disk between two horn-like objects. This motif, which is repeated in the pediment, can only represent the solar disc between two horns, which is the crown of Isis-Hathor (cf. figs. 49, 95)[151]. Festive garlands with *taeniae* hang from the architrave. A pinkish awning is hanging from the pediment and is secured at the other end to the stump of a palm tree and a pole (cf. fig. 50)[152]. The building is situated on the waterside at the end of a quay. This quay and a wall connect the pavilion with the propylon in section 16[153]. Behind the pavilion there are trees, namely cypresses, a tree with large peapods, which might be a Lebbek tree and, near the propylon, in section 16, a sycamore[154]. As a whole this complex is reminiscent of the enclosures with shrines, kiosks and groves which may be found in Roman Nilotic scenes (cf. figs. 50, 51)[155].

In front of the pavilion a meeting is taking place in the shade of the awning. This part of the section is mostly restored and shows several differences from the Dal Pozzo copies, which suggests that it was so badly damaged that it was difficult to discern a number of details[156]. There is a female figure on the right, usually thought to be a priestess, wearing a sleeved bluish chiton and a yellow mantle[157]. In her left arm she holds a palm-branch[158] and in her right she raises a *kyathos*, a ladle used to dispense wine for libation or for drinking[159]. Beside her is a shrub which is mostly restored[160]. In front of her on the left stands an officer. He wears a wreath and with his right hand raises a drinking horn[161]. He is dressed in a green cuirass with groin flaps and a red belt over a white chiton, and has a red mantle hanging from his shoulders (cf. fig. 52). Like most of the other soldiers he wears boots, *embades*, which are clearly recognizable by their pointed leather turnovers. The soldier behind him wears a light blue cuirass over a light chiton, a sword belt slung diagonally across his chest, and a high capped helmet with protruding forehead-plate, short curved neck-plate, long vertical cheek-plates, and a plume on top. This helmet and those of the other soldiers are of the so-called Thracian type, which was in general use in the Hellenistic period, especially in the Macedonian armies. The next officer raises his right arm, pointing a finger in the air as if to beckon his men. He seems to wear a white leather muscle-cuirass over a white chiton with a sword belt slung diagonally across his chest. His yellow mantle is clearly rounded along the bottom edge, so is a Hellenistic *chlamys*. The fourth soldier is dressed in a brownish-yellow chiton and mantle. No plume is attached to his helmet. He raises his hand as if addressing the other officer. The remaining soldiers wear white chitons with short sleeves. Some wear *embades* but others *krepides*, sandals which just reach the calf. Some of these soldiers hold long spears and shields, but none has a sword[162]. In front of them lies a pile of armour consisting of shields, helmets and an axe. Most of the shields are round or oval in shape, two are rectangular[163]. Several of the shields have large shield devices: two of them a scorpion, one a large star, and another a group of four S's arranged symmetrically around a central transverse line[164].

To sum up, we see a group of soldiers dressed in leather cuirasses or chitons, and wearing Thracian helmets, *embades* or *krepides*. Some wear mantles and swords. Others are armed with long spears and shields of different shapes and with varying devices. Their dress as well as their armour are Hellenistic and may be Macedonian (cf. fig. 52). Placed in Egyptian surroundings such soldiers can hardly be anything other than the elite troops of the Ptolemaic army, the Macedones[165]. To the left of the soldiers we see a large buffet-table with a number of drinking horns, like the one held by the first officer, and some plates. A huge crater can be seen beside it (cf. fig. 45)[166]. There is a dog in front of the soldiers[167].

Section 14 (fig. 23)[168]

Section 14 was not incorporated in the 1640 reconstruction, either because it was too badly damaged or because the restorer was at a loss as to what he should put beneath the parasol, which is the most important feature of this section; he simply solved the problem by leaving the fragment out[169]. Below the corner pilaster of the back wall of the pavilion in section 13, which is faintly indicated in the Dal Pozzo copy, a piece of light and darker brown probably represents land, which may be linked to that on which the priestess in section 13 is standing. From the base of the back wall a light brown causeway runs obliquely upwards to the right. On it the lower parts of two human figures can be seen. Between the quay and the strip of land below is a triangular segment of a greenish blue colour which probably represents water. It seems only logical to connect the causeway to the quay with the procession in sections 20 and 16. It is highly probable, therefore, that in the original mosaic section 14 was placed to the right of the priestess and the pavilion in section 13[170]. The water forms a background for a large red parasol with concave sides, decorated with a large yellow tasselled fringe. Below this is a brown oval which could represent the shadow of the parasol on the water. To the right comes another area of dark-brown colour, perhaps part of an arch of the arcade which supports the causeway, but the details are not very clear[171]. It is highly regrettable that the part below the parasol is lost, because the figure or figures which were placed beneath it would have come to the right of the priestess. This suggests that they were taking part in the assembly scene in section 13[172].

Section 20 (fig. 24)[173]

This is a small fragment which was not copied for Dal Pozzo. It shows a crenellated wall which runs obliquely upwards to the right. The wall has a corner on the left, and on the right-hand side there is a simple gate. In front of the wall part of a causeway remains, together with the lower part of a man sitting on it. This connects the fragment with the lower left-hand corner of section 16 which shows the upper part of the seated man[174]. The wall is of the same type as the wall on the left-hand side of the propylon in section 16. Its oblique position suggests that it ran parallel to the quay, which in all probability connected the pavilion in section 13 to the propylon in section 16, more or less as it is shown in the restored mosaic except that section 14 is missing[175].

Section 16 (figs. 24–26)[176]

On the left-hand side of this section there is a crenellated wall and behind it a large tree, a sycamore. Connected to the wall is a propylon. This part may be connected to the walled grove which appears behind the pavilion in section 13[177]. The propylon consists of four columns arranged in a square covered by a curved roof. It is closed at the sides by parapet walls. The columns stand on Ionic bases of the Attic type and on plinths. The shafts are plain and so are the calyx-shaped capitals. The entablature is also plain. The architrave is surmounted by what seems to be a cavetto cornice. It carries a segmental pediment which has a series of dentils below both the straight and the raking cornices. On top of the pediment we see once again the horned solar disc of Isis-Hathor, and at each corner there are large horn-shaped acroteria[178]. In Egypt, kiosk-like structures were associated with temple complexes to serve as shrines, propylaea and wayside stations for processions, especially for embarking and disembarking (figs. 53, 54)[179]. Similar kiosk-like structures may be found in Roman Nilotic scenes (see figs. 48, 50, 51)[180].

Beside the propylon there is a pedestal with a statue of a sitting dog, which must represent Anubis[181]. In front of the propylon there is a narrow strip of ground which, according to one of the Dal Pozzo copies, was originally a platform, and which formed the end of the quay appearing in sections 14, 17 and 20[182]. A procession of Egyptian priests is coming through the propylon. They are dressed in long white skirts with their torsos bare, the usual dress of Egyptian priests, and they wear wreaths on their shaven heads[183]. Some of them carry standards with images of animals on top. Such standards with animal symbols of Egyptian gods were a normal feature of Egyptian processions (cf. fig. 55)[184].

On the left in front of the propylon, a priest is sitting on the ground. He holds a stand with an animal image in his left hand, while with his right hand he seems to raise a staff and a large piece of reddish-grey cloth. His position and gesture are difficult to explain[185]. Three, originally four, more priests (one is largely hidden by a column and the fourth was omitted by the restorer) are carrying a litter on their shoulders. The litter is made of two poles supporting a large rectangular base[186]. On it stands an object which consists of a conical base supporting an ovoid object which is crowned by a smaller object and a long peak, usually called a 'candelabrum'. This object is in fact completely an addition made by the restorer; it is striking that in the Dal Pozzo copy of this section the 'candelabrum' is missing and the priests carry only the rectangular base (figs. 25, 26).

In order to understand this scene, and ultimately the whole mosaic, it is essential to know what the scene in the original mosaic looked like. Were there only a few fragments of an unidentified object on the litter, which were overlooked by the copyist but which were restored by the restorer to create the candelabrum? Or was there really nothing on it? Regrettably it is impossible to settle the issue. However, the unusual shape of the litter could mean that the poles did not merely support a rectangular base but that they carried a rectangular, chest-like object. This does not exclude the possibility that this object was surmounted by another one (cf. fig. 84)[187]. Two further priests follow the litter. Behind and to the right of the propylon is a stretch of land[188]. There the procession is followed by a group of six women dressed in mantles and wearing wreaths. Some of them hold tambourines, one plays a double-oboe and the one in the foreground holds a palm-branch (cf. fig. 70)[189]. Several women look or turn away to the right, probably because their attention was drawn by something there, a scene which no longer exists[190].

Section 17 (fig. 27)[191]

Section 17 is now joined at the top to section 16 and on the left to sections 13 and 20, while the missing section 14 was originally positioned between them. All these sections were connected by an arcaded quay which began at the back of the pavilion and ran obliquely upwards to the propylon where it ends in a platform. The quay runs alongside a large surface of water in which there are three boats[192]. At the top there is a large boat with prow and stern which both curve over. Amidships we see a mast with a papyrus sail which is being hoisted by two men. Behind the mast there is a lattice-work cabin. This is a typical Egyptian cargo-vessel[193]. Below and to the left there is a small papyrus canoe with a seated angler[194]. Below these boats there is a galley. It has a pointed prow, curving back at the top which is decorated with an apotropaic eye. Along the side there are two rows of oars, one above the other. The stern strongly curves over and ends in an aplustre between two flagstaffs. Although this galley is sometimes thought to be a Roman bireme, a *liburnica*, it is in fact a type of galley which was in general use both in the Hellenistic period and in the early Imperial period[195]. The galley is manned by soldiers whose heads, round shields and lances are visible over the side. In the prow stands a man who is dressed in a short white chiton and wears a beret-like head-dress, which must be a *kausia* [196]. According to the Dal Pozzo copy of this section he held two short lances in his left hand and blew on a long trumpet which he held in his right hand[197]. Since the ship is in an oblique position it seems to be sailing out of the bottom of the scene. It is difficult, therefore, to decide what is happening. Is the ship leaving the harbour or is it arriving to join the meeting in front of the pavilion on the left-hand side of section 13[198]? Harbour scenes also form part of Nilotic scenes in Roman wall-paintings and mosaics[199]. To the right of the boats there is an island on which we see another farm complex. It consists of an enclosure containing some trees, including a date palm. In the wall there is a monumental entrance and on the right there is a tower house. On the left-hand side we see a pigeon house with light and dark coloured pigeons. This picture portrays a farm-estate[200]. In front of the entrance we see a man wearing a chiton and a *pilos*. In the foreground, in front of the pigeon house, there is a horseshoeshaped wooden fence enclosing a pool of water, in which an old woman is busy with an indistinct object. It could possibly represent a fisherman's creel[201]. Further to the right a man is rowing a coracle-like boat[202]. All three people are looking to the left in the direction of the galley and the meeting which is taking place beyond it. Lotus flowers, leaves and seedheads, all on stems, and a bush rise from the water in the foreground[203].

Conclusion

Now that we have completed the description of the Nile Mosaic we may summarise its contents as follows.

The upper part depicts a hunting scene in faraway Aethiopia. The lower part shows scenes which take place in Egypt at the time of the yearly inundation. This is apparent from the large amount of water and the patches of land floating in it like islands, and from the pastimes of the population which coincide with those of the time of the inundation[204].

It is striking that this picture is not represented in a generic way, as is usual in later Nilotic scenes. On the contrary, the Nile Mosaic offers an overwhelming amount of detailed information. The landscape is represented with many characteristic details which reveal accurate observation. It contains more than 40 kinds of animals, often with their names inscribed, as well as some 14 kinds of trees and plants. There are all kinds of buildings: sanctuaries both in the Egyptian and in the Greek style, tower-houses, farms and reed huts, often showing interesting architectural details. The population is depicted in all the variety which Hellenistic Egypt offered: there are Greek officers and soldiers in Hellenistic armour, cleruchs and women, Egyptian priests, peasants, marshdwellers and Aethiopians. All are represented in characteristic activities and dress. Especially noteworthy is the representation of the poorest people, all of whom are carefully distinguished from each other. They are engaged in a variety of pursuits: ceremonies, feasting, hunting and fishing. Even the boats show a great variety. Such a wealth of detailed information on the natural and cultural state of a particular area is unique in classical art. The mosaic presents as it were a visualisation of a detailed description of Aethiopia and of Egypt at the time of the inundation, like those supplied by Diodorus and Strabo[205].

It is not only the subject-matter of the Nile Mosaic that is exceptional, but also the way in which this is presented. In spite of the fragmentary state of the mosaic it is clear that it offered a large and complex landscape setting, convincingly rendered in a bird's eye view. This kind of composition was, as far as we know, alien to Greek art of the classical period but appears in various forms in the Roman world. The Nile Mosaic is the earliest extant example. Both in content and in composition it occupies a crucial position in the history of classical art[206].

CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATION

Ever since the Nile Mosaic became known, widely varying interpretations have been proposed. These range from a religious allegory, for example of Isis-Fortuna, to the representation of an historical event, such as the arrival of Augustus or Hadrian in Egypt, a topographical picture of Egypt or an exotic genre scene. Since these interpretations relate mainly to the lower half of the mosaic we shall consider them later on[1].

It has always been agreed that there is an essential difference in content between the upper and the lower half of the mosaic so that it actually consists of two parts. In the upper part we see a waste land consisting of sand, rocks and water, populated by a large number of wild African animals, mostly with their names inscribed, which are hunted by negroes. In the lower part we see various scenes from Egypt, such as banquets, religious ceremonies, hunting parties and fishermen, scattered among temples and dwellings of various kinds, all set in a landscape which abounds in water. It is, therefore, generally assumed that the lower part represents Egypt and the upper part Nubia, in the way of a pictorial map of the Nile valley rendered in a bird's eye view and with the south at the top as was the custom in ancient maps[2].

The difference between the upper and lower part is unmistakable and we shall adhere to it in the following discussion.

Part 1. The upper part

The upper part of the Nile Mosaic is generally considered to represent Nubia or Aethiopia, the 'land of the black people'. Aethiopia was the ancient name for that part of the African continent which lay below the first cataract at Assuan. It covered most of the Sudan and the northern part of modern Ethiopia or Abyssinia[3]. This interpretation is based on the character of the landscape, which is different from that in the lower part, on the presence of Sudanese animals and negro hunters, and on the lack of buildings and other signs of civilisation. The landscape with granite rocks and sandstone table-top hills, alternating with sandy plains, is indeed reminiscent of lower Nubia (cf. fig. 89).

While discussing the various animals, we have seen that only some of these had appeared in ancient Egyptian hunting scenes, which apart from occasional lions mainly show gazelles and buffaloes. Typically Sudanese animals like monkeys, leopards and giraffes appear in scenes which show Nubians bringing tribute; most of the animals, and especially characteristic Sudanese animals, such as the elephant and the rhinoceros, appear only in a painted frieze in a tomb at Marissa in Israel, which represents a hunting scene[4]. In that frieze the name of the location, Aethiopia, is also indicated. It is, therefore, of interest to consider this frieze more closely (figs. 56–65)[5].

Marissa was under Ptolemaic control from 274 to 175 B.C. and the tomb decoration in question may certainly be dated before 196 B.C., and probably to the last quarter of the third century. The hunting scene appears on a frieze which runs along the two sides of a rectangular room above a row of *loculi*. We will begin with the right hand side of the right wall as seen from the entrance.

The frieze starts with a man blowing a long trumpet (fig. 57). He is dressed in a short sleeved chiton and *embades* and wears a wreath. Above him there was an inscription which possibly read CΑΛΠΙΓΚΤΗC, 'trumpeter'. On his left there is a hunter sitting on a prancing horse. He is dressed in a short chiton, white cloak and darkred tight-fitting breeches. The horse has a rich saddle-cloth. Above the horseman there is an inscription which perhaps read ΙΠΠΟC ΛΙΒΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΥ, 'the horse of Libanus the cavalry-commander'. Below the horse there is a hound with pointed ears and a collar[6]. The hunter points a long lance at a leopardess, which is in the act of springing at the hunter but has been hit in the chest by an arrow, and is being attacked by other hounds. Above her is the inscription ΠΑΡΔΑΛΟC. Behind the leopardess is a palm tree[7]. Behind the tree we see an animal which, as the mane and the plain yellow skin show, must be a lion in spite of the inscription above it which reads ΠΑΝΘΗΡΟC (fig. 58). The next part of the frieze was damaged by the enlargement of a niche and only a small part of the decoration remains. This includes a small piece of the hindquarters and long sweeping tail of a feline creature, again painted yellow, which suggests that this animal too was a lion[8]. It is followed by a large buffalo, which is lowering its head to a snake with a spotted skin (fig. 59). The snake is coiled up in front of the bull and seems to have bitten him since blood is flowing from the buffalo's head. Above the bufalo there are the letters ΛΥΚΟ, possibly deriving from *tauros* [9]. Behind the snake stands a giraffe with the inscription ΚΑΜΕΛΟΠΑΡΔΑΛΟC[10]. In front of the giraffe stands a large boar[11]. Behind the boar is depicted a griffin with the inscription ΓΡΥΨ (fig. 60)[12]. To the left of the griffin there is a scimitar-horned oryx with the inscription ΟΡΥΞ[13]. Then follows another palm tree. Behind the tree there is a bulky rhinoceros, presumably a white one (fig. 61). It has two horns, a large one at the front and a very small one behind. Above it comes the inscription ΡΙΝΟΚΕΡωC[14]. Next to the rhinoceros we see an elephant. It has a large saddle-cloth on its back so must be tame. Above it we see the inscription ΕΛΕΦΑC[15]. To the left there is a negro facing the elephant and carrying a large axe over his shoulder. He stretches his right arm out towards the elephant, as though he were the elephant's keeper[16]. There are also traces of a figure represented in frontal view with flowing robes, possibly a female. Above it is the inscription ΑΙΘΙΟΠΙΑ, so this figure was probably a personification of the country[17].

The frieze on the left wall starts on the left with a different type of tree, followed by a huge lion whose face looks vaguely human (fig. 62)[18]. It has a long mane and pointed ears and above it are the letters Η . . . . . . C [19]. The next animal is a caracal, as is clearly indicated by the exaggerated ear-plumes and the inscription ΛΥΝΞ[20]. Behind the caracal is a porcupine accompanied by the inscription ΥCΤΡΙΞ (fig. 63)[21]. It faces another animal which looks vaquely like a rhinoceros because of the large horn on its nose, but has a rather lightly built body. Only ΕΛΟCΑ remains of the inscription above it. Perhaps it represents a black rhinoceros[22]. Behind it appears another animal which is turning to look backwards (fig. 64). Only the letters ΙΥΟΛΙΕ remained of the inscription. Its dog-like appearance, striped skin, and exaggerated tuft of hair between the ears make this creature reminiscent of an hyena[23]. The next animal, with the inscription ΟΝΑΓΡΙΟC above it, is a wild ass. It is sitting on its hindlegs and striking a spotted snake with its forelegs, while at the same time tearing it apart with its mouth. Red blood flows from the snake. A hippopotamus faces the wild ass[24]. Behind the hippopotamus there is a crocodile, also facing left, with the inscription ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΟC (fig. 65). On its back stands an ibis with the inscription IBIC[25]. The frieze ends with two large fishes which, because of their long tubular snouts, look rather unrealistic but which possibly represent elephant-snout fish[26].

Essentially the Marissa frieze represents the same subject as the upper part of the Nile Mosaic, i.e. a hunting scene with a large variety of African animals. The hunting party is more comprehensive, as it includes Greek hunters on horseback and on foot as well as a negro attendant. Moreover, the location is indicated by the inscription *Aithiopia*[27].

Most of the animals depicted also appear in the upper part of the Nile Mosaic, such as the lion, the giraffe, the boar, the rhinoceros, the hyena, and originally, the elephant. Where they occur in both works several of them have the same inscriptions, but in some cases the inscriptions are different and in some others an inscription appears in only one of the two works. In some cases the Nile Mosaic and the Marissa frieze show not identical but related animals. Some animals appear only in one of the two works.

The principal Aethiopian animals which are missing in the Marissa frieze but which do appear in the Nile Mosaic are the monkeys, birds, lizards and amphibious animals, like otters and turtles. All of these are mentioned by ancient authors as belonging to the Aethiopian fauna. Perhaps the reason that they do not appear in the Marissa frieze is because they were not hunted[28]. The Nile Mosaic also represents some animals which were not indigenous to Aethiopia but which were imported to Egypt from Asia, like the bear, the dromedary, and the onager[29]. One might assume that the typical Nilotic animals, the hippopotamus, the crocodile and the ibis, which appear both in the Marissa frieze and in the lower part of the Nile Mosaic but not in the upper part, represent Nile fauna. However, Strabo pointedly describes them after the other Aethiopian animals as living in Somaliland[30]. Similarities in the inscriptions may also be noted[31]. So, the Marissa frieze and the upper part of the Nile Mosaic represent essentially the same group of African animals and, moreover, they complement each other.

The inscription *Aithiopia* in the Marissa frieze indicates the place where these animals lived. This is confirmed by the fact that many animals of the Nile Mosaic and the Marissa frieze are mentioned in ancient descriptions of Aethiopia, notably the one by Agatharchides of Cnidos, and those by his followers Diodorus and Strabo[32]. The Aethiopian animals that these authors mention are: the lion, the ant-lion, the leopard, the rhinoceros, the giraffe, the *sphinx* (the guenon), the *kynokephalos* (the Hamadryas baboon), and the *kepos* (the baboon), the hyena, the carnivorous buffalo and buffaloes in general, the horned boar, the giant snake, and the elephant. Strabo adds the hippopotamus, the crocodile and the ibis[33]. Nearly all of these animals may be found in the Nile Mosaic, several with inscriptions. The identity of some of the animals is not clear. The carnivorous buffalo may be an exaggerated description of the African buffalo. The horned boar must be the wart-hog[34]. The enigmatic *myrmecoleon*, the ant-lion, is usually believed to be a fantasy animal, but it may perhaps be identified with the rock hyrax or dassie[35]. Other information on Aethiopian animals may be found in the description of the grand Procession of Ptolemy II by Kallixeinos of Rhodes, as preserved in Athenaeus, and finally in some passages of Pliny and Aelian[36].

In the Nile Mosaic we also find some animals which did not live in Aethiopia, i.e. a Syrian bear and an onager, an Arabian dromedary and a peacock. These were, however, also present in the Procession of Ptolemy II, together with animals from Asia, India and Aethiopia. Ptolemy II was a great collector of animals, either for domestication or to serve as exotic showpieces, and founded the zoological garden of Alexandria, in which these animals would have been kept. The designer of the mosaic may have found his models not only in descriptions and in representations, but also alive in the zoo. For this reason he may have become confused about the native country of some of the exotic animals he depicted [37].

If we combine the information given by the different sources mentioned above, we can draw up a fairly extensive list of Aethiopian animals which became known in the time of Ptolemy II and his successors. Of these sources the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina appears to be the most comprehensive[38]. Nearly all the animals represented there are mentioned as Aethiopian animals in one of the sources. In some cases the Marissa frieze offers more accurate or complementary information[39]. The literary sources in general mention only some of these animals, a nucleus of the most characteristic ones, but they also describe where these animals lived. Together these sources allow us to reconstruct the following list of Aethiopian animals[40].

Mammals:	*quadrumana*	–guenons: red monkey (*sphinx*) and green monkey (*satyrus*) –baboons: common baboon (*cephus*), Anubis baboon, Hamadryas baboon (*cynocephalus*).
	carnivora	–lion, leopard, cheetah, caracal, wild cat or serval, striped and spotted hyena, hounds, mongoose, otter.
	rodentia	–porcupine, dassie (*myrmecoleon*), shrew.
	solidungula	–Somali wild ass.
	ruminantia	–giraffe, scimitar-horned oryx, buffalo (*sarcophagus taurus*), gnu (*onocentaur*) hippopotamus, wart-hog, river-hog (*choiropithecus*).
	multungula	–elephant, white and black rhinoceros,
Birds:		–ibis, heron, crane, exotic birds,
Reptiles:		–turtle, crocodile, lizard, Nile monitor, desert monitor, rock python, cobra, viper
Fish:		–elephant-snout fish.

Agatharchides and his followers inform us that these animals lived in Aethiopia, and especially in the country of the Trogodytes and other wild tribes. The land of the Trogodytes was the eastern part of Nubia, lying along the Red Sea coast and stretching southwards down to and beyond the straits of Aden[41]. The Nubian desert, lying below the first cataract, was a barren rock-desert country which was largely uninhabited. Only the Nile wound its way through it, interrupted by the cataracts, and formed a connection between Egypt and the Nubian hinterland. The rocky landscape represented in the upper part of the Nile Mosaic is strongly reminiscent of the table-mountain landscape and granite rocks of the area of the first cataract (cf. fig. 89)[42]. However, the animals depicted in the mosaic did not live in that rocky desert. They lived much further to the south in the savanna country which begins roughly on the level of the island of Meroe where the rain-belt begins, in the southern part of the Sudan[43].

The Greeks first came into contact with that area under Ptolemy II when, presumably from c. 270 B.C. onwards, expeditions were sent south in order to collect war-elephants. Perhaps because of the independent status of the kingdom of Meroe, or more probably because of the general difficulty of transport (and especially of transporting elephants) along the Nile and its cataracts, the Greeks undertook their hunting expeditions via the Red Sea[44]. They sailed along the mountainous Red Sea coast and went ashore again near Suakim, where the mountain ridge was interrupted and it was possible to reach the savanna country and its animals. There they founded Πτολεμαῒς ἐπὶ θήρας, or Πτολεμαῒς πρὸς τῆι θήραι τῶν ἐλεφάντων — Ptolemais of the Elephant Hunts — and in course of time a series of further coastal stations, stretching southwards along the Eritrean coast and eventually beyond the straits of Aden along the Somali coast[45].

During these elephant hunting expeditions they also came across other exotic animals, which also were brought to Alexandria to be kept in the zoo[46]. The successors of Ptolemy II continued the elephant hunting expeditions till the death of Ptolemy IV in 203 B.C., after which there is no more evidence of elephant hunting[47]. However, the posts which had been founded on the Red Sea coast remained open for trade with the Aromatic Coast of Somaliland, and with India[48]. These posts may also have served for the supply of exotic animals, but we do not know if the interest in these animals was as ardent as in the time of the first Ptolemies. In the second half of the second century, nevertheless, there was still a collection of animals in the royal palace at Alexandria. But the Aethiopian animals which were shown in the games in Rome in the first century B.C. cannot all have come from the Alexandrian zoo; some must have been brought from Aethiopia[49].

To conclude, the Marissa frieze represents a hunting expedition of the Ptolemies in Eritrea. In the Nile Mosaic the situation is more complex. The rocky landscape in the upper part resembles that of lower Nubia, but the animals depicted lived further to the south in the savanna country of upper Nubia, the Sudan. It seems as if the artist who created this scenery saw those animals either alive in the Alexandrian zoo or in pictures, and knew that they lived somewhere in the south. He therefore depicted them in a landscape that was familiar to him. Not only are the animals in the wrong landscape, they are also often placed in unnatural positions, for instance on top of a rock. It is interesting in this respect to compare the representations in the Nile Mosaic to the Punt relief at Deir el-Bahari, where the rhinoceros and the giraffe are represented in a correct setting of a flat savanna landscape with palm trees and other trees populated with monkeys (see fig. 32)[50].

Whether unintentional or deliberate, the result of the unrealistic combination of landscape features and animals in the Nile Mosaic is a synoptic and symbolic representation of Aethiopia: the landscape of lower Nubia combined with the fauna of upper Nubia[51]. Aethiopia, divided from Egypt by the rock desert of lower Nubia, was a fantastic country which was populated by dark people and exotic animals, and which produced luxury goods like ivory, semi-precious stones, gold and spices. This was the mysterious land of Isis[52]. From this land came forth the Nile, the source of life for Egypt[53].

2. *The lower part*

Whereas the upper part of the Nile Mosaic has always been interpreted as Aethiopia, the lower part, besides being generally interpreted as Egypt or the Delta, has given rise to many and widely varying interpretations[54]. It is obvious from the characteristic buildings, people and animals that they are situated in Egypt. Some scholars have seen no reason to go further than this, assuming that it represented, in a general way, scenes characteristic of the inundation period in Egypt, depicted for their geographical interest and exotic character, somewhat in the manner of Chinoiserie in European art[55]. Others have stressed the religious character of the mosaic, pointing to rituals which belong to the time of the inundation, or explaining it as an allegory of the power of Isis[56]. Still others have offered a historical interpretation, focusing on the meeting in front of the pavilion, which has been interpreted as the arrival of Alexander the Great, Caesar, Augustus, Hadrian, or others in Egypt[57]. To such historical interpretations are added topographical identifications. On the assumption, for example, that the arrival took place in Alexandria, the pavilion has been recognised as representing Alexandria, if not the Serapeum itself. The Nilometer on the other side of the mosaic has frequently been identified with one of the Nilometers near the first cataract, in Assuan, Elephantine or Philae, because of its position close to the rocky landscape of Aethiopia in the background. Identification of the Nilometer and the pavilion has led to attempts being made to give topographical identifications also to the scenes lying between them. It is assumed that the lower part of the Nile Mosaic is a kind of map which illustrates in a bird's eye view the course of the Nile from the first cataract to the Delta (cf. for a similar view fig. 66). However, the results of these attempts hardly ever concur. The Egyptian temple, for example, has been located variously at Philae, Edfu, Thebes, Memphis and Canopus[58].

Before we reconsider the problem of the interpretation we must remember that the lower part of the mosaic as displayed at Palestrina offers roughly the same picture as the original mosaic, save that the pavilion and procession scenes were probably placed more centrally, while the pergola scene and the farmer's hut were situated at the far right (cf. fig. 8)[59].

The lower part represents a number of scenes of varying size which seem to float like islands in a large expanse of water. They represent people engaged in ceremonies and festivities, boating, hunting and fishing. This is exactly how ancient authors describe the appearance of Egypt at the time of the inundation. We may assume therefore that what we have is a representation of Egypt, or part of it, at the time of the inundation (cf. fig. 67)[60]. As we have seen in the course of the description, most of the scenes are of a generic character, although they are very precise, and do not allow topographical identifications. Only the Nilometer, the Egyptian temple, the procession and the meeting in front of the pavilion are sufficiently specific to merit closer examination.

The Nilometer and temple (section 8, fig. 15)

The well in the upper left-hand corner of the lower half of the mosaic has often been identified with the Nilometer of Elephantine and sometimes with that of Syene, modern Assuan. The fact, however, that every major Egyptian temple had at least one and often more Nilometers makes it difficult to offer a specific identification; it may just be meant to denote an asset of an Egyptian temple in general[61].

It has been suggested that the temple which stands beside it can be identified either as some temple at Elephantine or Assuan, or as the temple of Isis at Philae. It is not, however, a temple in the grand Egyptian style like those mentioned, but is small and of a general Hellenistic type frequently found in Roman Nilotic scenes (cf. figs. 34, 35, 50, 54). Such temples may have been situated anywhere along the Nile; there is certainly no reason to believe that ours was a temple of special importance[62]. The obelisks and the lotus acroterium are symbols of regeneration and fertility. In Nilotic surroundings they may refer to the regenerative power of the Nile flood, and therefore indicate that the temple was related to the flood and to the gods associated with it such as Isis and Osiris (cf. fig.72)[63]. There is nothing which points to a specific sanctuary. On the other hand the Nilometer and temple are situated on rocks rising from the water at the junction between the upper and lower parts of the mosaic. This may well mean that they were indeed supposed to lie near the first cataract, where the first and consequently most important Nilometers were situated, notably those of Philae, Elephantine and Assuan[64]. Several of these were associated with a temple of Isis. These temples were all in the Egyptian style, but smaller ones of the Hellenistic type may also have existed there, as they certainly did elsewhere[65].

There were three types of Nilometers, i.e. corridors with stairs, round wells and rectangular basins. The Nilometers at Philae were of the corridor type. At Elephantine there was a Nilometer of the corridor type associated with the temple of Satet and a large rectangular basin associated with the temple of Khnum. The Nilometer at Assuan, which has not been preserved, was renowned in antiquity because at the time of the summer solstice the sun stood directly above Assuan and cast no shadow in the Nilometer. This suggests that it took the form of a well[66]. In Roman representations Nilometers are always of the round type. A round Nilometer may therefore simply have been the standard representation[67]. Nevertheless, if we assume that the Nilometer was supposed to be near the first cataract and attach some significance to its round shape, there would be a case for identifying it as the famous Nilometer of Assuan. Support for this identification may perhaps be provided by the scene with the fisherman saluting the women. Plutarch and Aelian tell us that at Assuan the *phagrus*, the grey mullet, was held sacred because its appearance in the river there announced the Nile flood. The announcing of the arrival of fish was an ancient Egyptian tradition and is depicted in the relief reproduced in our fig. 68. It is tempting to recognise in the scene in the Nile Mosaic the same or a similar event, i.e. a fisherman announcing the arrival of the fish[68].

To conclude, we can state that the Nilometer and the temple are represented in purely generic terms. Nevertheless, they seem to lie near the first cataract: the temple may have been suggestive of an Isis sanctuary, and the Nilometer may well have been meant to represent the Nilometer of Assuan. So, if one were to put a name to this scene, that of Assuan would seem the most plausible.

Attempts have also been made to identify the temple and precinct in sections 9 and 10. The temple and the farm are too general in character to allow any identification. Such shrines and farms frequently appear in Roman Nilotic scenes and must have been common along the Nile (see figs. 35, 38). The only remarkable aspects of the temple are the lotus acroteria and the fact that it is hung with garlands, which may refer to the celebration of the flood[69].

The Egyptian temple (section 11, fig. 18)

The only temple which is of the Egyptian type has naturally given rise to various identifications[70]. We have already seen that the architecture does not really resemble any of the great Egyptian temples which have been preserved[71]. It is nevertheless worth trying to investigate its significance since it has two features which may convey some information, notably the four Osiris statues flanking the entrance, and the eagle above it. In general Osiris statues in a temple represented the Pharaoh assimilated with Osiris. These statues could be found in any temple in the cult of which the Pharaoh played a part (cf. fig. 39). Because of their prominent role in the great Pharaonic funerary temples it is possible that the temple in the Nile Mosaic was one of these[72]. However, an alternative possibility is that the presence of the Osiris statues was meant to indicate that this was a temple of Osiris himself[73].

As regards the eagle, it has been assumed that it is a representation, in the naturalistic Greek style, of the falcon of Horus.

The divine image, or a live falcon, could be presented to the people above the entrance of a temple. For this reason the temple has been identified with the famous temple of Horus at Edfu, or with the equally famous temple of Isis at Philae where a falcon cult also existed[74]. We have already seen, however, that the stylised Egyptian falcon and the naturalistic Greek eagle both appear on coins and so must be distinguished from each other (cf. fig. 42)[75]. The eagle must, therefore, represent a real eagle, the naturalistic image of which was introduced in Egypt by the Ptolemies (see fig. 40)[76]. For that reason it is possible that the eagle represents the eagle of Zeus and, since Zeus was equated with Amon, the temple could perhaps represent the famous temple of Amon at Thebes (cf. fig. 39)[77].

However, although the images of the gods could be displayed above the gates to their temples, there are only a few instances where this is represented, and even fewer where an eagle is shown. These appear on some Alexandrian bone tesserae from the first century A.D., and on some Alexandrian coins from the second century A.D. (see figs. 41, 42). In all the cases where the eagle appears, an image of Osiris Canopus, i.e. Osiris in the form of a so-called Canopic jar, is represented in the entrance of the temple. This can only mean that the temple is for Osiris and that the eagle has the function of the god's attribute. Furthermore the bone tesserae are inscribed on the reverse with the inscription *Kanopos,* so the temple in fact seems to represent the famous Osiris temple of Canopus near Alexandria[78].

In the case of the temple in the Nile Mosaic the entrance is empty but there are statues of Osiris standing beside it. We see, therefore, essentially the same combination as on the Alexandrian bone tesserae and coins: a temple pylon with an eagle and images of Osiris. Consequently we must seriously consider the possibility that the temple in the Nile Mosaic is also a temple for Osiris. The main difference between the representations on the bone tesserae and coins and the one in the Nile Mosaic is that in the last case the Osiris statues show the human appearance of the god and not the typical Canopic image. It must, however, be remembered that the earliest extant dated representations of Osiris Canopus date from the middle of the first century A.D., and as far as we know this type only came into being around the beginning of our era[79]. We can, therefore, hardly expect to find Canopic images in the Nile Mosaic. Moreover, although Osiris statues can be associated with many temples, they would seem especially appropriate for, and so suggestive of, a temple of Osiris. For these reasons it seems reasonable to assume that the Osiris statues in the Nile Mosaic suggested to the Roman beholder that the temple was dedicated to Osiris just as the image of Osiris Canopus did on the bone tesserae and coins[80].

The other feature of the temple, the eagle, was in the Ptolemaic world pre-eminently the device of the Ptolemies. Therefore it may perhaps indicate that the temple had a special connection with the Ptolemies. This might suggest that the temple was a funerary temple built for one of the Ptolemies, but the practice of such large funerary temples had long since stopped. On the other hand the Ptolemies built several famous Egyptian temples, like those of Edfu and Philae and the Osiris temple at Canopus. The latter was especially honoured by them[81]. The eagle was associated with Zeus because it was the bird of heaven. For the same reason it had become a symbol of apotheosis and eternity and as such is found in tomb decorations from the Hellenistic and Roman periods (see e.g. fig. 56)[82]. In the Roman period the eagle is found associated with Sarapis, who was Osiris' counterpart, and even with Osiris Canopus (see fig. 69)[83]. So not only as a Ptolemaic device but also as a symbol of eternity and regeneration an eagle would be a suitable feature for a temple of Osiris, the king of the realm of the dead and the god of the Nile flood. The lotus flowers of the Osiris statues were suitable for the god for the same reason. In all the other cases where an eagle appears on a temple pylon the temple concerned is that of Osiris at Canopus. So it seems justifiable to assume that the eagle was a hallmark for that temple. It may have represented the regenerative power of Osiris, the bestower of the Nile flood. For these reasons it is logical to conclude that the temple in the Nile Mosaic also represents a temple of Osiris and possibly that of Canopus[84]. The emphasis on Osiris and the inundation, which we shall find further illustrated in the Nile Mosaic, will support this identification.

The procession (section 16, figs. 24–26)

The next scene which we must examine is the procession, which, naturally, has led to extensive discussions. The typical Egyptian priests with their long skirts and shaven heads are a regular feature in Egyptian processions, (see fig.55). Some of them carry standards with animal symbols of Egyptian gods, who in this way take part in the procession (cf. fig. 55). Although the animals cannot be clearly distinguished, they may be the ibis of Thot, the standing wolf of Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, and a falcon, which could represent Isis or Horus[85]. The interpretation of the procession depends, however, on the identification of the object carried by the priests who come through the propylon. This consists of a dark, rectangular object carried on two poles and supporting a yellowish object, which seems to consist of a conical base and an ovoid body surmounted by a smaller object ending in a long spire. One wonders, at first sight, whether it represents a boat with a shrine and the image of a divinity, which was the most usual focus of a religious procession in Egypt. But the litter in the Nile Mosaic does not look like a boat nor the object on it like a shrine or divine image (cf. figs. 70 and 84)[86].

The tall yellowish object has often been called a candelabrum. Candelabra, or rather *thymiateria*, are found in religious scenes, but there is no evidence that they are ever shown being carried on a litter in a procession[87]. Bonneau suggested that the candelabrum-like object was actually a tall *hydreion*, a ritual pitcher which contained the water of the newly flooded Nile, and is depicted in a famous painting from Herculaneum (see fig. 71). The *hydreion*, however, was usually round. One could argue that it was placed on a high base, examples of which do exist; but all representations show it being carried without a base in the hands of a single figure, as in the Herculaneum painting (cf. fig 71)[88]. In representations of a litter the object on the litter is usually larger (cf. e.g. fig. 73).

Castiglione has suggested that the 'candelabrum' was actually a figure of Osiris Canopus supported by a conical base (cf. fig. 72). This interpretation would fit neatly with our interpretation of the Egyptian temple as an Osiris temple. However, Canopic jars were also usually carried by a single priest (see fig. 55). When they were carried on a litter there were two of them placed in a shrine. Furthermore, the earliest examples of the Canopic image of Osiris dates, as far as we know, from the middle of the first century A.D., so considerably later than the Nile Mosaic[89].

There is another interesting example of a ritual vase being carried in a procession. The sacred vase of Amon was used to bring the fresh Nile water in procession to the temple of Amon. A painting from Thebes shows this procession, with the temple depicted on the right hand side (see fig. 73)[90]. The combination of an Egyptian temple and a procession with an ornate vase carried on a litter offers a striking parallel to the procession and temple in the Nile Mosaic. However, the vase of Amon is conspicuous because of its large size. Yet another example of a ritual vase is attested by the Papyrus Jumilhac, which describes rites concerned with Osiris. Here a vase containing the efflux of Osiris' body is mentioned and depicted several times (see fig. 74)[91]. It has an oval body, a conical foot and a trumpet-shaped mouth. However, it seems to have been kept in a chest and there is no indication that it was carried openly on a litter.

But, as we have observed above, the real problem is that the 'candelabrum' is completely restored and that the Dal Pozzo copy shows nothing on the litter (see figs. 25, 26). We must, therefore, seriously consider the possibility that in reality there was nothing on the litter, or rather that the dark rectangular object did not form part of the litter but was the actual object being carried in the procession. In fact the rectangular object rests on the two poles[92]. Egyptian parallels for a procession with a rectangular object carried on two poles may be found in representations of burial processions, where the object in question is a sarcophagus. The number of bearers varies but there are nearly always more than four and usually as many as nine. In nearly all cases, however, the sarcophagus, which is of considerable size, is not carried on the bearers' shoulders but between them. The bearers are always ordinary Egyptians and not priests as they are in the Nile Mosaic[93].

Some other interesting examples of a chest being carried in a procession may be found in the Graeco-Roman period. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 39, describes a procession in which a chest plays an important part; 'On the night of the nineteenth day (of the month Athyr) they go down to the sea and the stolists and priests take out the sacred box, which has a golden casket inside it. Into this they pour some drinking water which they have brought with them, and the people present shout: "Osiris has been found!"'

The meaning of this rite was that the finding of fresh water indicated that the Nile flood, which was considered to be the efflux of Osiris' body, had begun[94]. No precise representations of this ritual have come down to us, but the Herculaneum painting mentioned before undoubtedly depicts a part of the same ritual (see fig. 71). The box containing the vase with the efflux of Osiris represented in the Papyrus Jumilhac is strongly reminiscent of the box carried in this rite (fig. 74), and the procession with the chest in the Nile Mosaic would fit Plutarch's description very well[95]. But chests also play an important part elsewhere in the passion and ritual of Osiris, which we must now briefly summarise.

Osiris, a mythical Pharaoh, was killed by his brother Seth. Isis, his wife, searches in mourning for his remains. This stage of the myth represents the period in which the Nile has become dry, Egypt is suffering from the summer heat and drought, and the vegetation is dead. Isis finds Osiris' remains floating in the water. This symbolises the arrival of the new Nile water in June. Isis has Osiris's limbs attended to, embalmed and mummified (see fig. 81). In the course of this procedure she unites herself with him and from their union Horus, the new Pharaoh, will be born. In the Graeco-Roman period the union of Isis and Osiris symbolises the fertilisation of the land of Egypt by the water of the Nile during August and September, as is explained in a famous passage by Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride*, 38:

> ὡς δὲ Νεῖλον Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροήν, οὕτως Ἴσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν οὐ πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἧς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων καὶ μιγνύμενος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνουσίας ταύτης γεννῶσι τὸν Ὧρον.
>
> Just as they view the Nile as the efflux of Osiris, thus they hold the earth to be the body of Isis, not the whole earth, but as much as the Nile goes over, fructifying it and uniting with it; and from this union they assume Horus to be procreated.

The mummification of Osiris effects his resurrection and his mummy is placed in a funerary chapel where he becomes king of the realm of the dead. This symbolises the revival of the vegetation in November and December, as a result of the inundation[96]. The finding of the dead Osiris by Isis is depicted in a wall-painting from the Iseum at Pompeii (fig. 75). Isis stands in a boat towing another boat which carries a chest containing Osiris' remains.

A shrine with the sarcophagus of Osiris is depicted in another painting from the Iseum at Pompeii; a falcon sits on top of the sarcophagus (fig. 76)[97]. Egyptian representations of the passion and ritual of Osiris are in the traditional Egyptian symbolic style. Only in the later Ptolemaic period they sometimes develop a more narrative character[98]. Some reliefs in the temple of Isis-Hathor at Dendera depict processions with the sarcophagus of Osiris. In two reliefs the sarcophagus of Osiris is carried on poles which rest on the shoulders of the bearers (fig. 77)[99]. In another relief the sarcophagus is placed on a traditional Egyptian boat-shaped procession litter (fig. 84)[100].

We have already noted the unusual shape of the litter in the Nile Mosaic, which looks more like a rectangular object carried on two poles. From the comparisons which we have made with representations of sarcophagi being carried in Egyptian processions, it seems a reasonable assumption that the object carried in the Nile Mosaic is also a sarcophagus. So it could be that the procession is a funeral processsion. Considering the proximity of the temple of Osiris and the fact that the funeral ritual of Osiris was closely connected with the inundation, it seems probable that this was no ordinary funeral but the funeral procession of Osiris himself. The fact that the sarcophagus is carried by priests instead of ordinary Egyptians supports this interpretation. The small size of the sarcophagus, the small number of bearers and the fact that they carry it on their shoulders suggest the same, because these factors indicate that the sarcophagus was not a real one but a smaller, ritual sarcophagus (fig. 77)[101].

Sarcophagi could be surmounted by the figures of a jackal, for Anubis, or a falcon, representing Isis, Horus or Sokaris. Such a figure may have been the origin of the restored candelabrum (cf. figs. 76, 84)[102]. The standards with sacred animals, carried by the priests, represent the gods who take part in Osiris' procession: the ibis of Thot, the standing wolf of Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, and a falcon[103].

It is noteworthy that the women are looking and gesticulating to the right and not in the direction of the procession. This suggests that some other event, possibly connected with the procession, originally took place there. Unfortunately this scene has not been preserved[104].

There are good grounds for arguing that the procession in the Nile Mosaic represents a procession with the sarcophagus of Osiris. The festive funeral of Osiris concluded the embalmment ritual performed by Isis which had brought about his resurrection.

The revival of Osiris was the symbolic representation of the rebirth of vegetation due to the inundation[105]. A representation of the funeral procession of Osiris is, therefore, just as natural in connection with the Nile flood as the ceremonies involving a vessel containing the new Nile water which we have considered above. Moreover, it provides us with satisfying iconographical parallels[106].

The grove complex (sections 13, 20, 16, figs. 22, 24)

The procession is coming through a propylon and goes along a quay. The propylon is connected to a wall with an open door. This wall encloses a grove and seems to connect the propylon with the pavilion in the foreground and the tower house on the left-hand side[107]. Both the propylon and the pavilion bear the crown of Hathor which indicates that they, and consequently the whole precinct, are sacred to or under the protection of Isis-Hathor (cf. fig. 49)[108]. There is a statue of Anubis beside the propylon. Statues of Anubis appear especially beside tomb gates (see fig. 78). Anubis, the embalmer god and assistant of the deceased, was the protector of tombs, and as such he is often stationed as a guardian at the entrances of tombs in ancient Egypt. In the Graeco-Roman period he could take the form of a sitting dog, just like the statue in the Nile Mosaic. Here the statue also stands beside an entrance, notably the propylon. This can hardly mean anything other than that the propylon leads to a place which is under the protection of Anubis and which must therefore be a tomb[109].

Groves and orchards could be found anywhere in the fertile Nile valley, and they were frequently associated with tombs. In fact tombs were often situated in groves or funerary gardens. In general such a funerary complex consisted of a walled garden with a gate, a shrine and the tomb itself, a dwelling for the guardian, and where necessary a landing quay[110]. Both the statue of Anubis and the Hathor crown suggest that the walled grove in the Nile Mosaic represents a funerary grove.

We have argued that the procession which comes through the propylon bears the sarcophagus of Osiris and that his temple is situated above. We must therefore seriously consider the possibility that the funerary grove in the Nile Mosaic contained the tomb of Osiris. The grave of Osiris, which the Greeks called Abaton, the place which must not be entered, lay in a sacred grove. There Osiris rested, protected by Isis, who at Philae is usually called the Mistress of the Abaton. He was refreshed by the fruits of the holy sycamore of his mother Nut, and was shaded by other trees which stood around his tomb and symbolised his regenerative power. The Nile flood was supposed to start from his tomb since the flood was believed to be the efflux of his body (cf. fig. 81, central scene)[111]. Only a few representations of the grave of Osiris have been preserved. In a rare instance the grove is depicted as a group of trees standing on a burial mound (fig. 79). In some other cases the tomb is represented as a sarcophagus standing at the foot of a tree, the sacred Ished tree (see figs. 80 and 84)[112].

There were many great sanctuaries for Osiris in Egypt, often but not necessarily in association with Isis, and there were numerous smaller temples and shrines. Traditionally the most famous of Osiris' temples was the one at Abydos. In the Hellenistic period, however, a similar position of importance was achieved by the temple of Isis at Philae, together with the Abaton of Osiris on the nearby island of Bigeh. This was because the Nile flood there seemed to burst from the rocks of the first cataract. It thus demonstrated a connection with Osiris, because the water appeared to come directly from his tomb (cf. figs. 81–83, 89)[113].

Representations of the Abaton on the island of Bigeh are to be found in the reliefs of Hadrian's Gate at Philae, which illustrate the rites of the Abaton described in the Abaton decree inscribed on its walls (figs. 82–83)[114]. One relief shows the rocks of Bigeh and beneath it the Nile God Hapy sitting in a cave, which represents the source of the Nile flood (fig. 82)[115]. At the foot of the mountain there is a stylised group of trees, plants, or ears of corn, rising from the hieroglyphic figure of a pond, which represents the Abaton. The Ba of Osiris sits above it. Hathor stands to the left, pouring a libation over it, while Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Amon, and Thot stand on the right. The other relief shows the funerary temple of the Abaton at Bigeh, preceded by a number of pylons, at the foot of the same rocky mountain (fig. 83)[116]. Isis stands in the entrance and inside it we see Osiris and Harpocrates. Beneath these figures is the mummy of Osiris carried by Horus in the shape of a crocodile, surrounded by reeds. Apparently the latter scene is set in a crypt, which again represents the source of the Nile flood.

The death and revival of Osiris which symbolised the rebirth of the vegetation was celebrated every year with a great festival in the month Khoiak [117]. This festival culminated in a festive boat procession in which the revived mummy of Osiris was brought to the Abaton to rest in the tomb. This event may be illustrated by a relief at Dendera (see fig. 84)[118]. On the left-hand side we see the sarcophagus on a boat-shaped litter, and in the centre stands the Pharaoh, who has taken part in the procession and who brings homage to the mummy of Osiris-Sokaris, which lies in the sarcophagus on the right beneath the Ished tree.

Everything in the Nile Mosaic is suggestive of this festival: the inundation, the temple of Osiris, the procession with Osiris' sarcophagus to a grove protected by Isis and Anubis. There is good reason to assume, therefore, that this grove represents the Abaton which contained the tomb of Osiris.

There are some other Roman Nilotic scenes which may be compared to the walled grove in the Nile Mosaic. The Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges at Pompeii begins with a picture of a shrine for Isis-Tyche which is connected to a porticoed courtyard (fig. 86)[119]. Behind this is a grove with various trees including cypresses. Since the flood was supposed to emerge from Osiris' tomb it seems probable that this grove also represents the Abaton. The islands with walled groves in Nilotic landscapes in the Casa dei Cei and the Casa di Apolline at Pompeii are also of special interest (figs. 50, 51). Here we see the same propylaea and kiosks as in the Nile Mosaic. Altars and statues of animals, one of which is a sitting dog, stand beside them. A small temple has an awning hanging from the front, like the pavilion in the Nile Mosaic. Especially noteworthy are the kiosks, which are in fact canopy-like tomb-structures or funerary chapels (cf. fig. 85). The scenes in question must again represent sacred groves with shrines and tombs[120]. Considering their similarity with the grove in the Nile Mosaic and the fact that they are also situated in Nilotic landscapes, it seems justified to regard them as funerary islands in general or as funerary islands for Osiris in particular. For the ancient spectators the identity of a grove in a Nilotic scene as the graveyard of Osiris must have been obvious[121].

The shrine on the fragment of gold-glass, which we have considered before, may also be a funerary chapel for Osiris (see fig. 48)[122]. A plaster mould for a cup at Berlin depicts a procession led by Isis to a garlanded enclosure which probably again represents a shrine for Osiris (see fig. 87)[123]. Now that we have seen that the tomb of Osiris could be an essential feature of inundation scenes, more examples may be recognised in Nilotic landscapes[124]. For people of our own time the sacro-idyllic atmosphere which may have surrounded the Abaton and funerary islands in general is perhaps best evoked by David Roberts's view of the island of Philae, which shows the Nile surrounded by barren rocks and enclosing a peaceful green 'oasis' with a temple on it (see fig. 88, and compare fig. 50). This scene offers a perfect impression of the dwelling place of the god who embodies fertility and eternity and is the source of the Nile flood[125].

So we may safely conclude that the procession with Osiris' sarcophagus is heading for his tomb. The burial procession of Osiris was the culminating point of the annual festival of the month of Khoiak, the fourth and last month of the inundation period, in which the rebirth of the god and the vegetation was celebrated.

The ritual of the Khoiak festival may be summarised as follows, in so far as it seems relevant to the Nile Mosaic[126]. On the 12th day of Khoiak priests shaped a figure of Osiris from earth and barley seed. By watering this corn-mummy for ten days they made the barley seed germinate on the 21th of Khoiak and the Corn Osiris was considered to be revived (see fig. 81). Thus revived he symbolised the rebirth of the vegetation caused by the inundation[127]. On the 22nd day of Khoiak the mummy was carried in a festive boat procession from the temple, where the revival ritual had taken place, to the tomb of Osiris, the source of the Nile flood (see figs. 81, 82). There it was placed in the cult room of the tomb where other rites took place and where it stayed for the rest of the year. The previous year's mummy was placed in the crypt of the tomb on the 30th day, which concluded the festival[128]. Some reliefs in the Osiris chapels on the roof of the Hathor temple at Dendera may serve to illustrate the great burial procession. In the reliefs reproduced in fig. 77, the sarcophagi of Osiris and of Sokaris, who also takes part in the ritual, are carried by Isis, Nephthys and priests. In the relief reproduced in fig. 84, the litter with the sarcophagus of Osiris stands on the left-hand side while on the right-hand side a Pharaoh pays homage to the tomb of Osiris-Sokaris[129].

If we look again at the Nile Mosaic we cannot fail to recognise the same event, i.e. the arrival of the procession with the sarcophagus of Osiris at the tomb, the source of the Nile flood. The standards with the images of the gods indicate their presence. The figures at the rear of the procession indicate that originally it was longer and that part of a boat procession may have been represented in the part of the scene that is now missing on the right[130]. We have already seen that in the original mosaic an imaginary oblique line ran from the pavilion in the foreground along the quay, through the propylon, to the temple of Osiris in the background (see fig. 8). This will have created the impression that the procession was coming from the temple where, presumably, the Corn Osiris had been prepared[131]. The procession proceeds through a propylon or landing station and is heading for a door in the wall which surrounds the funerary grove. The actual tomb which must have been situated among the trees, probably consisted of a small temple or canopy-like shrine, similar to the ones we have seen in other representations (cf. figs. 83–85, and 50–51)[132]. Looking at David Roberts' view of Philae and Bigeh (fig. 89) one can easily imagine the course of the proceedings. The ritual of the germination of the Corn Osiris took place in the chapel on the roof of the Isis temple which is in the background. Osiris' sarcophagus was then carried in a boat procession, presumably departing from Hadrian's gate, to the Abaton on the island of Bigeh. The remains of a landing station and propylon on Bigeh are visible in the foreground. The only way in which the Nile Mosaic differs from this is in the temple which does not seem to be dedicated to Isis, but to Osiris himself. That situation existed in other cases, for example the famous Osiris sanctuaries of Abydos and Canopus[133].

The meeting in front of the pavilion (section 13, figs. 22, 23)

Whereas the Nilometer is usually thought to be situated near the first cataract, the pavilion scene is often located at the other end of Egypt, i.e. in the Nile Delta and specifically in Alexandria[134]. We have just seen that the grove with the structures around it may be identified as a funeral grove containing the tomb of Osiris. We have also seen that the structures including the large pavilion are so general in character that they do not allow any topographical identification and that there were many shrines for Osiris. To the right of the island is a harbour containing various kinds of ships. Further to the right there is another island with a farm. The farmers, who are in the middle of their rustic occupations, are watching events taking place to their left. All these scenes are entirely generic in character and there is nothing which suggests any famous Alexandrian building such as the Serapeum or the royal palace. If the designer of the mosaic had wished to represent Alexandria, or any other specific place, one wonders why he did not include some characteristic monuments, such as the Pharos lighthouse, which everyone would have recognised[135]. So we can do no more than assume that this part of the mosaic only represents a stretch of water between an island with a tomb of Osiris on the left, and an island with a farm on the right. This kind of scene may be seen in many Nilotic landscapes and could have been located anywhere in the Nile valley (cf. figs. 50, 51, 86).

In front of the pavilion we see a group of soldiers. The central event in this section is the meeting between the officer and the priestess. This scene has given rise to a great variety of interpretations. Since we have seen that the mosaic was made around 110 B.C. and that the soldiers wear Hellenistic and not Roman Imperial armour, all interpretations involving a visit by a Roman emperor may be discarded[136]. The priestess carries a palm-branch and holds out a *simpulum* to the officer, who raises a drinking horn in his right hand. Behind him is a group of soldiers, and on the left-hand side we see a large crater and a buffet table with more drinking horns. Apparently a banquet is about to begin[137].

Important evidence for the interpretation of this scene is given by a fragment of the mosaic which is lost but which is partly recorded in the Dal Pozzo copy no. 14 (fig. 23). This fragment depicted the end of the quay to the right of the pavilion and in front of it a large red parasol with a yellow fringe. This implies that the scene in its present form is not complete but originally included more figures, standing to the right of the priestess. These figures must have been of some importance because they were the only ones protected by a parasol. Moreover, in the original composition of the mosaic they were probably situated in the centre foreground (see fig. 8)[138]. The only indication we have regarding their possible identity is the parasol. We must, therefore, examine other situations in which parasols occur[139].

In Egypt the round conical parasol was not a common article. Instead, people used fans or rectangular pieces of cloth carried on a stick. There are only a few examples of a parasol and these are associated with a Pharaoh[140]. Parasols played an important part in the Near East, where they were attributes of the Assyrian and Persian kings, symbolising their royal power. In the same way they were used by vassal princes in Ionia[141]. In the Greek world parasols had been in general use since the classical period, and were usually carried by women. A parasol was one of the attributes of Aphrodite, and it could also be associated with Dionysus[142]. Alexander may have adopted it when he took over the Persian state regalia, though evidence is lacking. In later times the parasol was frequently used by women. When, however, Herod Agrippa I, king of Judea (37–44 A.D.), placed a representation of it on his coins, he undoubtedly intended it to be a symbol of royal power (see fig. 90)[143].

In Italy as in Greece many women possessed a parasol and this continued during the Roman period. It is in addition often found as an attribute of Aphrodite and sometimes of Dionysus[144]. In late antiquity it is again attested as a symbol of power and ultimately became an attribute of the Popes[145]. In nearly all representations it is held over a living person. In the cases where it belongs to Aphrodite or Dionysus we are dealing with mythological representations of the gods and not with cult statues[146].

The fact that the parasol in the Nile Mosaic was a grand affair and appeared immediately adjacent to the meeting scene, makes it unlikely that it belonged to some women who happened to be passing by. It seems more likely that it served as an attribute or as a symbol of power, and that a divine or royal figure appeared below it. Regrettably, however, there are no Egyptian parallels from the Graeco-Roman period to help resolve the issue. Of all the Hellenistic and Roman examples of parasols only one may be connected in some way with Egypt.

In a wall-painting from the Casa di Meleagro at Pompeii a lady is sitting on a throne-like seat, while a girl standing behind her holds a red parasol above her head (see fig. 91)[147]. There are two more females standing beside her. The one on the left-hand side has a dark brown skin and dark curly hair, and she holds an elephant's tusk in her hands. The one on the right wears an elephant-scalp head-dress. In the background on the left there is a building, while on the right we see the sea, with a ship sailing away. The two standing figures can be interpreted as Libya on the left and Alexandria or Africa on the right[148]. But who is the figure in the centre, who apparently is the mistress of the other two but has no attributes other than the parasol? It is often assumed that she represents Alexandria, but it has also been suggested that she could be Dido. The latter interpretation is based on the resemblance of this picture to certain other Pompeian paintings where a figure, undoubtedly representing Dido, is depicted among a number of female figures, including one wearing an elephant-scalp head-dress. These parallels certainly argue in favour of a similar identification for the figure in the Casa di Meleagro painting.[149]. Anyway, be she Alexandria or Dido, she is represented as an African queen and her appearance is that of a Hellenistic lady sitting on a Hellenistic throne beneath a parasol. The old-fashioned appearance of the lady suggests that the figure was inspired by a real African queen of the Hellenistic period, i.e. a Ptolemaic queen. Portraits of famous Ptolemaic queens were well-known in the Roman world and may have served as models for the painter[150]. The presence of the parasol held above the head of this queen may be explained in more ways than one. In the first place it may of course be no more than an allusion to the heat of the African sun against which she must be protected. It may also, however, be a symbol of her royal power. Moreover, we have seen that a parasol was especially associated with Aphrodite. The Ptolemaic queens were regularly assimilated with Aphrodite. So a parasol would, for more than one reason, have been an appropriate attribute for them[151]. The parasol in the Casa di Meleagro painting may have roused various associations in the minds of Roman spectators, but which ones remains uncertain. Anyway, the parasol is here used as the attribute of an African and presumably Ptolemaic queen[152]. We should, therefore, consider the possibility that the same association may have existed in the Nile Mosaic, and that the figure portrayed beneath the parasol may have been a Ptolemaic queen.

In Ptolemaic Egypt the queen was not only equated with Aphrodite but also with Tyche, who in turn had been assimilated with Aphrodite. For the Egyptian population she was consequently equated with Isis, who was the Egyptian counterpart of Tyche-Aphrodite [153]. Isis was the wife of Osiris. Osiris symbolised the

Nile flood and, from the Hellenistic period onwards, Isis symbolised Egypt. From their union Horus was born, the new Pharaoh, and the new vegetation. So the connection of Isis and Osiris with the inundation was fundamental. This is why Isis and Osiris, or his Ptolemaic counterpart Sarapis, appear in Roman representations of the inundation (cf. fig. 92)[154].

Because of the relationship between Isis and Osiris with the inundation, the Pharaohs, who were the representatives of the gods, traditionally played an important role in the ceremonies connected with the inundation. This role was taken over by the Ptolemies and their queens[155]. Their presence at these ceremonies is well attested. In a relief at Dendera they are taking part in the procession of the feast on the first day of the germination season which immediately follows the Khoiak festival (see fig. 93)[156]. The Ptolemaic king and queen became equated with Osiris and Isis by their Egyptian subjects and with Dionysus and Aphrodite by their Greek subjects. Dionysus was equated by the Greeks in Egypt with Osiris-Sarapis, both being gods of the rebirth of nature[157]. The assimilation of the Ptolemaic sovereigns with Aphrodite and Dionysus was to be impressed on the Romans a little later by Cleopatra, whose father had borne the title of Neos Dionysus, and Mark Antony. Cleopatra equally forcefully manifested herself in her homeland as Isis and Antony as Osiris[158]. If we can make any guess regarding the identity of the figures which appeared below the parasol, the most reasonable would be that of the Ptolemaic queen, and possibly both sovereigns. If so, the parasol was an appropriate attribute in every way, as a symbol of royal power and as an attribute of Aphrodite and Dionysus[159]. It is noteworthy and perhaps not fortuitous that in the reconstruction of the original composition of the Nile Mosaic the royal couple would appear more or less in the centre of the foreground (see fig. 8). In that way the protagonists of the inundation ceremonies and festivities would form the focus of the whole mosaic (cf. fig. 92)[160].

So the central scene of the Nile Mosaic seems to have represented a similar event to that depicted in the Dendera relief reproduced in fig. 84, i.e. the Pharaoh taking part in the funerary ritual at the tomb of Osiris, the source of the Nile flood. In the Dendera relief this is represented in the stylised and symbolic mode of Egyptian art, while in the Nile Mosaic it is represented in the naturalistic way of classical art[161].

To the right of the original parasol there is a galley with soldiers. They probably formed the guard or the retinue of the sovereigns, who seem to have arrived by boat, while a trumpeter sounds in their honour[162]. The sovereigns whose presence we have assumed were preceded on the left by the priestess. She holds a palm-branch in her left hand, while with her right hand she offers a *simpulum* to the officer who raises a drinking horn. This officer is usually recognised as the main protagonist of the whole mosaic. Now that we have located the real protagonists in the area below the parasol, he diminishes in importance. Nevertheless, his *chlamys* and *cingulum* show that he is a commanding officer or governor, a *strategus*. Presumably he is in command of the soldiers on the left (cf. fig. 70)[163]. These are probably the Ptolemaic guard, the Macedones, or perhaps a local garrison guarding the funerary island. It may be noted that their shield devices, a star and scorpions, were not only common emblems, but also attributes of Satet and Selket, who watch over Osiris' body at Philae; however, this is perhaps a coincidence (see fig. 81, central scene)[164]. The palm-branch held by the priestess is usually a symbol of victory, and an attribute of Isis and Aphrodite. Here it may also be a sign that the flood has been successful. A palm-branch was also held by the figure of the Semasia, which announced throughout the country that the flood had reached a sufficient height for a successful crop (cf. fig. 94)[165]. The *simpulum* which the priestess proffers was used for the ritual pouring of water as well as for the laddling of wine from the crater into cups. It has been suggested that the raising of the drinking horn or rhyton by the officer represents the presentation of the sacred Nile water. This was, however, usually kept in a kind of pitcher, and not in a rhyton or drinking horn. The officer's gesture may be compared to that of the figure of the Nile on the Tazza Farnese who holds a horn in the expectation that it will be filled by the coming of the flood. On the buffet-table beside the large crater there are several other drinking horns similar to the one held by the officer, which are apparently about to be used by the other soldiers. It seems, therefore, that the presenting of the *simpulum* is a sign that the drinking horns may be filled and the feast may begin(cf. fig. 96)[166]. At the time of the inundation banquets took place everywhere. The Ptolemies are known to have taken part in them. Thus in 115 B.C. Ptolemy IX and Cleopatra III visited

Assuan and the source of the Nile at Bigeh. After having taken part in the inundation ceremonies at Elephantine, the sovereigns and their company were regaled with a banquet in the temple of Satet. Satet or Sothis was the goddess of Sirius, the dog-star whose rising on the 19th of July announced the beginning of the flood and who was identified with Isis (see fig. 81, central scene). The pavilion in the Nile Mosaic may thus have been a kiosk or exedra for ceremonial banquets[167].

The pergola (section 19, fig. 21)

Another banquet is taking place below the pergola, which is now placed to the left of the centre but which originally probably appeared on the far right-hand side. This scene has often been compared to the parties which took place along the canal of Canopus as described by Strabo. The pergola does not enable us to make a topographical identification. Banquet scenes in pergolas or under *vela* were held all along the Nile at the time of the inundation and frequently appear in Nilotic scenes (cf. figs. 38, 47). Besides eating and drinking, the participants danced and made love. So we may interpret the pergola scene in a general way as illustrating the revelry of the population during the feast of the inundation. It was for this kind of revelry, however, that Canopus was especially notorious[168].

The hippopotamus hunt (sections 12 and 18, fig. 19)

The only remaining scene of consequence is the hippopotamus hunt. Hippopotami and crocodiles were believed to embody evil, and traditionally their ritual slaughter by the Pharaoh represented the killing of Seth, the murderer of Osiris, by Horus. This ritual played an important part in the ceremonies connected with the beginning of the inundation and with the coronation of the sovereigns. It is tempting, therefore, to link the hippopotamus hunt in the Nile Mosaic to the ceremonies connected with the inundation[169]. On the other hand the hunters have nothing royal or priestly about them but look like ordinary peasants, which would not fit in with a ceremonial killing. Other Roman Nilotic scenes frequently show hippopotami being hunted, especially by pygmies. They suggest that the hunt was no more than an ordinary peasants' activity. Diodorus gives a lively account of a hippopotamus hunt undertaken by peasants to protect their lands from these beasts, which forage round the country and feed on their grain and hay at night. Hippopotamus hunts were thus part of the daily life of the peasants, and representations of them may simply be genre scenes like representations of fishing or herding (cf. fig. 43). However, in view of the prominence of the hippopotamus hunt in the Nile Mosaic, and in Nilotic scenes in general, it is possible that the traditional ritual killing of hippopotami and crocodiles led to the general hunting of these animals at the time of the inundation[170].

The remaining scenes in the Nile Mosaic all represent various activities of the people at the time of the inundation, such as boating, fishing, lotus gathering and the like[171].

The festival

We can see that the Nile Mosaic represents the ceremonies of the Khoiak festival and the inundation of Egypt with its attendant festivities. This combination is natural because the revival of Osiris symbolises the revival of nature due to the inundation[172].

Still there remains a problem in that the dates of the Khoiak festival and the inundation did not usually correspond. After the drought of the spring period the Nile began to rise again in June. Around the 19th of July, the day when Sothis rose again in the sky, and which was the first day of the new year, it would begin to flood. The maximum height of the flood was reached towards the end of August at Assuan and some 10 days later in the Delta. The time of the high flood lasted until the end of September. Thereafter the water would gradually fall until November when it remained within the river's banks and the sowing could begin. The Khoiak festival would be celebrated from the 29th of October until the 17th of November. So normally the Khoiak festival came after the flood had receded[173]. However, the Egyptian calendar year counted 365 days instead of the 365 1/4 days of the solar year. So every four years the calendar shifted one day forwards and in the course of time the official date of a festival became far removed from the natural event to which it belonged. In this way the Khoiak festival had, by the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, shifted to February. During the Ptolemaic period it moved on from February to December, where it was finally fixed by the calendar reform of Augustus[174]. It is unclear what the reaction was to this gradual disjunction between calendar dates and natural events. As long as the Khoiak festival fell within the broad period of the inundation there would have been no serious problem because the mystery of Osiris encapsulated in a short period the revival of the vegetation due to the inundation and would have been more or less appropriate at any stage during the inundation. But what happened when the date shifted to the drought of the spring period[175]? On the one hand the official calendar dates were observed, but on the other hand the natural cycle of the year can hardly have gone unnoticed. It seems that in practice at least two calendars were used: the official calendar, which was observed in the temples and was used for official dates and which shifted through the year, and the civil calendar, which began every year with the rising of Sothis and which was more generally used by the population. In this way the one and the same festival could actually fall on two dates, the calendar date which seems to have been observed in the temples, and the natural date which may have led to more general feasting and even to the creation of new festivals. The reaction to this problem apparently varied from time to time and place to place. The result was an inextricable maze of dates and feasts. Despite this, the Khoiak festival never, officially, fell in or near the inundation period during the Graeco-Roman period. Nevertheless, the essential connection between the Khoiak festival and the inundation remained well-known, and similar rites may have been repeated at the time of the inundation[176].

The Khoiak festival, however, was not the only festival connected with the inundation. The course of the flood was marked by several other festivities[177]. In the first place the beginning of the flood, which ideally coincided with the rise of Sothis and the beginning of the new year on the 19th of July, was marked by important ceremonies in which the sovereigns (or their representatives) also participated (see figs. 71, 73, 93)[178]. Another feast took place when the flood had reached a height sufficient to offer the prospect of a successful crop. This height, sixteen cubits, was indicated on the Nilometers by a mark called the *semeion*, and one of the names given to the feast, at least in the Roman period, was the Semasia. Depending on the speed and the volume of the flood, the mark was reached at the end of August at Assuan, and ten days later in the Delta. When the mark was reached the signal was given to cut the dikes which had blocked the irrigation canals and the inundation could spread over the countryside. This signal was rapidly spread throughout the country, a process which, in the Roman period was symbolically represented by the figure of the Semasia, a young woman on a galloping horse, holding a palm-branch (fig. 94). The occasion was celebrated with ceremonies and festivities in which the sovereigns again participated[179]. Everyone had a holiday and all along the Nile, especially near the temples of Isis and Osiris, there were banquets and revels, eating and drinking, dancing and boating (see figs. 47, 96). The lotus, which had germinated in the soil when the Nile started to rise, began to blossom. This was the first sign of the rebirth of the vegetation and consequently became a symbol for it[180].

One look at the Nile Mosaic reveals that it depicts the time of the high flood. The large surface of water studded with lotus blossoms, the land rising from it like islands, and the feasting and boating of the population, all accord so well with ancient descriptions of the time of the high flood that there can be no doubt that that is what the mosaic represents (cf. fig. 67). A woman holding a palm-branch which probably indicates that the flood is successful, passes a *simpulum* to the official with the drinking horn as a sign for the festivities to begin[181].

We have seen above that in the official calendar the Khoiak festival never coincided with the inundation during the Graeco-Roman period. Nevertheless, that these two events should be combined is not surprising. In the first place they had originally been closely connected in practice and remained connected in meaning, making it only natural to combine them in one scene. In the second place the Khoiak ritual, because of the close connection, may actually have been repeated during the time of the inundation[182].

Moreover, besides the feasts for the beginning of the inundation and celebrating the high flood, there was yet another important feast which in the later Ptolemaic period fell in the inundation period. The beginning of the new year, the first day of the month of Thot, originally fell on the 19th of July, the day when Sothis rose and ideally the Nile flood began. In the course of more than a thousand years this date had rotated through the year and around the middle of the second century B.C. it fell in September. At the time of the calendar reform of Augustus it fell on the 29th of August, and the beginning of the new year remained fixed on that date from then on. The 29th of August happened to be roughly the date when the necessary height of the flood was reached at Assuan, and therefore actually coincided with the Semasia. But also during the last century of Ptolemaic rule over Egypt, including the time that the Nile Mosaic was laid, c. 110 B.C., the beginning of the new year fell during the period of the high flood, namely in September, so the feasts of the new year and the high flood would have been closely connected in time. Thus in the course of time the connection which traditionally existed between the Nile flood and the beginning of the new year was more or less reestablished[183].

The sovereigns had traditionally played the main part in the ritual connected with the beginning of the new year. Like Horus, the Pharaoh triumphed over Seth, avenging his father Osiris (cf. fig. 93), and succeeded to his throne and sailed triumphantly down the flooded Nile. Because of this mythological and ritual background the feast of the new year was the ideal occasion for coronations and coronation jubilees. The same idea of the triumphant sovereign was associated with the Khoiak festival, at the conclusion of which the Djed pillar was erected, which again symbolised the triumph of Horus and the rebirth of Osiris (see fig. 81, above centre). For this reason the feast of the Djed pillar was even considered to be an alternative beginning for the new year[184]. In all events we find the Pharaoh closely associated with both the beginning of the new year and with the inundation. In fact the inundation period combines vital aspects of Egyptian life and religion: the beginning of the new year, the coronation jubilee of the Pharaoh, the inundation and the rebirth of the vegetation.

The latter aspect is represented in the Nile Mosaic by the revellers in the pergola, who point to the grapes hanging above them, and by the flowering and fruit-bearing trees, such as the acacia, the date palm and the sycamore. In reality these do not belong to the inundation season because they do not grow or blossom until the mild winter season. The ducks are also out of place, because they generally only come to Egypt to spend the mild winter season in the lakes and marshes of the Delta[185].

So the Nile Mosaic combines natural and ritual aspects of the Nile flood. In reality these may not always have gone together, but to all intents and purposes they were closely connected. There is the inundation, there is the procession with the sarcophagus of the revived Corn Osiris, there is the beginning of the new year and the rebirth of the vegetation, there is the rejoicing of the population, and, presumably, in the centre there were the sovereigns — the Benefactor Gods —, who were responsible for all this, taking part in the ceremonies and festivities. The same comprehensive symbolic perception of the Nile flood can be found in other documents, either written or visual. In the Canopus decree, issued by Ptolemy III in 238 B.C., we find all the various elements connected: the beginning of the flood, the feast for the sovereigns, the Bubastia as the feast for the population, and the gathering of the crops. In a representation of the new year's procession at Dendera we see, beside the king and queen, also the Nile Gods, who represent the Nile flood, and the Field Goddess, who presents the fruits of the flood, flowers, fruits, game and the like (see fig. 93)[186]. The Nile Mosaic, therefore, offers a comprehensive symbolic picture of the inundation comprising all its aspects, the inundation as a natural phenomenon, the ceremonies and festivities connected with it, and its results.

The location

Finally we must consider the possible locations of the scenes which are represented in the lower half of the Nile Mosaic. It has been supposed that the lower half represents, on a small scale, the course of the Nile from the first cataract to the Delta. It has also been argued that the lower part represents just one particular area, for example the area of the first cataract or the Delta[187].

While studying the various scenes of the lower half, we have seen that only one feature can be identified with a specific place, i.e. the Egyptian temple. The temple pylon with the eagle has parallels on Alexandrian bone tesserae and coins, where it may be identified with the temple of Osiris at Canopus because of the inscription *Canopus* on the bone tesserae (fig. 41)[188]. Furthermore, the general picture offered by the lower half of the mosaic, with islands scattered over a large surface of water and shrines in the Greek style, is suggestive of the Delta[189]. Rocks, which are characteristic of the area around the first cataract, appear only near the Nilometer and the neighbouring temple on the upper part of the left-hand side. Indeed we have seen that the Nilometer, although its identity cannot be proved, may have been meant to suggest the one at Assuan[190]. It seems, therefore, that the lower half of the Nile Mosaic combines features of these two regions, it depicts the beginning of the Nile flood at Assuan in the upper left-hand corner, and in the remaining part the height of the flood at Canopus in the Delta. It offers not so much a view of Egypt, or of a particular area, but a synoptic picture of the Nile flood[191].

Regrettably, very little remains of Canopus, the famous Ptolemaic centre once lying 22 kilometres to the east of Alexandria at the western mouth of the Nile, near modern Abukir. There was already a temple for Sarapis there, early in the third century B.C. Ptolemy III Euergetes added a famous temple for Osiris in 244. In addition there was a temple for the sovereigns, the *theoi euergetai*, the Benefactor Gods. The temple of Osiris is probably represented on some Alexandrian bone tesserae and coins (see figs. 41, 42) and probably also appears in the Nile Mosaic. As we have seen, the eagle on the façade may have been a characteristic feature[192].

In the Canopus decree of 238 B.C. the temple of Osiris is called a sanctuary of the first class, most honoured by the Ptolemies. In this decree Ptolemy III laid down his calendar reform, with the purpose of ensuring that the ruler cult should remain intimately connected with the beginning of the Nile flood and the new year. The Khoiak festival and the boat procession of Osiris are also referred to in the decree because they had taken place shortly before it was issued[193]. Furthermore, Canopus has yielded several dedicatory inscriptions to Isis and Sarapis, in some cases in combination with Neilus, and to Ptolemy III and Berenice, or in some cases to Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe. Several times the sovereigns are not only styled *theoi euergetai* but also *theoi sunnaoi*, gods who share the temple with Isis and Sarapis. So the dedications show a close connection between the sovereigns and Isis and Sarapis[194].

This combination of Osiris-Sarapis and Isis, the Nile and the Ptolemaic sovereigns which we find attested at Canopus, reflects essentially the same pattern of religious thinking that appears to be represented in the Nile Mosaic. This combination was not exclusive to Canopus and may have existed in other places, such as the Serapeum in Alexandria and the cult centres near the first cataract. Nevertheless, it seems to have been an especially prominent feature of the cult of Canopus[195].

For all these reasons it seems justified to identify the Egyptian temple in the Nile Mosaic as the temple of Osiris at Canopus. The other scenes represent the Delta landscape in a more general way but, because of the temple and the feasting population, the whole lower part will, to a contemporary beholder, have been suggestive of Canopus. Canopus was a famous Ptolemaic religious centre and holiday resort which was notorious for its licentious way of life. The revelry of the population, which in reality occurred everywhere in Egypt at the time of the inundation, seems to have become a special feature of Canopus and even gave rise to the word "Canobismus" for the Canopic way of life[196].

We may catch another glimpse of the special relationship which existed between the Ptolemies and Canopus, from Roman comments on Cleopatra and Antony, whom we have already seen assimilated with Aphrodite and Dionysus and with Isis and Osiris. Propertius III xi, 39, refers to Cleopatra as *incesti meretrix regina Canopi* , the harlot queen of licentious Canopus, and according to Cassius Dio L 27, 1–2, Octavian tried to incite his men on the morning of Actium by remarking about Antony: "let no one call him Antony but rather Serapion ..., he is no more an Imperator but has become a cymbal player of Canopus"[197]. These examples demonstrate that both the reputation of licentiousness attached to Canopus and the special connection between the Ptolemies and Canopus were well known in the Roman world.

We see therefore that, within the general picture of the inundation and of the Osiris ceremonies associated with it, there are several features in the Nile Mosaic which seem to point in the same direction, i.e. to Canopus. These are the Egyptian temple, the Delta landscape, and the presumed presence of the Ptolemies. The reputation of Canopus in the Roman world makes the subject even more comprehensible. While this interpretation has come slowly to us, it will have been obvious to the Roman beholder.

Conclusion

In the course of our investigation of the Nile Mosaic we first recognised in it a detailed picture of Aethiopia and of Egypt at the time of the inundation, constructed in the manner of a topographical painting. Its main theme was the Nile flood, which had its origin in Aethiopia, entered Egypt at the first cataract, and spreaded over the Delta.

On further investigation, however, we perceive that this picture is not made up of incoherent scenes. On the contrary, it appears to be composed of intimately linked elements which illustrate the rites and festivities belonging to the inundation. There is the temple of Osiris at Canopus, where the mystery of the revival of Osiris was celebrated. This included the union of Isis and Osiris, which symbolised the fertilisation of Egypt by the Nile. There is the festive funeral procession of Osiris to his tomb, from which the flood was believed to come forth. Presumably there were originally the figures of the Ptolemaic sovereigns, the Benefactor Gods, who as the representatives of Isis and Osiris granted the flood for the benefit of the population and inaugurated a new year full of affluence. The rebirth of the vegetation is illustrated by the various flowering and fruit-bearing plants and trees. Finally there are the joy and revelry of the population. Together these scenes offer a comprehensive picture illustrating the well-being of nature and mankind caused by the inundation. Behind all this we can imagine Isis. The Nile Mosaic offers an allegorical picture of the providential power of the goddess to grant fertility to Egypt through the inundation. It is as if from her homeland, Nubia, she has emptied her horn of plenty over the Nile valley[198]. This allegorical picture illustrates the Ptolemaic ideology of the *truphe.* The *truphe* represents the affluence and bliss which Dionysus and the sovereign have the power to give the country[199].

It is interesting to compare the Nile Mosaic once again with a relief from Dendera [200]. In this relief the sovereigns are seen to be leading the new year's procession of Isis-Hathor (see fig. 93). They are followed by the Nile Gods of Upper and Lower Egypt and by Sekhet, the Field Goddess, the personification of the flooded countryside. The Nile Gods represent the inundation, the Field Goddess presents the fruits of flora and fauna which are the results of the inundation. Together they represent the prosperity of the new year[201]. The Field Goddess and the Nile Gods embody the natural powers of Isis and Osiris, while the sovereigns are their representatives on earth; the divine couple themselves are thus indirectly present. The Dendera relief thus depicts, in symbolic form, the beginning of the new year, the Nile flood and its results, the participation of the sovereigns and the power of Isis and Osiris. Essentially the same motifs are portrayed in the Nile Mosaic. In the Dendera relief it is expressed in a concise symbolic way in the stylised Egyptian manner. In the Nile Mosaic it is depicted in a comprehensive narrative fashion and in a naturalistic Hellenistic style. Nevertheless, the Nile Mosaic too is in a sense symbolic in character, because it combines all possible aspects of the Nile flood which in reality never occurred at the same time[202]. Essentially the two works, both dating to the late Ptolemaic period, represent the same subject. They differ only in style and conception, reflecting respectively the Egyptian and Greek elements in the Ptolemaic world[203].

CHAPTER V

THE FUNCTION OF THE NILE MOSAIC

The Nile Mosaic is the earliest and most comprehensive example of an Egyptian scene to have survived from the Roman world[1]. We must, therefore, consider the question of the mosaic's function. Why and how did it come to decorate a nymphaeum at Praeneste: did it have a specific religious meaning, in that it showed the blessed land of Isis to her devotees, or was it merely an exotic decoration?

This question can actually be applied to the whole genre of Egyptianising scenes in the Roman world and is one on which divergent opinions exist[2]. In the case of the Nile Mosaic the answer depends, in the first place, on the interpretation of the function of the building in which the mosaic was originally laid. The supposition that the lower complex at Praeneste was part of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia naturally led to a religious interpretation for the Nile Mosaic, since Isis could be identified with Tyche who as Tyche Protogeneia was the Greek counterpart of Fortuna Primigenia (cf. fig. 97). We have, however, already seen that most probably the lower complex was a group of public buildings on the forum of Praeneste, which had no connection with the real sanctuary of Fortuna above it[3]. The Nile Mosaic lay in a grotto-nymphaeum attached to a large hall which stood to the right of a basilica-like building. The Fish Mosaic occupied the position of a companion piece, being situated in a similar nymphaeum which was attached to an entrance court erected to the left of the basilica-like building (see fig. 2). Because the floors were under water these grotto-nymphaea would hardly have been suitable for ritual functions[4].

Notwithstanding the severe damage which it has suffered, we may assume that the Fish Mosaic originally showed no more than a large fishing scene[5]. Such a marine scene may have alluded to Poseidon as well as to Aphrodite or Isis and Fortuna, so its symbolic value would have had a broad range. Fish and fishing scenes were popular subjects in general and especially in nymphaea and summer *triclinia*. It is difficult therefore to attribute any specific religious meaning to the Fish Mosaic[6]. The two mosaics share the common factor that water plays an essential part in them, notably the Mediterranean sea and the flooded Nile. As such they were appropriate decorations for nymphaea in which a shallow stream of water ran over the mosaics. In the one nymphaeum the spectator who looked into the water saw the sea with fish and fishermen, while in the other he saw the inundation of Egypt. The Nile Mosaic was adapted to the nymphaeum in a particularly subtle way. The rocky surface of the backwall, from which water seeped, passed into the rocky landscape of Nubia in the upper part of the mosaic, and from there the Nile sprang and flowed into the inundation scene in the front part[7]. Furthermore both mosaics depict a large number of animals, fish or fruits, and mankind profiting from these resources, thus illustrating the fertilising power of water. In more than one respect therefore these mosaics were appropriate decorations for a nymphaeum[8].

In order to be able to ascertain whether it was the function of the Nile Mosaic to convey a specific religious message to the contemporary beholder, we must review the other Nilotic scenes which have been preserved from this early period.

The earliest Nilotic scene after the Nile Mosaic is the Nilotic mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii, which may be dated to c. 90–80 B.C. (fig. 28)[9]. This shows only fauna and flora. There is a crocodile, a mongoose and a cobra, while a hippopotamus raises its head from the water. There are ibises and various kinds of ducks . Flowers and buds of the Indian lotus and other waterplants rise from the water. We have already noted that several details show striking similarities with the Palestrina mosaic and that the respective artists must have used the same or similar models. On the other hand the picture is much simpler than the Nile Mosaic, because it shows no people or buildings. The Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno originally decorated the threshold of the Alexander exedra which looked out on two peristyles and probably served as a summer *triclinium*. So the frieze's function seems to have been mostly to provide an exotic decoration. Parts of a painted Nilotic frieze have been preserved in the atrium of the Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii. This frieze, which may be dated to c. 70 B.C., ran along the upper part of the four walls and must have been of a considerable length. Regrettably only a few fragments have survived. They show pieces of land in an expanse of water. On these pieces of land there are sanctuaries, houses, bridges and people. No specific religious ceremonies have been preserved but in other respects the surviving parts of the frieze show a strong resemblance to the scenes in the Palestrina Nile Mosaic in regard to contents and composition. The position of the frieze running along the upper part of the walls, where windows might have been situated, would have created the impression that the atrium was situated in the Nile Delta rather than on the Bay of Naples. Once again the function of this frieze would seem to have been to serve as an exotic decoration[10].

Simplified forms of such landscapes appear next in the Second Style, for instance in a *triclinium* in the villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, which may be dated to c. 50–40 B.C. Here the Egyptian character is rather vague and the scenes look like general river or coastal landscapes. Moreover, their generic character is enhanced by the use of a monochrome technique of painting. Nevertheless their derivation from Nilotic scenes is betrayed by the abundance of water, by the islands with their shrines, houses and some typically Egyptian features, and by the casual activities of the population: the bringing of offerings, walking, dining, fishing and the like[11].

In an *oecus* in the Villa of Oplontis two such landscapes, this time polychrome, dating from the same period, are represented as *pinakes*, i.e. panel paintings (fig. 98). These are particularly interesting because they suggest that also real panel paintings with landscape scenes existed[12].

Another kind of Nilotic scene is the pygmy landscape, in which the Egyptian population is depicted as pygmies or dwarfs. A frieze with such scenes, which may be dated to c. 40–30 B.C., was situated on the upper part of the wall of the atrium of the Casa del Toro at Pompeii[13]. The small part of this frieze which has been preserved shows people in various occupations: travelling, shopping, and dining, all standard motifs in Nilotic scenes. The landscape has been reduced to a minimum. The people are represented as dwarfs. From the same period dates a long frieze with pygmies which decorated the dado of a wall surrounding a peristyle in the Casa dello Scultore at Pompeii[14]. Here the Nile landscape is more elaborate and includes some buildings, boats etc. The pygmies are shown in hilarious situations, defending themselves against hippopotami and crocodiles.

From this period on, the Egyptian population in Nilotic scenes is ever more frequently represented as dwarfs or pygmies. These grotesque figures emphasize the fertility and blissful state of Egypt created by the Nile flood, and epitomise the exotic character of that country in the eyes of the Romans. It is this kind of Nilotic scene which achieved an immense popularity in the Roman world[15]. From the same period we have a simple marsh scene with ducks and a crocodile in the caldarium of the Casa del Criptoportico at Pompeii. This scene is in the tradition of the Nilotic mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno[16]. Finally two small mosaic *emblemata* exist at Pompeii which date from the late Republican or early Augustan period. One is set in the floor of the Green Oecus opening onto the peristyle in the Casa del Menandro, the other decorates the floor of the *triclinium* of the Casa di Paquius Proculus. Both show pygmies feasting in a cabin boat and a canoe in a Nilotic landscape with a hippopotamus and a crocodile, and in both cases the composition is very similar to the hippopotamus hunting scene in sections 12 and 18 of the Nile Mosaic[16 bis].

From the Augustan period onward Nilotic scenes became more numerous, which is only natural since Egypt had been incorporated into the Roman Empire in 30 B.C. Because of this fundamental change in the relationship between Rome and Egypt the further development of the genre of Nilotic scenes falls outside our direct interest[17].

From this review of Nilotic scenes we see that the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina is not only the earliest but also the most comprehensive example of its kind. The later examples show different kinds of Nilotic scenes in which only one or other aspect is emphasized. We may distinguish landscapes which show unmistakable Nilotic features, simple landscapes with dwarfs or pygmies, plain river landscapes which are hardly Egyptian in character except for the abundance of water, and aquatic scenes which show mainly Nilotic flora and fauna. Ritual scenes, other than simple offering scenes, are notably absent[18]. It appears that, while the Nile Mosaic has a strong descriptive character and offers a wealth of information on Egyptian life and religion, the genre of Nilotic scenes soon diversified into various categories in which either one or other aspect was emphasized. The only things which they all have in common are the Nile flood and its beneficial effects upon nature and population[19]. Not one of the examples discussed here shows any specific religious scene. Furthermore, it appears that in Pompeian houses Nilotic scenes were used indiscriminately on walls and floors in all kinds of rooms and spaces. Nor are there indications that any of the houses in question were owned by a devotee of the Egyptian cults[20]. Nilotic scenes appear in the same range of situations as other kinds of scenes such as mythological ones[21]. Considering the variety of Nilotic scenes and their generic character at Pompeii, and the arbitrary way in which they could be used as decorations, it is difficult to recognize in them a specific religious meaning or function. It seems more probable that they were a generally suitable form of decoration with an exotic character and suggesting well-being and affluence. The same variety in Nilotic scenes as in the Republican period may be found since the Augustan period, when their number strongly increased. They were especially popular for nymphaea, (summer) *triclinia*, gardens and the like, where they served to suggest coolness, exoticism and a general sense of well-being[22].

No Nilotic scenes have been preserved in Rome itself from before the time of Augustus. There are, however, some other examples of the use of Egyptian motifs during the first half of the first century B.C. Egyptian motifs were occasionally used as control-marks on Roman coins. They include the crown of Isis, the sistrum, the lotus flower, hippopotami and crocodiles, pygmies fighting herons, etc.[23]. Although these motifs are not in themselves Nilotic scenes, they all occur in Nilotic scenes. The reason for their use is not entirely clear. It has been suggested that they served as a vehicle for veiled religious propaganda for the Egyptian cults. This seems hardly likely, however, given the official character of coins and the fact that the Egyptian cults were still private and the Senate was opposed to them. In general control-marks seem to have been chosen freely and without much thought from all aspects of daily life, including religion[24]. The exceptional figure of an armed goddess wearing a lotus on her helmet, on a coin of 67 B.C., may perhaps be identified as Fortuna Populi Romani with attributes of Fortuna-Isis-Tyche (see fig. 95)[25]. These examples of Egyptian motifs from Rome only seem to indicate that the knowledge of things Egyptian must have been fairly common in the city at that time. That would be quite natural considering that Egypt was already, in all but name, completely in the power of Rome [26].

The next question is how did the Egyptian scenes come to Italy? Did they come expressly in connection with the cult of Isis and Sarapis or are they just a sign of the growing relationship between Italy and Egypt in general? It is now generally assumed that the Egyptian cults came to Italy along the trade route from Delos, which was the principal emporium of the Eastern Mediterranean in the second half of the second century B.C.[27]. From Delos this trade route ran to Puteoli, the principal harbour of Italy, where the first Serapeum on Italian soil had already been established by 105 B.C.

From Puteoli the Egyptian cults spread over Campania and Latium, and there were soon Isea in Rome and in Pompeii[28]. These cults, however, remained private and were viewed with suspicion by the Senate. In general their adherents belonged to the lower classes and were merchants or slaves[29].

While the Roman senatorial class in general may have been averse to the Egyptian cults, this does not imply that it had no interest in Egypt. Rome had had political interests in Egypt as early as the third century B.C., and after 168, when Popilius Laenas ordered Antiochus IV to retreat from Egypt, it was in fact a Roman protectorate[30]. From that time on, we know of frequent reciprocal missions and visits. In 164/163 Ptolemy VI Philopator stayed in Rome as a refugee in the house of his compatriot, the Alexandrian Demetrius, the *topographus*. In the following years several Roman delegations were sent to Alexandria to mediate between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII. In 140/139 Scipio Aemilianus travelled with a delegation to inspect the Ptolemaic kingdom as far south as Memphis and recognised its potential value if placed under efficient administration. About the same time and perhaps on the same occasion the historian Polybius, who lived in Rome, also visited Egypt. A certain Gnaios, apparently of Italic origin, was even involved in the spice trade on the Somali coast around this time. In 112 B.C. a distinguished Roman, L. Mummius, visited Egypt, and went to see the sacred crocodiles at Arsinoe. In 116 B.C. a group of Roman visitors even travelled as far south as Philae[31].

From these examples it appears that in the second century B.C. Egypt became an object of Roman interest, whether political, commercial or touristic. It is probable that Roman visitors took home as souvenirs not only travel-accounts but also objects, including pictures of that fascinating exotic world, just as they brought back Alexandrian men of letters, surgeons, artists and slaves. We have already met Demetrius the *topographus*, who lived in Rome around 164 B.C. He was probably a painter of topographical scenes. Mention may be made also of a certain Serapion, who was active at Rome as a *scaenographus*, a painter of stage scenery, in the first half of the first century B.C., and whose name is suggestive of Egyptian origin. From the second quarter of the first century B.C. onward there is extensive evidence for the presence of Egyptians in Italy, working as slaves, artists, surgeons etc.[32]. A visit similar to that of Mummius to the sacred crocodiles of Arsinoe is described by Strabo XVII 1, 38, and another may have been depicted in a fragmentary mosaic now in the Antiquarium Communale in Rome. The painted *pinakes* in the wall-paintings of the villa of Oplontis would seem to confirm the existence of panel paintings with landscape scenes (see fig. 98)[33].

Naturally these political and touristic journeys between Rome and Alexandria will not have been made via Delos but more directly, from Puteoli past Sicily and along the North African coast. The same route will have been used for direct commercial contacts between Rome and Alexandria, such as those involving the Alexandrian corn-fleets, a few decades later[34].

So it appears that in the later part of the second century B.C. the relationships between Rome and Alexandria were manifold. The Roman aristocracy fostered a political, economic and cultural interest in Egypt in a general imperialistic way. A mainly commercial interest existed among the rising classes of merchants, which included large-scale entrepreneurs and smaller merchants and shippers, often of foreign origin, who were usually organised into corporations according to their nationality and trade. Among the Italians we find that the entrepreneurs included members of the aristocracies of important trading-towns as Puteoli and Praeneste and even of smaller ones as Pompeii, not to mention their freedmen, often acting as their agents, and their slaves[35]. This cosmopolitan crowd passed through the various trading ports of the Mediterranean and converged upon the common exchange-market at Delos. In the more important ports they established trading posts and sanctuaries for their gods as may be illustrated by the examples at Delos and Puteoli[36]. It is from these sanctuaries that the eastern cults spread among the local population of these ports and among fellow-merchants, their freedmen and their slaves[37].

We may therefore distinguish essentially between two kinds of Roman interest in Egypt: a more general political, economic and cultural interest on the part of the Roman aristocracy and a mainly commercial interest on the part of the merchants, although of course the two do not exclude each other. A religious interest was confined to the cosmopolitan merchants, and it was through these that the Egyptian cults were spread through Italy. Because of the connection between the Egyptian cults and the foreign elements among the merchants, whose sympathies in general lay with the Populares, the Senate was hostile to the Egyptian cults[38].

Since there were such different attitudes to Egypt and the Egyptian cults we must seriously reckon with the possibility that Egyptian motifs and scenes could have different meanings according to the interest and background of the beholder. To juxtapose the two extremes: a Roman senator or a large-scale entrepreneur will have associated Egyptian motifs and scenes with the political and economic potential of that exotic country; but for a merchant-shipper or a slave of Alexandrian origin they may have brought to mind the blessed land of Isis and Sarapis[39].

Returning to the Nilotic scenes which have been preserved at Pompeii, we have seen that they lack clear religious motifs and are mainly of a generic and exotic character. Moreover, there is no evidence that the owners of the Pompeian houses which we have discussed were particularly interested in the Egyptian cults. For people who had a serious religious interest one would expect to find sacred images, cult objects, ritual scenes etc. Actually no such scenes or objects have been preserved at all from the Republican period. They exist, however, in considerable numbers from the Imperial period, and we can safely assume that similar scenes and objects decorated the sanctuaries and private shrines of the Egyptian gods before that time (see e.g. figs. 71, 75, 76)[40].

The Egyptian scenes which have been preserved at Pompeii from before the Imperial period evidently reflect the taste of a public which had a commercial and touristic interest in Egypt. The second half of the second century B.C. saw an enormous increase in wealth in Central Italy owing to the Roman conquest of, and trade with, the eastern Mediterranean. In Latium this is illustrated by the building of great sanctuaries like that of Praeneste. In Campania it is illustrated by the rich town houses of a minor town like Pompeii[41]. The Nilotic scenes in the public buildings and houses of these prospering towns will have evoked the exotic splendour of the Ptolemaic world and expressed the cosmopolitan taste and economic interest of the men who commissioned them, just as Chinoiserie has done in Western Europe since the 17th century[42].

When we look again at the Egyptian motifs which were used as control-marks on Roman coins, we see that only the Isis headdress and the sistrum are in fact religious in character and that the other motifs, such as the Nilotic animals, are mainly exotic in character. The only thing they have in common is that they are Egyptian. Their existence shows merely that such Egyptian and Nilotic subjects must have been fairly common also in Rome during the late Republic, just as they were at Pompeii. They only seem to be illustrative of a general interest in and knowledge of Egypt which existed in Rome at a time when it was the political centre of the Mediterranean and in fact had complete power over Egypt in everything but name[43].

So it appears that the Egyptian scenes and motifs which have been preserved at Pompeii and Rome from the Republican period were not manifestations of the influence of Egyptian religion. They do not seem to have come to Italy directly in combination with the Egyptian cults and through the trade with Delos. They seem to be tokens of a rapidly spreading fashion for those exotic decorations which was a result of the growing political, commercial and cultural relations between Alexandria and Rome in general[44].

If we look at the Nile Mosaic again we cannot fail to notice that its salient characteristic is its descriptive character. It portrays the amazing phenomenon of the Nile flood from its origin in Aethiopia to its height in the Delta, and all its various effects and the aspects of life and society associated with it. The religious aspects, notably the ritual of Osiris are included. This comprehensive picture illustrates the happy state of Egypt due to the Nile flood. It thus has a basically religious meaning in that it portrays the *truphe* of the country bestowed by Isis and Osiris and the Benefactor Gods. Nevertheless, the ritual scenes in the Nile Mosaic are not very explicit but are simplified to basic elements. Nor do they play a dominant role or occupy an obtrusive position but are distributed in a natural manner among the generic scenes. This is indeed the reason why the religious character has never been fully understood[45]. The same applies to the entire genre of Nilotic scenes. Despite the fact that the ritual aspects are generally omitted, they still have a basically religious character, because they illustrate the blissful state, the *truphe*, conferred to Egypt by the Nile and the gods.

We have seen that at Pompeii and elsewhere in the Roman world Nilotic scenes were especially favourite for those places where people chose to enjoy the delights of nature, such as summer *triclinia*, nymphaea, gardens and baths. It appears therefore that Nilotic scenes were not only exotic decorations suggesting the presence of water and coolness, but that they expressed in general terms the well-being of nature and mankind, the *truphe*, just like Dionysiac scenes and motifs [46].

For these reasons, and assuming that the grotto containing the Nile Mosaic was a nymphaeum which adorned a public building, the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina must, for all its essentially religious content, in the first place be considered an early and very elaborate example of a new decorative fashion which appeared at the same time in Pompeii and presumably in Rome. This view of the Nile Mosaic seems the more probable because the Fish Mosaic, as far as we know, lacked specific religious motifs. It was mainly generic and descriptive in character, and again belongs to a class of scenes which were popular in nymphaea, summer *triclinia*, gardens and baths, as illustrations of the affluence of nature[47].

The great pictures of Egypt and Aethiopia offered by the Nile Mosaic, were presumably a monumental token of the commercial and cultural relations which Praeneste probably maintained with Alexandria, the metropolis of the eastern Mediterranean. Praeneste was one of the important commercial towns of Latium which traded with the eastern Mediterranean via Puteoli and Delos[48].

In the Ptolemaic world Isis had merged with Tyche and Aphrodite into one mighty goddess who ruled the world. In Italy this great goddess was assimilated with Fortuna and Venus, the tutelary goddess of Roman *imperatores* like Sulla, Pompey and Caesar. For this reason we find that at Pompeii Fortuna and Isis were often associated or assimilated with Venus[49].

The assimilation of Isis-Tyche and Fortuna must therefore have been well-known, and for the contemporary beholder the Nile Mosaic must have been illustrative, or at least suggestive, of the beneficial power of Isis-Tyche-Fortuna. Considered together, the two Palestrina mosaics depict Aethiopia, Egypt and the Mediterranean. These three domains were actually the three domains of Isis, who was not only Mistress of Egypt and Aethiopia but also, from the Ptolemaic period onwards, Mistress of the sea. Isis herself is not depicted in these naturalistic scenes but her omnipresent power is clearly revealed because all three domains are represented in their most affluent state with animals, fish or fruits, and with mankind enjoying these delights, which the goddess seems to pour from her horn of plenty (cf. figs. 93, 97)[50].

After all, it would be only natural for Praeneste's enterprising aristocracy, which presumably commissioned the mosaics for one of their main public buildings, to choose scenes which, as common *truphe* motifs, were not only suitable decorations for nymphaea and which may have been found widely in late-Hellenistic Italy, but could also be associated with Fortuna, the tutelary goddess of their town, to whom they owed their prosperity. For this purpose scenes depicting the beneficial power of Isis-Tyche were ideally suited. Just like Fortuna, she was the bringer of fortune and affluence, and the protectress of navigation. In this less direct way it is possible to speak of the Palestrina mosaics as having a religious meaning[51].

CHAPTER VI

THE WORKSHOP

In an earlier study of the Fish Mosaic of Palestrina and a series of fish mosaics from Pompeii I concluded on the basis of important similarities in iconography, style and technique, that all were probably made by one workshop. A number of other mosaics could also be ascribed to the same workshop, including the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina, the mosaics from the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii, and several other mosaics from Pompeii and around the Bay of Naples. The workshop has been named the Workshop of the Casa del Fauno because this house possessed the largest collection of the workshop's products so far discovered, and because it was these mosaics which allowed a reconstruction of the workshop's activity[1]. A short review of the workshop's activity may help to shed some light on the background of the Palestrina mosaics.

The Casa del Fauno is the best preserved example of a mansion belonging to a provincial aristocrat from the later part of the second century B.C. This was a period of enormous prosperity both in Central Italy and in Pompeii, owing to the development of trade with the Eastern Mediterranean which followed the Roman conquest. The finding of a fragment of a travertine slab with an Oscan inscription mentioning a Satrius, named as an aedile, suggests that the Casa del Fauno may have belonged to the Satrii, who were a prominent Campanian family. It seems probable that the aedile Satrius was involved in the general architectural embellishment of Pompeii which took place in the later part of the second century, as well as in the enlargement and embellishment of the Casa del Fauno. In all events a person like himself would be of appropriate status to own a house like the Casa del Fauno. The lay-out of the house with its two peristyles, its wall decorations in the First Style, and its rich floor mosaics, gives a good impression of the villas which the Romans began to build in Campania in the course of the second century B.C.[2]. Here we shall briefly review those mosaics which can be connected and may consequently be ascribed to the same workshop.

The earliest examples of the workshop's products are the Palestrina mosaics, which probably date from c. 120–110 B.C.[3]. Between 110 and 80 several mosaics were made for Pompeian clients and especially for the owners of the Casa del Fauno. During these decades the workshop enjoyed its most flourishing period[4]. Among the Casa del Fauno mosaics there are two which show a close relationship to the Palestrina mosaics. The first one is the Nilotic frieze from the Alexander exedra (see fig. 28). This shows a marsh-scene which has several characteristic details of flora and fauna of the Nile in common with the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina[5]. The other one is an *emblema* with fish around a central group consisting of an octopus fighting with a spiny lobster and a moray, which shows strong similarities in detail to the Fish Mosaic of Palestrina. This composition apparently became popular, because several copies or variations of it have survived from Pompeii, Populonia and elsewhere, dating from 100–50[6]. Another interesting mosaic from the Casa del Fauno is the one depicting an African wild cat catching a hen. The motif of wild cats catching fowl was popular in Egyptian marsh-scenes. In this case it has been combined with a pair of ducks and lotuses, and a still life with fish and shells. The ducks derive from the Nilotic frieze and the fish and shells from the fish mosaic in the same house. This composition also became popular and several copies or variations exist[7].

A mosaic from the Casa del Fauno which has not been preserved showed a lion placed frontally facing the beholder. This unusual motif recurs in other mosaics from Pompeii, Tivoli and Teramo, where the lion grasps a snake or a leopard with its forepaws. A frontal representation of a lion also appears in a mosaic at Palermo depicting a hunting scene where it grasps a fallen hunter in the same way [8]. The hunt mosaic at Palermo, which is badly damaged, shows a hunting scene in which the protagonists are Persians and Greeks and which originally probably included Alexander the Great[9]. There are some striking similarities with the Alexander mosaic from the Casa del Fauno, and it looks as though the two mosaics reflect companion pictures depicting Alexander in battle and Alexander hunting[10]. Another mosaic from the Casa del Fauno shows a young winged Bachus riding a tiger, a motif which is supposed to be of Alexandrian origin[11]. Finally a small *emblema* from the Casa del Fauno shows a *symplegma* of a satyr and a woman. It is particularly interesting that the same scene has been preserved in a mosaic from Thmuis in the neighbourhood of Alexandria[12].

So the workshop appears to have had at its disposal several models in the form of large compositions which are reflected in the Nile Mosaic and Fish Mosaic of Palestrina and in the Alexander mosaic. With motifs taken from such large compositions it created new compositions such as the fish mosaic and the mosaic with the cat from the Casa del Fauno[13]. Its influence can be observed outside the region of the Bay of Naples, in Palestrina, Rome, Populonia, Teramo, Ampurias and perhaps in Sicily. The mosaics in question may have been made either by the workshop itself or by related artists or workshops, or by other workshops which were able to draw upon its popular models. Alternatively they may have been exported in the form of *emblemata*[14].

After 80 B.C. the quality of the workshop's products declined. From the period after the middle of the century there remain only a few small *emblemata* which show no more than a general iconographical relationship with the workshop's earlier products, such as Nilotic scenes and still lifes with fish[15]. This decline may have been caused partly by the death of the founding masters. Perhaps more important, however, was the fact that figurative floor mosaics, which were popular in the later part of the second century and in the first quarter of the first century B.C., began to decline in popularity during the second quarter of the first century. This seems to have been due to the fact that the focus of the decoration of a room, which in the time of the First Style lay in the floor mosaics, shifted to the walls with their paintings of the Second Style[16]. As a consequence the demand for mosaics in *opus vermiculatum* will have declined and the craft will have become less attractive both to entrepreneurs and to talented young craftsmen.

The workshop's specialities included accurately rendered Egyptian scenes and other Alexandrian motifs. It therefore seems quite probable that the workshop maintained relations with Alexandria or even came from Alexandria, which may indeed have been a centre of mosaic art[17]. It has been pointed out that the number of errors in the Greek inscriptions of the Nile Mosaic suggests that the workmen were Italians and not Greeks. However, one should perhaps not overestimate the literacy of craftsmen, who were probably mostly slaves in origin, and such errors were quite common, whether the writers were of Greek or Italian descent[18].

Although products of the workshop are found in Central Italy and perhaps even farther afield, most of its products so far known came from Pompeii. This must be due mainly to the fact that Pompeii is a unique case of a well-preserved Italian town of the late-Hellenistic period. It does not mean that we can assume that the workshop was actually located at Pompeii. Not only was Pompeii a minor town on the Bay of Naples but also the number of surviving mosaics, i.e. c. 25 of which 1/3 comes from the Casa del Fauno, is not large enough to have sustained a local workshop, especially one that was active over a period of half a century. It does suggest, however, that the workshop's products were easily obtainable, and therefore the workshop cannot have been far away[19].

The principal harbour of Central Italy was Puteoli, not far from Pompeii on the other side of Naples. It was there that the commercial routes from the Eastern Mediterranean, from Alexandria and from Delos, reached Central Italy. From there they radiated through Campania and Central Italy, to Rome and, among other places, Praeneste. It was also at Puteoli that the first Serapeum known to us on the Italian mainland had been established, before 105 B.C. The Serapeum of Puteoli lay by the harbour and was especially favoured by sailors and merchants. For these reasons we may safely assume that there was an Alexandrian trading post and a considerable Egyptian colony at Puteoli in the second century B.C. Such a trading post will have imported Alexandrian goods for the Central Italian market. Local mosaic workshops and painters workshops may have purchased Alexandrian models at this trading post. One can even imagine the existence of a mosaic workshop in connection with such a trading post, where smaller mosaics could be purchased and larger ones commissioned for execution on the desired spot[20].

The members of such an Alexandrian mosaic workshop will certainly have maintained relations with the Serapeum, which for them will have served as a tie with their homeland. It is not unlikely that the Serapeum itself was decorated with scenes of the ritual of Osiris and of the inundation, illustrating the *truphe* bestowed upon Egypt by Isis and Osiris, just as the Iseum at Pompeii was in a later period (see figs. 75, 76). Such scenes will have impressed Italian merchants and other visitors who gathered at Puteoli, and may have aroused the interest of potential clients for similar decorations[21].

CHAPTER VII

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Problems of iconography

It is an intriguing problem how such comprehensive scenes as the Nile Mosaic and the Fish Mosaic came into being. Were they designed at Praeneste where the mosaics were made, or did the artists copy models? Since the typical Egyptian scenes could be seen in reality only in Egypt and since most of the Egyptian and Aethiopian animals were not imported to Italy until a later period, the artists of the Nile Mosaic must have worked from models[1]. The question is what these models looked like[2]. E.Q. Visconti suggested that the Nile Mosaic was an imitation of an Alexandrian carpet[3]. Another possibility is that it was inspired by the old Egyptian tradition of painting floors with garden scenes[4]. Maspero pointed out that there was a considerable resemblance between the Nile Mosaic and ancient Egyptian tomb paintings, which employ superposed registers to depict a range of scenes from daily life along the Nile including desert hunting scenes. The Nile Mosaic could reflect a large Egyptian scene of this kind[5]. Schmidt, on the other hand, assumed that the artists composed the mosaic by putting together several smaller scenes, a hippopotamus hunt for example, taken from painted panels or sketches and probably also from manuscript illustrations[6]. The use of illustrated texts for the composition of the mosaic has also been suggested by others[7]. Phillips essentially came to the same conclusion as Schmidt: the model for the Marissa frieze and the upper part of the Nile Mosaic was an illustrated description of an Aethiopian hunting scene, while the lower part was composed by putting together larger separate scenes[8]. Finally Steinmayer argues that both the upper and the lower part were based on illustrated texts[9].

The models which have been proposed therefore range in character from one large complex scene, to a number of separate scenes and even to text illustrations. The last two proposals presuppose that the composition and the landscape of the Nile Mosaic were created largely by the mosaicists themselves as a unifying background, because the models would have lacked the space for these elements.

The models

We have seen that the Nile Mosaic has close connections with ancient literary descriptions: the upper part with descriptions of Aethiopia, like the one by Agatharchides, and the lower part with descriptions of Egypt like that by Diodorus[10]. Does this, then, imply that illustrated texts were used for the composition of the mosaic? This would presuppose a considerable intellectual effort on the part of the designers. Moreover, if we look at the mosaic we cannot fail to notice that even in its present fragmentary state it shows a coherent composition or, more precisely, two compositions, one in the upper and one in the lower half. The entire picture is represented as if the ground is tilted upwards, towards the horizon, which is positioned near the top of the mosaic, so that the spectator seems to look down from a high viewpoint, rather like a bird's-eye view. In this vast landscape setting the many human and animal figures are small in scale. In the lower part foreground and background are distinguished by means of a number of techniques. The structures, the animals and the human figures in the foreground are larger than those in the background, and the major structures, such as the pavilion complex and the Egyptian temple, are also rendered in a bird's-eye view. There are many receding lines which run to the upper right-hand side and which sometimes converge, as in the case of the pavilion. In the upper part perspective is indicated by the zigzag arrangement of the rocks, which rise on different levels between stretches of desert and water, and by the oblique lines which indicate the boundary between water and land. These complex backgrounds contain many details which characterise the environment. In the upper part there are typical Nubian rock formations and trees and shrubs, which form the background for the Aethiopian animals. In the lower part the flooded Nile is essential to set the scene. Moreover, we have seen that in the lower part the more important scenes were not isolated but were closely connected in regard to content and composition. In the original mosaic an oblique line seemingly connected the pavilion scene in the centre of the foreground with the Osiris procession and the Osiris temple higher up on the right-hand side (see fig. 8). The refined treatment of perspective in the landscape of the Nile Mosaic is the earliest example of its kind which has been preserved in ancient art. Moreover, it was to be only rarely paralleled in Roman art[11].

So both in the upper part and in the lower the setting is essential to the scene. There seems to be no reason to assume that the makers of the mosaic added these essential landscape backgrounds to a number of separate text illustrations. The same conclusion has been drawn in the case of the Fish Mosaic, which did not merely show a large number of fish on a neutral water background, but a wide view of a bay rendered in the same bird's-eye view. It appeared that this composition was also essential to the whole scene and could not simply be explained as the result of the artist's supposed ability to combine a large number of fish into one scene, it must again have been a feature of the model[12]. It is not easy to believe that such large compositions including so many details could have fitted into the limited height of a painted scroll. Since the models for the mosaics must have shown both the overall compositions and the multitude of minute details, they must have been of considerable size[13].

The next question is whether these large models were designs made for the particular occasion, or whether they were copies of scenes which existed elsewhere? In the case of the Fish Mosaic it has been possible to demonstrate that there was a model which was adapted considerably in order to fit the specific form of the nymphaeum. This model must, therefore, have been an existing scene and not a design created for the occasion, which would already have taken account of the specific architectural context. In the case of the Nile Mosaic there are no contemporary parallels which allow us to conjecture the existence of an archetype. However, the fact that the upper and the lower parts are essentially separate scenes, each with its own contents and stylistic characteristics, suggests that the mosaic was composed by putting together two different scenes to fit the nymphaeum. It seems then that both the Palestrina mosaics were based upon large scenes in pre-existing works of art[14].

The archetypes

We have already suggested the possibility that the Nile Mosaic, and some Nilotic scenes from Pompeii, were inspired by similar scenes which may have decorated the Serapeum of Puteoli[15]. If this is correct, the latter will have been made from Alexandrian models. This leads us to the general question as to whether such elaborate scenes existed in the Ptolemaic world and, if so, when and where they were created. As mentioned above, Maspero pointed out the striking similarity between the Nile Mosaic and ancient Egyptian tomb paintings, where scenes from daily life along the Nile were often combined with desert hunting scenes. In some hunting scenes, the animals are placed above each other among rocky outcrops and shrubs and trees. In this way the artists created landscape scenes with animals, arranged so as to suggest a bird's-eye view. Such hunting scenes show a striking similarity to the upper part of the Nile Mosaic. The many hippopotamus and crocodile hunts and fishing scenes traditional in Egyptian art are also reminiscent of the Nile Mosaic (cf. fig. 43)[16].

It is often assumed that large landscape compositions with numerous human figures and scenes rendered in bird's-eye view were alien to Greek art. However, there is some evidence that at times the depiction of landscape engaged the interest of Greek artists. The rendering of buildings in perspective was indeed a Greek invention of the classical period. The recent find of a painted frieze at Vergina, which dates from the later part of the fourth century B.C., and which depicts a hunting scene in a complex landscape, is very illuminating in this respect. The landscape consists of rocky outcrops, single trees and a grove, arranged on different planes in the fore- and background. The ground is depicted as if sloping slightly upwards into the background. The hunters and animals are often strikingly foreshortened. In this way a strong sense of spatial depth is created. The picture is closed at the back by a range of mountains. The style of this hunting scene seems to anticipate the rendering of the landscape and perspective of the upper part of the Nile Mosaic. It does not yet show the small scale of human and animal figures in relation to the landscape, nor a real bird's-eye view. The latter conventions were, however, traditional for the large battle and hunting scenes, rendered in a schematic bird's-eye view, which existed in countries of the Near East like Assyria and Egypt. That they were not unknown to the Greeks is demonstrated by the Lycian reliefs from the fourth century B.C., which betray Greek as well as Eastern influence. So, when the Greeks were confronted in Egypt with a tradition of large compositions containing many figures, they would have had little difficulty in adapting and elaborating these to conform with the language of their own naturalistic perspective style[17].

An example of this kind of large composition may have been a painting of a naval battle between Egyptians and Persians which is reported to have been carried out by the painter Nealkes, presumably around the middle of the third century B.C. To indicate that this battle took place on the flooded Nile and not at sea, Nealkes painted a donkey standing on the shore, drinking and being attacked by a crocodile. This painting apparently showed a large expance of water and some indication of a shore[18]. The realistic motif of a crocodile snatching a donkey is one of the characteristic motifs found in Nilotic scenes[19].

There are reasons for assuming that the genre of Nilotic scenes, so popular in the Roman world, also goes back to the third century B.C., although no examples from that period have been preserved. In the first place, scenes from the daily life of poor peasants and fishermen along the Nile and in the marshes of the Delta were a traditional element in Egyptian art. In the second place, the traditional population of Roman Nilotic scenes, peasants and fishermen, dwarfs and pygmies, appear in the form of statuettes in bronze or terra-cotta as early as the third century. It would seem improbable that the Nilotic settings in which these figures find themselves in Roman art were an addition of Roman times. It is more likely that both the Alexandrian statuettes and the Roman Nilotic scenes derive from or reflect Nilotic scenes which existed in Alexandria in the third century B.C. It seems, therefore, that the traditional Egyptian genre of Nilotic landscapes existed also in the early Ptolemaic age[20].

In this respect it is of interest to consider the genre of topographical painting which was practised by the Alexandrian Demetrius the *topographus*, who lived in Rome around 165 B.C. The exact nature of this genre is uncertain but it must have included topographical features, such as characteristic details of landscape, population, fauna and flora, and it was probably rendered in a bird's-eye view, this being the best way of accomodating all the elements in question. This kind of painting was presumably a visual variant of the literary genres of topography and chorography which developed in the wake of the study of geography and natural history practised in the Mouseion at Alexandria in the third century B.C. These were bound up with the exploration of foreign countries like Egypt and Aethiopia[21]. The Mouseion flourished in the third century, but from about 200 the Ptolemaic world experienced a general political and cultural decline together with a rise in the strength of the native Egyptian element. This resulted in the departure of scholars and scientists from Alexandria in the course of the second century[22].

Because of its shape and size, the Marissa frieze, which dates from before or around 200, is suggestive of a painted scroll depicting Aethiopian animals[23]. As in the Nile Mosaic names have been added to many of the figures, but in neither case is there a trace of any other text. It was a long-standing tradition in Greek painting to add names to figures, and the occurrence of the practice here is no indication of a derivation from an illustrated text[24]. If we look at the rest of the decoration in the Marissa tomb, we see that the frieze was not painted on the wall in an arbitrary fashion but forms part of a decorative scheme which embraces the whole room (cf. figs. 56–66). It was carried by rows of columns painted on the walls as rhythmic dividers between the niches. Such a combination is not unknown in real architecture. As an example we may mention the cella of the temple of Bassae and the main dining hall of the Nile-yacht of Ptolemy IV. It seems probable, therefore, that the central room of the Marissa tomb was meant to imitate real architecture, i.e. a hall surrounded by columns or half-columns supporting a figurative frieze. In reality such a hall would have been larger in size than the tomb-chamber, and so the frieze too would have been proportionally larger. If we imagine a frieze with a hunting scene like the Marissa frieze — whether in paint or in painted relief — in a real hall, it is possible that the landscape surroundings, which in the Marissa frieze consisted of only a few trees, played a more important part. They might have consisted of rocky outcrops, shrubs and trees, as in the Vergina frieze and in some ancient Egyptian hunting scenes and, in a more elaborate way, in the Nile Mosaic. We may, therefore, reckon with the possibility that the Marissa frieze was inspired by a larger frieze representing a hunting scene in Aethiopia, in the manner of the Vergina frieze, which decorated a Ptolemaic building[25].

In this respect the Pompeian wall-paintings which show landscapes with wild animals, the so-called 'paradeisoi' or game-park scenes, may also be of interest. The composition of these scenes often show strong similarities with the Vergina frieze and the upper part of the Nile Mosaic. Some of these may have been inspired by real game-parks or by circus scenes. But in other cases, such as the example in the Casa di Romolo e Remo to which we have frequently referred, the location is clearly supposed to be Aethiopia (fig. 29). An Aethiopian setting becomes even more likely if the animal scene appears beside a Nilotic scene, as in the Casa dei Cei. In each case we see large landscape compositions, which may include rocky outcrops, trees and hunters, painted in the same style as the Vergina frieze and the upper part of the Nile Mosaic. All these scenes seem to reflect an early Hellenistic style of depicting large hunting scenes[26]. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that large landscape compositions would not have existed in Alexandrian art. Such compositions may have lain behind both the Marissa frieze and the Nile Mosaic.

The cultural background

The next problem is to determine how these large descriptive Alexandrian compositions came into existence. What was their relationship with the descriptions of the Red Sea coast and Aethiopia in which several of the relevant animals had been mentioned for the first time? These descriptions were partly based on the exploration reports made by the expedition leaders to the king, reports which were kept in the royal archives in Alexandria. One would dearly like to know whether the descriptions and the reports on which they were based contained illustrations and, if so, what these looked like. Did they simply show animals and plants, or did they include more comprehensive scenes[27]? If such illustrated accounts existed, they might have served as models to the artists who created the archetype of an Aethiopian hunting scene. Models seem to have been involved in some way, because the upper part of the Nile Mosaic embodies a faithful picture of the landscape and flora of lower Nubia, a region which would have been too remote for the average artist to have visited. However, artists may have accompanied the exploration expeditions. The Aethiopian animals, on the other hand, were brought to the Alexandrian zoo, where they could be studied in their live state. But whether study of the landscape from life played a part must remain wholly speculative, and it is perhaps best to assume that the artist created the archetype of the upper half in an eclectic way, combining oral, descriptive and figural sources[28].

Designing the lower part of the Nile Mosaic will have been easier because such scenes could be found anywhere in Egypt, and pictures of them were established in the traditional Egyptian repertoire.

So it seems probable that the archetypes after which the Nile Mosaic was composed were large Alexandrian compositions, and that the one used for the upper part was created with the help of text illustrations. More or less free copies of these archetypes were then brought to Italy, where they served as models for the artists who created the Nile Mosaic[29].

Another question which must be asked is whether the two parts of the Nile Mosaic were combined in the archetype in the same way. The Marissa frieze only represents an Aethiopian hunting scene and no Egyptian scenery. In Pompeii Nilotic scenes and African animal scenes, not to mention fishing scenes, always appear separately, although they may be placed side by side, as in the Casa dei Cei at Pompeii. It is possible, therefore, that the artists of the Nile Mosaic combined two originally separate scenes, putting one in the upper and the other in the lower part, so as to fit the specific ground-plan of the nymphaeum. Such a procedure could also explain the slight differences in the composition and in the rendering of the perspective. We cannot then exclude the possibility that the archetypes were originally two separate scenes. This does not imply that they did not originally belong together, but they may have been combined in a different way, for instance in juxtaposition, like the Nilotic scenes and the African animal scene in the Casa dei Cei at Pompeii[30].

All in all it seems that the two Palestrina mosaics allow us to postulate the existence of three large compositions, representing respectively Aethiopia, Egypt at the time of the inundation, and the Mediterranean. All three showed considerable interest in the natural-historical aspects of their subject, and all employed the same kind of composition, namely an extensive landscape background rendered in bird's-eye view and populated with a large number of small figures, so as to give maximum information in the space available. In content, these three compositions were intimately connected because they complemented each other, rather like a triptych, representing the realm of Isis, the Nile from its source to its mouth, and the Ptolemaic realm in its heyday[31]. They then served as models for the Palestrina mosaics and seem to have marked the beginning of genres which became popular fashions in Roman art: Nilotic scenes, 'paradeisos' scenes, and seascapes[32].

When were these archetypes created[33]? To start with the Aethiopian hunt, the exploration of the Red Sea coast seems to have begun around 270 B.C. and the hunting of elephants seems to have continued until the end of the third century B.C. The Marissa frieze cannot be dated later than c. 200 B.C. So it is logical to date the archetype somewhere in the second half of the third century B.C. During the third century the Mouseion of Alexandria, where the Peripatetic school founded by Aristotle specialised in the study of natural history, enjoyed something of a golden age. The geographical and natural-historical interests of the scholars installed there stimulated expeditions to and research into foreign countries, which presumably led in turn to the creation of cartographic paintings[34]. Two kinds of cartographic painting are indicated: chorography and topography. It seems that chorography depicted a large area, a country or island, in the form of a map containing characteristic topographical detail, like rivers, mountains and towns, whereas topography offered a picture of a particular area with characteristic features of landscape, population, flora and fauna, and the like. The two large landscape compositions of Aethiopia and Egypt contained in the Nile Mosaic, with their emphasis on giving information about the natural-historical character of these regions, their landscape, population, flora and fauna, seem to be closely related to Alexandrian topographical painting[35]. The Fish Mosaic showed a large number of Mediterranean fish in a bay, accurately rendered in bird's-eye view. Similarities in descriptive character and composition make it seem a true companion-piece to the Aethiopian hunt scene[36].

With the lower part of the Nile Mosaic the situation is more problematic. On the one hand, in its descriptive character and composition, it shows similarities with both the Aethiopian hunt scene and the Fish Mosaic which suggests that the archetypes of all three scenes go back to the same period. Moreover, as we have seen Nilotic scenes probably existed already in the third century B.C. On the other hand, we have noted that several details suggest a date around 100 B.C., and that the Egyptian parallels for the religious ceremonies date from the late Ptolemaic period. Furthermore, the well-planned composition tends to suggest that it was created for its present context. However, the rites themselves were much older and it was only the narrative fashion of representing them that became more general in the late Ptolemaic period. The composition and the details which seem to be contemporary with the mosaic do not exclude the existence of an earlier archetype; they may be elements introduced by the mosaicists [37].

The interest of the Greeks in Egyptian religion in general, and in Osiris and the Nile flood as a religious phenomenon in particular, began in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221), who built the Serapeum of Alexandria and the Osiris temple of Canopus. The lower part of the Nile Mosaic, therefore, combines the interest in the natural history of Egypt of the first two Ptolemies with the interest in Egyptian religion of Ptolemy III, and for this reason its archetype might best fit into the second half of the third century[38].

The art history of the Ptolemaic period may be outlined roughly as follows[39]. Its heyday was the third century, when it was characterised by a refined naturalism. The second half of the century saw a gradual fusion with Egyptian culture and art. At the end of the third century a general decline set in, combined with a rise of the native Egyptian element, which led to the Ptolemies cultivating mainly Egyptian interest, in the arts and other fields. A revival of the naturalistic Greek style began during the reign of Ptolemy XII Auletes (80–51 B.C.) and continued into the reign of his famous daughter Cleopatra.

In the lower part of the Nile Mosaic the naturalistic way in which the Osiris ceremonies and the meeting of the soldiers are rendered is striking. This represents a strong contrast to the conventional Egyptian style in which these ceremonies are represented in the Egyptian temple reliefs we have discussed (cf. e.g. figs. 70, 84, 93). It would be tempting to ascribe this naturalistic style to the third century. Or should we consider it an early example of the realism of the reign of Auletes? Regrettably, stylistic dividing lines cannot be drawn that sharply. On the one hand, the Egyptian style was obligatory for temple reliefs and several of them actually belong to the reigns of Auletes and Cleopatra. On the other hand, the naturalistic Greek style may have been more persistent in court circles in Alexandria, even during the second century, than is usually realised[40].

To sum up, the close connection in substance and composition suggests that the three supposed archetypes were contemporary. The natural-historical and religious character of the scenes places them in the second half of the third century B.C.; in fact the Aethiopian hunt has a parallel in the Marissa frieze which dates from the later part of the third century. It therefore is reasonable to suppose that the lower part of the Nile Mosaic and the Fish Mosaic, too, go back in all essentials to the later part of the third century. The use of models representing late fourth-century and third century paintings is attested in other cases, for example the Alexander mosaic from the Casa del Fauno, which was presumably made by the same workshop[41]. The interest in the cult of Osiris and the Nile flood expressed in the Nile Mosaic is first seen in the reign of Ptolemy III (246–221). A date in the earlier part of the reign of Ptolemy IV is also possible but, because of the general decline which set in after the battle of Raphia in 217, we cannot go much later. Some time between 240 and 220 would seem the most plausible date[42]. In the light of this conclusion the archetypes must have been paintings and not mosaics, because such elaborate compositions were not usual for mosaics in the third century, nor had the refined *opus vermiculatum* technique necessary to reproduce the detail been developed[43]. To summarize: it would appear that the Palestrina mosaics reflect Alexandrian archetypes from the second half of the third century B.C. Naturally, given that they were themselves made around 110 B.C., they would also have been influenced by scenes in contemporary works of art. However, the lack of comparative material prevents us from deciding in how far this influence may have affected the rendering of the landscape and the perspective[44].

The last question we must consider is in what kind of surroundings such scenes may originally have been set. We have seen that the strong natural-historical interest displayed by the Palestrina mosaics can be associated with the study of natural sciences, pursued by Aristotle's successors at the Ptolemaic court in the Mouseion and the Library. In fact these scenes seem to be large-scale visualisations of natural-historical treatises which were made and collected in the Library. It is tempting to consider the possibility that similar scenes decorated a hall or portico in the Mouseion and Library complex in the Royal Palace at Alexandria, in the way we have postulated for the Marissa frieze[45]. Yet there exists an even more attractive possibility, namely the Daughter Library of the Mouseion which was connected to the Serapeum, and which was presumably also founded by Ptolemy III. The religious connotations of all three scenes, embracing Isis, Osiris-Sarapis and the Nile flood, and the well-being of nature due to these powers, would seem particularly appropriate for the Serapeum and its library. It is, therefore, tempting to conjecture that such scenes may have decorated a hall or one of the long porticoes of the Serapeum complex, just as similar scenes later decorated the Iseum of Pompeii (see figs. 75, 76)[46]. The Serapeum was an important religious centre in Alexandria and must have attracted numerous visitors. We can imagine these visitors gazing in fascination at works of art which represented the exotic marvels of the Ptolemaic realm, the land of Isis and Osiris-Sarapis. Scenes of this kind could also have traveled abroad, either as souvenirs of an exotic world, or in the wake of the Egyptian cults, to decorate the sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis in foreign parts of the Mediterranean. In either case they created a decorative fashion which continued into the Middle Ages, when their symbolism of *truphe* and divine providence was given a Christian interpretation[47].

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE *ONOKENTAURA* (Ch. III, n. 7)[1]

The onocentaur is mentioned for the first time by Pythagoras in the time of Ptolemy II, as quoted by Aelian *NA* II 9. Aelian also uses the female form *onokentaura.* The description he gives seems rather fantastic: 'its body resembles that of an ass, its colour is ashen but inclines to white beneath the flanks. It has a human chest with teats and a human face surrounded by thick hair. It may use its arms to seize and hold things but also to run. It has a violent temper and does not endure capture' [2]. The name onocentaur also appears in the Septuagint as a translation for jackals or similar animals, and the creature is mentioned among the demons and sirens who dwell in the ruins of Babylon[3]. In the Physiologus it even became a symbol for mankind, combining noble qualities of character with bestial instincts[4]. Evidently the nature of the onocentaur was so uncertain that its name could be used in various contexts.

The representation in the Nile Mosaic is the only surviving visual image with a distinctive character. Other representations merely show a common centaur[5]. Unlike the centaur, the onocentaur in the Nile Mosaic has no human torso or arms and its head is positioned directly upon the trunk. It is curious to note that the hoofs of the forelegs are cloven while those of the hindlegs are not. The hoofs of antelopes are cloven, those of asses are not. Only the forelegs, however, are original, so it is possible that the Dal Pozzo copyist made a mistake when drawing the hindlegs.

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[1] For the onocentaur see *RE* XVIII, 1, 487 ff., s.v. Onokentauros; Phillips 153 ff.; Steinmayer 69 ff.; George, Yapp 78 f. For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 c.

[2] Aelian *NA* VII 9; see Ch. III, n. 6.

[3] *Cf.* Isaiah XIII 22; XXXIV 14.

[4] Physiologus 13; F. Sbordone, *Physiologi Graeci* (1936) 51 f.

[5] Phillips 208, supposed that an illustration in the Smyrna Physiologus depicting a common centaur represents the onocentaur (see J. Strygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus* (1899) 16, pl. II; K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (1959) 17, fig. 20). However, the text couples hippocentaurs and onocentaurs and several mss. even omit the onocentaur, so the illustration in the Smyrna ms. is more likely to represent the hippocentaur, see Sbordone (*o.c.* in n. 4) 51. In the medieval bestiaries the onocentaur is represented as an ass with a human trunk, see George, Yapp, 78 f.

As regards the interpretation of the onocentaur, it has been assumed that Aelian's account is a conflation of descriptions of a large monkey and of a hoofed animal[6]. Steinmayer recognises light horizontal stripes on the upper part of the creature's forelegs and consequently identifies the hoofed animal of Aelian's description and the representation in the Nile Mosaic with the okapi, which has this same seemingly unique feature. However, the okapi lives in the forests of Central Africa and it is generally assumed that its existence became known only around 1900[7]. The stripes on the forelegs of the animal in the Nile Mosaic may just be highlights. Moreover, the Somali wild ass also has horizontal stripes on its forelegs so that feature is not unique[8]. More important, the animal in the Nile Mosaic does not show the least resemblance to the okapi. The only animal which does resemble an ass with a hairy head is the blue wildebeest or gnu[9]. It has the same size, slender build and greyish colours. The long head with the white beard corresponds more or less with the onocentaur's head in the Nile Mosaic, and even the cloven hoofs and the tail would be correctly represented. The long head, which it tends to shake violently, and the use of its horns and forelegs to fight and grub in the earth, may have given the impression that it had a torso and arms. The gnu bulls have the exceptional fighting habit of dropping on their 'knees' and sparring with their horns. Perhaps the curious remark by Aelian that the onocentaur used its arms to seize its prey as well as to run, is ultimately based on the fighting habits of the gnu. The gnu now lives in Kenya and further to the south, but may occasionally be found in Abyssinia, and in antiquity may have lived further to the north like several other animals which we find in the Nile Mosaic, such as the elephant and the rhinoceros. The zebra, *hippotigris*, too was known in antiquity[10]. The strange *catoblepas*, which according to Pliny lived near the sources of the Nile, has also been identified with the gnu because of the characteristic position of the head[11]. An animal built not unlike the gnu is still vaguely visible among African animals in the animal scene in the Casa di Romolo e Remo at Pompeii and has indeed been identified as a gnu (see fig. 29, it is situated above the elephant)[12]. Although this would support the idea that the ancients knew of the gnu, the identification is not certain. The heavy build of the animal, the brownish colour and the conspicuous genitals are suggestive rather of a wisent. A wisent also appears among the African and Indian animals in the great hunt mosaic at Piazza Armerina[13]. In both cases it will have represented the African buffalo. This extremely wild animal, mentioned in several literary sources, will hardly ever have been seen alive. Instead artists may have depicted the wildest buffalo they knew, i.e. the wisent[14]. The *hippagros*, which is mentioned by Oppian and which has also been identified with the gnu, was more probably one of the large kinds of antelopes such as the roan antelope or the Cape eland. The same may apply to the *hippelaphos* mentioned by Aristotle[15]. To sum up, while the gnu may not have been unknown to the ancient world, knowledge of it must have been rather vague, especially before the Roman period. This may explain why in the course of time various names were given to it. When the Greeks spotted this unknown animal in Aethiopia in the 3rd century B.C., they invented the name onocentaur. The ass was also used as the basis of a description of another newly discovered horned animal, namely the *onelaphos*, perhaps the oryx, which figured in the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II[16].

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[6] See *RE l.c.* in n. 1; Steinmayer 69 ff.

[7] See for the okapi Steinmayer, fig. 35; Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 3, 1. For its discovery see Steinmayer 72; L. Keimer, Die fälschlich als Okapi gedeuteten altägyptischen Darstellungen des Gottes Seth, *Acta Tropica* 7 (1950) 110 ff.; R. Valdez, R.G. Tuck, On the Identification of the Animals accompanying the 'Ethiopian' Delegation in the Bas-reliefs of the Apadana at Persepolis, *Iran* XVII (1980) 156 f., esp. 170, n. 16. The mysterious animal in the Persepolis reliefs which has sometimes been identified as an okapi has now been convincingly shown to represent an Indian Nilgai antelope (see Valdez, Tuck 156 f.).

[8] See Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 20,1.

[9] See Haltenorth, Diller, 75, pl. 15,5.

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[10] See Keller I, 274; Mielsch 1986, fig. 14.

[11] See PLiny *NH* VIII 32, 78; Keller I, 296.

[12] See Mielsch 1986, 736.

[13] See Carandini, fig. 121; Dorigo, pls. VI, VII; Mielsch 1989, 462.

[14] For the wisent see Keller I, 341 ff.; Pliny *NH* VIII 15; and for the African buffalo see further Ch. III, n. 23, Ch. IV, n. 9.

[15] For the *hippagros* see Oppian *Cynegetica* III, 251 ff.; Keller I, 274; Kádár 103 f.; cf. Rice 89; for the *hippelaphos* see Aristotle *HA* II 1, 498, 632; for the antelopes see resp. Haltenorth, Diller 60 f., pl. 14, 2; and 56 f., pl. 10, 6–7.

[16] See Ch. IV, n. 13.

The representation of the onocentaur in the Nile Mosaic offers a reasonably good picture of the little-known gnu, combining the body of a wild ass, with cloven hoofs and a head surrounded by a white mane. Compared to Aelian's description or any of the other literary sources, this picture suggests a closer connection with the original source of information, literary or visual, on the animal[17].

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[17] Cf. Ch. III, n. 6.

APPENDIX 2

THE *THOANTES* (Ch. III, n. 14)

The name *thoantes* is known only from the Nile Mosaic. It is apparently a variant of *thoes*, the plural of *thos*. This is usually translated as jackal but sometimes also as hound or panther[1]. Two animals are depicted. They are of canine build with a yellow skin with dark spots, a mane and long ears. These cannot be jackals or hounds which are never spotted in this way. They are thus usually identified with the spotted hyena, which is a canine animal with a similarly spotted skin[2]. In fact the ancient sources which refer to the *thos* are not always clear and in some cases apparently a spotted animal is meant. The *thos* has, therefore, sometimes been identified with a civet cat or even with a stoat[3]. Arrian VIII 15, 3 states that besides ordinary *thoes* (jackals) larger ones exist which have a spotted skin and which are called tigers. Here Arrian may be referring to the wild or hunting dog, which like the jackal belongs to a large variety of wild dogs but which is the only one with a spotted skin[4]. Alternatively he may be referring to the spotted hyena. The difference between the wild dog and the spotted hyena is that the former has large irregular spots of a brownish colour and the latter has a yellowish skin with small dark spots not unlike the cheetah. In fact the name tiger was also used for the cheetah as we shall see in section 7[5]. Herodotus IV 192, speaks of *thoes* and *panthers* by which he means jackals (and/or wild dogs and/or spotted hyenas) and cheetahs[6]. Apparently these varieties of wild dogs and jackals and hyenas were not always clearly distinguished in antiquity and even today the German name for the hunting dog is *Hyänenhund*[7]. The spotted skin of the spotted *thos* is explained in the *Cynegetica* by Oppian of Apamea (the so called Ps. Oppian) III 336 ff., where we learn that it springs from the union of a wolf and a leopard. This union is depicted in a famous manuscript in Venice (see our fig. 31a)[8]. Elsewhere in the Venice Oppian the result of this union is depicted, i.e. a wolf, spotted like a cheetah, hunting with other wolves (see our fig. 31b)[9]. The spotted hyena in this illustration looks exactly like the animals in the Nile mosaic. So it appears that the name *thos* could refer not only to the jackal but to all kinds of wild dogs and, since the spotted wild dog and the spotted hyena could be confused, *thos* could also refer to the latter. The confusion between the jackal, the spotted wild dog and the spotted hyena may be explained by the fact that these animals were only rarely seen in the classical world[10].

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[1] See *IG* XIV, 1302 d; H.G. Liddel, R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexikon* (1983) s.v. θώς.

[2] See Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 29, and Haltenorth, Diller 202, pl. 38,4; cf. Gullini 1956, 43; Steinmayer 60 f., figs. 13, 14; Pieralisi 25 f.; Aurigemma 82, n. 16.

[3] Cf. Phillips 130 ff.; I. Krumbiegel, Die Thos-Tiere des Aristoteles, *Archeion* 16 (1934) 24 ff.

[4] See Haltenorth, Diller 157 ff., esp. pl. 29,6.

[5] See Appendix 4.

[6] Cf. Appendix 4.

It is likely then that the *thoantes* in the Nile Mosaic are indeed spotted hyenas. The hyena is mentioned by Agatharchides among the Aethiopian animals with the name *krokottas.* In the Nile Mosaic the name *krokottas* is attached to the more common striped hyena, which is depicted in section 3. But since Agatharchides describes a large animal he probably means a spotted hyena, and the name *krokottas* actually seems to have been the Aethiopian name for the spotted hyena[11]. The Aethiopian *krokottas,* also called dog-wolf, is furthermore described by Ctesias and by the explorer Dalion[12]. The spotted hyena lived in the Sudan and was hardly known even in Egypt[13]. It is stronger and wilder than its common Egyptian relative, the striped hyena, which is depicted in section 3. The spotted hyena may occasionally have appeared among the large numbers of hyenas which were shown in the Roman circus[14]. Pliny *NH* VIII 28, 70, describes an animal with the build of a wolf but with a spotted skin, which was called *chama* or lynx, and figured in the games of Pompey in 55 B.C. It is usually identified with a lynx, an animal which does not look at all like a wolf, but the description rather suggests a spotted hyena[15]. In the same games were shown, besides a number of elephants, a rhinoceros and baboons, all Aethiopian animals. The games of Pompey coincided with the restoration to the throne of Egypt of Ptolemy Auletes, largely with Pompey's help, and this may explain the presence of several Aethiopian animals[16]. The first time that a *crocotta* is mentioned as being shown in the games in Rome was in the time of Antoninus Pius[17]. This must again refer to the spotted hyena and not to the common striped hyena. Representations of spotted hyenas are very rare. A fine depiction appears among Aethiopian animals in a mosaic from Adana[18]. Another representation of a *thos* with a spotted skin may be found in the Venice Oppian. The latter picture is evidently copied from another image in the same ms., which is a literal visualisation of a *panther*, i.e. an animal comprising the characteristics of all kinds of animals. The illuminator will have copied the latter image because of the spotted skin which he associated with the *thos*[19]. Actually *panther* seems originally to have been the name for the genet, which also has a spotted skin, and was only later given to the cheetah[20]. What we see in the Nile Mosaic is therefore a rare depiction of Aethiopian spotted hyenas, which have been labelled *thoantes* because they were confused with jackals and spotted wild dogs. The Aethiopian name *krokottas* for this animal has in the Nile Mosaic been given to the common striped hyena, which should more properly have been labelled hyena[21].

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[7] See Keller I, 89 f.; *LÄ* III, 77f., s.v. Hunde.

[8] Oppian *Cynegetica* III, 336; Venice, Cod. Ven. Marc., Gr. Z. 479, fol. 49 v.; Kádár 104, pl. 176,1.

[9] Folio 48 r., 48 v.; Kádár 104, pls. 174, 2; 175, 1. The latter of these two illustrations seems to illustrate Oppian *Cynegetica* III 273, where the animal described actually is a striped hyena whereas in l. 288 Oppian speaks of spotted hyenas.

[10] See Keller I, 89, 152; *LÄ* III, 91, s.v. Hyäne, and for the confusion between wild dogs, wolves and the animals discussed here, Kádár 104.

[11] For Agatharchides see Woelk fr. 77; Photius VII, 176, fr. 77; Strabo XVI 4,16. For the striped hyena see Ch. III, n. 38. For the name *krokottas* see Keller I, 152; Phillips 146 ff.

[12] See Ctesias Fr. 87 (see *Herodotus Historiarum Libri IX, et Ctesiae Cnidii fragmenta* etc., ed. by G. Dindorfius and C. Müller, Paris 1855); and for Dalion Ch. III, n. 13; O. Keller, *Rerum Naturalium Scriptores Graeci Minores* (1877) 106; Philips 148. See for the *krokottas* further Keller I, 152 ff.; Jennison 84 f.; Phillips 147 ff.

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[13] See *LÄ* III, 91, s.v. Hyäne, cf. a rare representation in Trigger 43, fig. 10.

[14] See Keller I, 152; Toynbee 16, 18.

[15] Cf. Keller I, 83; Toynbee 87; and Oppian *Cynegetica* III 336 ff., referred to in n. 8.

[16] See Pliny *NH* VIII 7, 20–21; 28, 70 and 29, 71; and Ch. III, nn. 51, 65 and 49; cf. Gowers (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 65) 107.

[17] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Ant. Pius 10, 9; Jennison 84 f.; Toynbee 18, 92.

[18] See Mielsch 1986, 753 f., fig. 7; L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien II, Die heidnischen Mosaiken* (1972) 20 ff., figs. 14, 17, 18.

[19] See J. Spatharakis, The Working Methods of the Artist of Ps. Oppian's Cynegetica, *Diptícha* 4 (1986) 28 ff., esp. 32 f.; Kádár 92, pls. 139,2; 166,2.

[20] See Appendix 4, n. 13; Jennison 184.

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[21] See Ch. III, n. 38, fig. 12.

APPENDIX 3

THE *NABOUS* (Ch. III, n. 39)

A *nabus* is mentioned as an Aethiopian animal by Pliny *NH* VIII 27, 69. This is simply a Latin transcription of a word which is otherwise known only from the label in the Nile Mosaic. Pliny states that it is the Aethiopian name for the giraffe, which the Greeks called the *kamelopardalis,* spotted camel, because of its resemblance to the Arabian camel, the dromedary[1]. Consequently, Keller identified the animal represented in the Nile Mosaic which has a yellow-brownish skin, as a giraffe with a plain skin. Young giraffes may occasionally be plain-skinned[2]. However, not far from the *nabous* in section 5 two fine giraffes are correctly depicted with high shoulders and long straight necks and clearly designated by the inscription *kamelopardalis.* They look very different from the *nabous* (fig. 11). Schmidt thought that the *nabous* in the Nile Mosaic represented a zebu, and Steinmayer identifies it with a Cape eland. The latter animal, however, has a short neck and heavy horns. Phillips is reminded of an animal resembling a giraffe but leaves the matter open[3]. Examination of the *nabous* in the Nile Mosaic reveals that the long neck is not straight but curved, and we only have to move the hump above its shoulders further back to obtain a fine specimen of a dromedary, the Arabian camel. It is regrettable that the animal's characteristic feet are not visible. The dromedary and the giraffe were believed to be related and consequently could be confused[4]. The misplacing of the dromedary's hump above the shoulder, apparently by confusion with the giraffe, may be found in some other pictures of the animal[5]. There also exist pictures of dromedaries, and even of a real double-humped camel, with spotted skins[6]. The general confusion between the dromedary and the giraffe may explain why in the Nile Mosaic the Aethiopian name for the giraffe has been attached to the dromedary. The giraffe has been discussed in connection with section 5[7]. Although the existence of the dromedary in Egypt is sometimes attested for earlier periods, it seems to have been introduced more generally only in the Ptolemaic period. Six pairs of camels (presumably dromedaries) took part in the Procession of Ptolemy II[8]. The appearance of a dromedary among the Aethiopian animals in the upper part of the Nile Mosaic suggests that it was believed to live there. This belief may have been due to various reasons: the fact that the dromedary was confused with the giraffe; the fact that it was introduced to Egypt together with Aethiopian animals; the fact that it was used for transport between Alexandria and the Red Sea ports, along which way Aethiopian and Indian products were imported; finally, the possibility that the dromedary had been imported into Aethiopia even before the Ptolemaic period, brought directly from Arabia over the Red Sea[9]. A dromedary appears in the Isiac procession on a plaster mould for a drinking cup from Egypt (see fig. 87)[10]. Representations of dromedaries occur on Roman coins and in the vaguely Egyptianising landscape, referred to as the Yellow Frieze, in the Casa di Livia in Rome[11]. A camel fight was put on in the

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[1] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 g. For the *nabus* see Phillips 97, 133 ff.; Keller I, 284.

[2] Keller in *RE* VII,1 (1910) 1367, s.v. Giraffe. Cf. an example among the tribute being brought by Nubians to Egypt in a depiction in the tomb of Huy at Thebes, *L'image du noir,* pl. 24; Michalowski, fig. 114.

[3] Schmidt 73; Steinmayer 67 f., fig. 31; cf. Haltenorth, Diller n. 57, pl. 10, 6-7; Phillips 152.

[4] See Mielsch 1986, 748 ff., 759 ff.; *idem* 1989, 462; cf. e.g. Heliodorus X 27.

[5] See Crawford, pl. LXVIII, 15: control mark on Roman coin of 64 B.C.;

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and Kádár, pl. 178,2: an illustration in the Venice Oppian; in the latter case the text refers to a hybrid between a camel and a leopard, so a giraffe, but the artist actually depicted dromedaries, see Oppian *Cynegetica* III, 461 ff., Kádár 105.

[6] See Mielsch 1986, fig, 1: mosaic from Rimini, and figs. 15, 16: mosaics from Israel; Carandini fo. XXIX: Piazza Armerina mosaic.

[7] See Ch. III, nn. 42, 44, 45.

[8] For the dromedary in general see *RE* X, 2, 1824 ff., s.v. Kamel; Keller I, 275; *LÄ* III, 304 f., s.v. Kamel; Boessneck 83; Toynbee 137 ff.; K. Schauenburg, Die Cameliden im Altertum, *BJb* 155/156 (1955/1956) 59 ff.; *idem*, Neue antike Cameliden, *BJb* 162 (1962) 98ff. For the dromedary in Egypt see Rice 92 ff.; Scholz 121, n. 278; M. Ripinsky, The Camel in Dynastic Egypt, *JEA* 71 (1985) 134 ff.

[9] For the confusion with the dromedary see above nn. 4, 6; for the Procession see Ch. III, n. 43, IV, n. 46; for the dromedary as a means of transport in the Red Sea trade route, see Ch. III, n. 33, Rice 93; for the import of the dromedary into Aethiopia see Epstein 565; Scholz 121, 127, nn. 278, 304).

[10] See Ch. IV, n. 123.

[11] For the coins see Crawford pl. LXVIII, 15, control mark on a coin of 64; Crawford, no. 422, pl. LI, no. 431,1; pl. LII; *RM* 93 (1986) 272, pl. 127,

circus in the time of Claudius and such an event is depicted in a mosaic from the Aventine in Rome[12]. Dromedaries sometimes also figure in the triumph of Dionysus[13].

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dromedary beside eastern ruler on coins of 55 and 58 A.D.; for the Yellow Frieze see Rizzo, pl. VII; Rostovtzeff 1911, 12 ff., esp. 20, pl. I c.; and our Ch. V, n. 11.

[12] See Dio Cassius LX 7,3; Toynbee 137 ff.; and Nogara, pl. IX; *MAAR* XVII (1940) pl. 31, fig. 1.

[13] For examples on sarcophagi see Matz 2, pls. 122, 124, 125, 127, 134; and for examples in mosaics Donderer (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 41) 81 ff., fig. 3.

APPENDIX 4

THE *TIGRIS* (Ch. III, n. 60)

The inscriptions would lead us to expect tigers, but the animals represented have the spotted skin and slender build of the hunting leopard or cheetah[1]. In general the naming of beasts of prey in antiquity was confused[2]. The tiger was until recently occasionally found as far west as Armenia, but it is not mentioned before the time of Alexander the Great and may earlier have been subsumed under the fabulous Indian *manticora*, man-eater[3]. At all events, the tiger remained a rarity throughout the Hellenistic period. The first time a live tiger was exhibited in Rome was at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus by Augustus[4]. Yet, in spite of its rarity, there are a couple of reasonably accurate early representations, i.e. in two mosaics from Delos and Pompeii, though in the last case provided with a lion's mane, both from c. 100 B.C.[5]. There are, however, several cases where the name *tigris* cannot refer to the tiger. Diodorus mentions Babylonian 'tigers'; Ptolemaeus mentions Aethiopian 'tigers'. Heliogabalus had 51 'tigers' killed in the circus in 218 A.D., together with rhinoceroses, giraffes and crocodiles, a number which would have been quite impossible to collect because the tiger is a solitary animal[6]. A clue to the identification of these 'tigers' may perhaps be found in the name. *Tigris* seems originally to have been an Armenian or Persian word for arrow, and it was given to the river of that name because of the speed of its waters[7]. It seems unlikely that the name 'arrow' could have been given to the slow tiger, unless the reference was to the 'arrow'-like stripes on its skin. The animal which would pre-eminently fit the name is the cheetah, the fastest beast of prey which hunted the plains of Asia and Africa. The Babylonian and Aethiopian tigers must have been cheetahs. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the name *tigris* originally referred to the cheetah and only later came to be used for the tiger. Arrian also calls a spotted hunting dog 'tiger'[8]. This may be because the cheetah not only had a spotted skin, but was also tamed and used for hunting[9]. So the cheetahs in the Nile Mosaic seem to be correctly represented and labelled. The confusion between the Aethiopian and the Indian tiger resulted, however, in later representations where a real tiger appears together with Aethiopian animals[10]. The Indian and Aethiopian animals were generally confused[11]. The cheetah was a common beast of prey in Africa and Asia, just like the leopard, from which it is not always clearly distinguished[12]. Its more common name was *panther*, which originally seems to have been the name of the genet and was not given to the cheetah until later[13]. Cheetahs and leopards were brought to Egypt as tribute by the Nubians[14]. Agatharchides mentions the *panther* as an Aethiopian animal, but it is not clear whether he refers to a leopard, a cheetah or a genet[15]. Panthers and leopards figured in the Procession and are depicted, though incorrectly, in the Marissa frieze (figs. 57, 58)[16]. A fine cheetah is depicted in the animal frieze in the Shatby mosaic and another fine representation occurs in a mosaic from Delos[17]. In Rome panthers appeared in the amphitheatre as early as 186 B.C.[18].

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[1] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 k; in the mosaic it is actually spelled TIΓYIC but the Dal Pozzo copy gives TIΓPIC; for the cheetah see Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 41,3; Steinmayer 39, fig. 10.

[2] Cf. Keller I, 62, 80; Jennison 183 ff.; Rice 96; our Ch. IV, n. 7.

[3] For the tiger see Keller I, 61 f.; *RE* 2. Reihe. VI, 946 ff., s.v. Tiger; Toynbee 69 ff.; and for the *manticora* see Aristotle *HA* II 1 (501, a 25–31); Pliny *HN* VIII 21, 75; Pausanias IX 21, 4; G.J.M. Bartelink, Het fabeldier martichoras of mantichora, *Hermeneus* 43 (1972) 169 ff. George and Yapp 60, propose to identify the *manticora* with the cheetah because the tiger usually has a separate chapter from the *manticora* in medieval bestiaries. However, they also state, 55, that the tiger does not appear in the earlier bestiaries. The very fact that the tiger is a later addition may suggest that the name *manticora* originally did refer to the tiger and that this association was later forgotten. Besides, the cheetah was widespread and well-known and cannot have been considered a fabulous Indian animal.

[4] See Pliny *NH* VIII 25, 66; Keller, *RE*, and Toynbee, *ll.cc.* in n. 3.

[5] See respectively Bruneau, no. 293, figs. 248. 249, col. pl. C 2; and below Ch. VI, n. 11.

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[6] See Diodorus II 50,2; Ptolemaeus *Geographia* IV 82; Keller 62.

[7] See *RE* 2. Reihe. VI, 948 and 1008, s.v. Tigris; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (1968) 1116 s.v.; Varro *LL* V, 20, 100; Strabo XI 14, 8.

[8] See Arrian IX 15, 3; our Ch. III, n. 14.

[9] Cf. Keller I, 86.

[10] See *e.g.* the Adana mosaic, Mielsch 1986, fig. 1; and Piazza Armerina, Carandini, figs. 124, 128, 129, 131; Dorigo, pls. VII, VIII.

[11] See Ch. III, n. 33.

[12] See Haltenorth, Diller 205 ff., pl. 41,3; Keller I, 62 f. and 86 ff.; Rice 96 f.; *LÄ* II, 530, s.v. Gepard; III, 1006 f., s.v. Leopard; IV 664 f., s.v. Panther.

[13] See Jennison 184.

[14] See *LÄ* VI, 762 ff., s.v. Tribut; Drenkhahn 117; *e.g.* Davies, pl. XIX; Junker 1958, 269.

[15] Cf. Woelk, fr. 70; p. 174, and in general Jennison 183 ff.

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[16] For the procession see Rice 96 f.; for the Marissa frieze Ch. IV, nn.7, 8.

[17] See respectively Daszewski, pl. 10, and Bruneau, no. 142, fig. 182; col. pl. Charbonneaux, fig. 192.

[18] Livy XLIV 18,8; Toynbee 17, 82 ff.

APPENDIX 5

THE *CHOIROPITHEKOS* (Ch. III, n. 66)

Apart from the Nile Mosaic the *choiropithekos* is also mentioned by Aristotle, who states that the chameleon has a body resembling a lizard but that its snout looks like that of a *choiropithekos*. The name, literally hog-monkey, is sometimes explained as a monkey with a hog's snout, i.e. a kind of baboon[1]. Because of the ambiguous name and the indistinct appearance of the animal depicted in the Nile Mosaic it has been identified in various ways. Keller considered it too much of a hybrid to be identifiable at all. Phillips also thinks that identification is impossible, but believes it to be a monkey-like animal. Steinmayer identifies Aristotle's *choiropithekos* with the badger. Since the badger does not live in Africa she considers the possibility that the name has here been given to a similar kind of animal and suggests the potto. This is, however, a small forest animal which does not live in the Sudan[2]. Others have connected the name to the boars which appear nearby in section 10 and identified the animal simply as a boar. Indeed in most respects it looks like some kind of hog or boar[3]. Moreover, Pliny *NH* VIII 51, 121, who repeats Aristotle's description of the chameleon, simply states that its snout is not unlike that of a hog. The *choiropithekos* seems indeed to have been some kind of hog. It does not look like a common hog or boar, neither of which lives in the Sudan anyway, but it is similar to the bush-pig or river-hog, which lives in the southern Sudan[4]. Accepting this identification we may translate the name *choiropithekos* the other way round: not as a monkey with a hog's head but as a hog with a monkey's head, just as the *choirelaphos* is a horned boar[5]. The snout of a baboon is not unlike that of a hog, but the characteristic of the river hog, which may particularly have invoked comparison with certain baboons, is the amount of white hair around its head[6]. The reason that Aristotle compared the snout of the chameleon to that of a *choirepithekos* may be that it differs from the pointed flat heads of lizards in having a more prominent forehead reminiscent of a hog. Actually it is comparable to the heads of pigs or boars in general and that is how Pliny saw it. The comparison with the river hog can only have been made after this animal became known to the classical world, presumably in the early Ptolemaic period. This would suggest that the passage about the chameleon in Aristotle must be a later addition[7].

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[1] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 s; for the animal see Aristotle *HA* II xi; 503a19; for the translations see e.g. P. Louis, ed. Budé (1964) and A.L. Peck, ed. Loeb (1965).

[2] See Keller I, 10 and 281; Phillips 167; Steinmayer 63 ff., figs. 19, 20; for the potto see Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 48, 6 and 8.

[3] See Ch. II, n. 68; Pieralisi 30; Marucchi 1895, 33 ff.; McDermott 93, 108, 185; Aurigemma 84, n. 19; cf. a strikingly similar terracotta in Weber (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 162) pl. 40, no. 450.

[4] See Haltenorth, Diller, 21, pl. 2.

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[5] See Ch. III, nn. 55, 68.

[6] See e.g. Haltenorth, Diller, pls. 49, 53.

[7] For the discovery of Sudanese animals see in general Ch. IV, n. 44 and for the *choiropethekos* O. Regenbogen, Bemerkungen zur *HA* des Aristoteles, *StItFilCl* 27–28 (1956) 444 ff., who suggests that it derives from Theophrastus.

APPENDIX 6

THE *MURMEKOLEON* (Ch. IV, n. 35)

Actually the name *myrmecoleon*, ant-lion, appears only in late sources, and the early sources merely speak of 'lions called ants'. The ant-lion is a mysterious animal which is mentioned for the first time by Agatharchides[1]. The confusion in the identification of the animal derives from the fact that the various sources refer to two different animals, which were both called ant-lion, notably a small mammal and an insect. Agatharchides and Strabo, the earliest sources, state that the Aethiopian variant of the ant-lion has golden hair and has its genitals reversed, features which suggest that they are referring to a kind of mammal. Later references, e.g. in the Physiologus, seem to refer to an animal which combines characteristics of lion and ant[2]. A late source like Gregory the Great, offers a vivid description of the insect, ant-lion, and its habit of feeding on ants[3]. In view of these diverging sources it is no wonder that the ant-lion has been identified variously . It is identified with the insect by Diekstra[4]. Others have concluded that it was a fantasy animal, combining features of different animals in the style of the sphinx or the griffin[5]. An interesting comparison has been made between the ant-lion and the gold-mining ants described by Strabo shortly before[6]. These gold-mining ants lived in India. They made holes in the ground, just like ants, but they were bigger than foxes. While digging these holes they were believed to throw up gold-dust which the population tried to collect. This animal may be identified with the

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[1] See Woelk fr. 69; Photius VII, 174, fr. 69; Strabo XVI 4, 15; see Woelk 172 f.; George, Yapp 64, 214 f.

[2] See Physiologus 20; Sbordone (*o.c.* in Appendix 1, n. 4) 73 ff.

[3] *Moralia in Job* (ed. 1979) V xx, 40.

[4] See F.N.M. Diekstra, The "Physiologus", *Neophilologus* 69 (1985) 142 ff., esp. 147.

[5] See H.L. Jones,*The Geography of Strabo* (1917–1932; ed. Loeb) VII, 64, n. 2; Woelk 173, with discussion of earlier identifications.

[6] Strabo XV 1, 44; see Jones (*o.c.* in n. 5) 334, n. 1; George, Yapp 64; and for the gold-mining ants see Herodotus III 102; Arrian VIII 15,3; Pliny *NH* XI 36, 111.

Kashmir bobak (*arctomys bobak*), a kind of marmot, which lives in colonies in extensive tunnels under mounds. It was apparently called an ant because of its similar practice of living in groups, in holes and termitaries. The Kashmir bobak or gold-mining ant was also called *arctomys*, bear-mouse, which apparently derived from its appearance which resembles a small bear. The latter name was for the same reason used for the badger[7]. George and Yapp suggest to identify both the gold-mining ant and the ant-lion with the honey badger. This animal, however, has conspicuous black and white colouring and does not live in groups[8]. With more reason the name *arctomys* was used for the dassie, which was also called *choirogryllion* . The dassie is common in Asia and East Africa[9]. It looks like a small bear, has a brownish-yellow skin and protruding front teeth. It lives in colonies in holes in termitaries. It is thus not unlike the gold-mining ant and may have required a similar sort of name. Furthermore, the dassie has the unique feature of a long glandular zone on its back. This feature may perhaps be the explanation for the otherwise incomprehensible observation that the Aethiopian ant-lion has its genitals reversed[10]. With some varieties of the dassie, like the yellow-spotted hyrax, which lives only in East Africa, the glandular zone is especially marked by orange-yellow hair around it[11]. This could be the origin of Strabo's observation that the ant-lion's unique feature was characteristic of the variety which lived in Somaliland. Before we have already considered the possibility that the strange animal which appears in the Nile Mosaic below the giraffes in section 5 might be a dassie[12].

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[7] For the Kashmir bobak see Keller I, 174, 184 f.

[8] See George, Yapp 64; and Haltenorth, Diller 167, pl. 31,6.

[9] See Keller I, 175, 209 f.; Haltenorth, Diller 109 ff., pl. 60, 1–2.

[10] Actually Woelk (*l.c.* in n. 1) translates *apestrammena* with 'on their backs' although this may seem a free translation.

[11] See Strabo *l.c.* in n. 1; Haltenorth, Diller 111, pl. 60,2.

[12] See Ch. III, n. 46.

APPENDIX 7

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE EAGLE IN CONNECTION WITH OSIRIS AND THE NILE FLOOD (Ch. IV, n. 83)

In the Roman period the eagle is not only found with Zeus but also with Sarapis[1]. It may even be found with Osiris Canopus (see fig. 69a–c)[2]. In most of these cases the eagle carries a bust of Sarapis or one or two Canopi on its back and it spreads its wings widely as if flying. It has been assumed that this type of 'flying' eagle should be distinguished from the usual Ptolemaic and Roman eagles and that, deriving from the Syrian eagle, it especially symbolised apotheosis[3]. However, it seems doubtful that this rigid distinction really existed. In the first place the eagle was already a symbol of apotheosis before the time of the Seleucid kings. In the second place the two types of eagles may be found beside each other on the same tombs[4]. The eagle which carries Titus to heaven on the arch of Titus has its wings lowered. The Ptolemaic eagle may also, therefore, have symbolised eternity. The eagle's connection with Sarapis and Osiris Canopus may have been based on various factors. In the first place it may simply derive from the assimilation of Sarapis with Zeus-Amon, from whom Sarapis also adopted the ram's horns[5]. In the second place the eagle could in Egypt have had an affinity with the mythical Phoenix, which was also the bird of heaven and eternity. The Egyptian Phoenix, the *benu* bird, was the solar bird, and was a symbol of rejuvenation, revival and eternity[6]. In hieroglyphic writing the Nile flood was represented by the *benu* bird, depicted like a kind of heron, sitting on a perch. This bird also sits in the sacred Ished tree guarding over Osiris' tomb (see fig. 80)[7]. The Nile flood, which was believed to be the efflux of Osiris' body, came forth from Osiris' tomb[8]. At Philae Osiris was assimilated with the *benu* and his tomb on the island of Bigeh was called the House of the Phoenix[9]. The coming of the Nile flood could be announced by the Phoenix[10]. So Osiris and his Graeco-Roman counterpart Sarapis were intimately connected with the Nile flood and with the Phoenix. Moreover, the eagle on Ptolemaic coins, which represents the sovereign, is often accompanied by a cornucopia or a lotus flower, both symbols of the regenerative powers of the Nile flood[11]. In these cases, therefore, it is clear that the eagle, symbol of the sovereign, is also presented as lord of the Nile flood. In this respect it is also interesting to note that, according to Diodorus I 19, 2, the Nile could be called 'eagle', because its waters sweep down at the time of the flood with tremendous speed and violence. The true explanation of this designation may perhaps be sought in the concept of the eagle as lord of the flood rather than in any kind of popular aetiology.

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[1] See W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis* (1973) (*EPRO* 32) 219 ff., figs. 174, 176, 190.

[2] For fig. 69a see G. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (1901) pl. XI, 823; for fig. 69b Dattari pl. XI, 2504, *SNG Copenhagen* 1974, pl. XIV, 553, *BMC Alexandria*, pl. XVIII, 1134 (for a variant of this motif with the eagles facing each other, from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, see Dattari 3622; J.G. Milne, Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (repr. 1971) pl. II, 2553); for fig. 69c see Dattari, pl. XI, 3623; *SNG Copenhagen* 1974, pl. XIV, 553.

[3] See Möbius 25, Jucker (*o.c.* in Ch. IV, n. 82) 138 ff.

[4] See Ch. IV, n. 82; and e.g. the Khasneh, see McKenzie, pls. 3, 5, 6, 79: eagles with wings down; McKenzie, pls. 2,4,7: eagles with wings raised. For the arch of Titus see E. Nash, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Rom* (1961–62) I, pl. 144.

[5] See Ch. IV, nn. 76, 77 and Hornbostel (*o.c.* in n. 1)182, figs. 117 and 198, and the examples of Sarapis with eagle given above in n. 1.

It seems then that on Ptolemaic coins the eagle represented the sovereign also as lord of the flood. This was possible on the one hand because the sovereigns were traditionally associated with

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[6] For the Phoenix see e.g. Herodotus II 73; Van den Broek 251 f., 402; Peters, Thiersch 88 f. For the *benu LÄ* IV, 1033 ff., s.v. Phönix, cf. above Ch. III, n. 50.

[7] See respectively Bonneau 86; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (1950) 470, G32; and Ch. IV, n. 112.

[8] See Ch. IV, n. 113.

[9] See Junker 1 f.; Kákosy 187 ff.; and Ch. IV, nn. 112, 113.

[10] See Merkelbach 16, n. 21, and below in this appendix.

[11] For the eagle as representative of the sovereign see Ch. IV, n. 76, Möbius 24 ff. For the cornucopia which was an important attribute of Isis and the Ptolemaic sovereigns, especially the queens, and symbolised the fertility of the Nile flood which they bestowed on the country, see *SNG Copenhagen* 1977, e.g. pls. VII, VIII, reproducing coins of Ptolemy III with Zeus-Amon on the obverse, below nn. 154, 155, 166; Jucker (*o.c.* in Ch. IV, n. 82) 150 ff.; Möbius 26 ff., pl. VI; Thompson 1973, 31 f., 54 f., 83; Charbonneaux 1957, 135 ff.; Fraser I, 241 ff.; Rice 203 ff. For the lotus as symbol of the fertility of the Nile flood and as head-gear of Isis and Osiris, see Ch. III, n. 105, figs. 18, 48, 71, 75; *BMC The Ptolemies*, pls. XVI, 9; XIX, 2–3; XX, 3–4, reproducing coins of Ptolemies V and VI.

Osiris (and since the Ptolemaic period with Sarapis) and with the Nile flood. On the other hand the eagle could be assimilated with the Phoenix, which also was associated with Osiris and the Nile flood. The essential meaning of the Phoenix and of the eagle and of Osiris-Sarapis was the same, i.e. eternity[12]. This combination of associations may also explain why we find the eagle with Osiris Canopus. It was perhaps especially characteristic of the cult of Osiris at Canopus, which was intimately connected with the Ptolemaic sovereigns[13]. It is even possible that the eagle refers specifically to the Phoenix which allegedly came to Canopus to announce a new Sothis period in 238 B.C. on the occasion of the calendar reform by Ptolemy III, the builder of the Osiris temple[14].

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[12] See *LÄ* IV, 1033 ff. s.v. Phönix; Merkelbach 47 ff.; Kákosy 39 ff.

[13] See Ch. IV, n. 195.

[14] Cf. Alföldi 10 f.; Van den Broek 106 f.; and for the calendar reform Ch. IV, nn. 174, 175, and Appendix 12.

APPENDIX 8

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TOMB OF OSIRIS IN THE RELIEFS OF HADRIAN'S GATE AT PHILAE

(Ch. IV, nn. 115, 116)

Representations of the tomb of Osiris in the island of Bigeh may be seen in the reliefs on the walls of a landing station at Philae, known as Hadrian's Gate[1]. The first relief is on the inner side of the south wall of Hadrian's Gate at Philae (fig. 82). Junker assumed that this represented the sacred grove[2]. The picture of the Abaton shows a clump of stylised branches or trees rising from the hieroglyphic figure for a pond or an irrigated piece of land. This interpretation would offer a fine parallel for the island with the grove in the Nile Mosaic. However, it is not certain that this interpretation is correct. In the first place the various representations of the Abaton show an embarassing lack of similarity, especially in regard of the trees or branches. The representation in the relief of Hadrian's Gate recurs in reduced form as a hieroglyph in the spelling of the name Abaton[3]. In a relief in the temple of Isis at Philae we find the same row of trees or branches, but now rising from what seems to be a kind of tub[4]. In another relief of Hadrian's Gate appears the same figure of a pond, but now a large bush of branches rises from it[5]. Another relief in the Isis temple depicts a tree with branches similar to the trees or branches rising from the pond in our figure 82[6]. Junker assumed that all these representations depicted the same tree or trees, which in Egyptian texts are especially connected with Osiris' tomb[7]. However, various trees and plants are associated with

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[1] For this relief see *PM* VI, 254 (4); Junker 37 ff., 50 ff., fig. 20; Vassilika, pl. XL B. The entire wall is reproduced in *Description de l'Egypte, Antiquités* I, pl. 19, 1. For the date in the reign of Marcus Aurelius see Ch. IV, n. 114.

[2] See Junker 50 ff., cf. 26, where it is stated that the Ba of Osiris dwells on the trees of the grove. In this he was followed by *PM l.c.* and *RÄRG* 528, fig. 131; 576, s.v. Osirisgrab.

[3] See Junker 51, 72.

[4] See Junker 61, fig. 21; *Philae*, pl. XXXVI.

[5] See Junker 54, fig. 18.

[6] See Junker 52, fig. 17; *Philae*, pl. XLII.

[7] Junker 50 ff.

Osiris' tomb. The Dendera inscription states that the sarcophagus of Osiris must be buried in the place of the *nbh* plants in the crypt beneath the Ished trees[8]. At Philae mention is made of the *iw* tree or plant beside the sarcophagus[9]. In addition we hear of the Ished tree beside Osiris' tomb which has been identified with the Balanites[10]. The *iw* is sometimes identified as a sycamore[11]. Since, however, it is consistantly spelled with the hieroglyph for a plant instead of that for a tree, such as is used for example for the Ished tree, it seems to have been a plant rather than a large tree like the sycamore is[12]. At all events its identity remains uncertain. The plant *nbh* has not been identified either. Its connection with the crypt may imply that it was identical with or related to the *iw* plant[13].

The stylised trees or branches in the relief of Hadrian's Gate are reminiscent of ears of barley, without the stalks, and so could perhaps represent a stylised cornfield[14]. This could suggest an identification with the field of corn and barley which lay somewhere near the Abaton[15]. However, this field served only for the preparation of the corn-mummy, and, although the corn was a necessary element of the ritual, the field was not a central part of it[16]. In connection with ears of corn one could also consider the possibility that the scene represents the ears of corn sprouting from the corn-mummy which was the central element in the ritual of Osiris. Usually this is represented by the figure of a mummy with ears sprouting from it (see fig. 81)[17]. But perhaps we have in this case a representation which shows the ears sprouting from the basin in which the corn-mummy was placed to be watered till the germination of the grain and which was called the 'garden'[18]. Although representations of the corn-mummy usually show ears with stalks, it is also possible to point to ears without stalks which look very similar to the branches in this relief[19]. This interpretation is perhaps the more probable one. However, another possibility is that the pond with the trees or plants rising from it represents the crypt of the funerary temple in which the mummy of Osiris rested on an island surrounded by reeds and water. This crypt, which could be identical with the place of the *nbh* plants, was believed to be the source of the Nile flood and is depicted in another relief of Hadrian's Gate (see fig. 83)[20]. The branches rising from the pond in our scene look not unlike a kind of reed which is depicted in the sun-temple of Nyuserre[21]. Perhaps this kind of reed is identical with the *iw* or *nbh* plant growing near Osiris' sarcophagus[22].

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[8] See Chassinat 231 f., Baum 273; for the Dendera inscription Ch. IV, n. 126; and for the crypt and the burial ritual Appendix 9.

[9] Junker 50–54.

[10] See Ch. IV, n. 111.

[11] See Baum 69, n. 203; 309, n. 442; 311, n. 456.

[12] Cf. Junker 52.

[13] Cf. Baum 18 ff.

[14] Cf. R.T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (1959) 101: corn rising from the symbol of an irrigated piece of land.

[15] See Junker 39; Chassinat 498. The name which Diodorus gives to Bigeh, i.e. the 'sacred field' could point in the same direction (Diod. I 22, 3; Junker 74 f).

[16] See Chassinat 502 ff.; and for the corn-mummy Ch. IV, n. 127.

[17] See Ch. IV, n. 127.

So we see that trees or plants are found connected with Osiris' tomb in various ways. Until these interesting reliefs and their accompanying texts have been properly published, and the identity of the various trees and plants established, it is impossible to draw conclusions regarding their exact meaning. Nevertheless, each of the interpretations discussed is more or less appropriate for a symbolic representation of the source of the revival of the vegetation; there is no doubt that, whatever the precise reading adopted, the scene in question represents the Abaton.

The second relief is situated on the inner side of the wall of Hadrian's Gate (see fig. 83)[23]. Thot and Isis stand before the temple pylon. Three pylons precede the actual funerary temple, which consists of a square naos with Isis standing in the doorway[24]. In the interior of the temple we see the hieroglyph of the sun rising above the eastern horizon, a symbol of rebirth and eternity. At his rebirth Osiris is assimilated with Re[25]. The sun contains

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[18] Cf. Junker, fig. 21; *Philae*, pl. XXXVI; and see Chassinat 53 f.; Beinlich 276; Raven 1982, 30.

[19] See resp. Ch. IV, n. 127, and Lanzone (*o.c.* in Ch. IV, n. 112) pl. CCIII.

[20] See below in this Appendix and fig. 83.

[21] For this temple see Ch. IV, n. 68, and for the reed, Baum 240–242, figs. 56, 57.

[22] See above nn. 8, 13; Junker 52, and compare 54, fig. 18.

[23] For this relief see *PM* VI, 255 (6–7); Junker 41 ff., figs. 10a–b; Kákosy 191 ff., figs. 1–3; Derchain 36 f.; Vassilika, pl. XXXIX C; the entire wall is reproduced in *Description de l'Egypte, Antiquités* I, pl. 19,2.

[24] Cf. for the architecture Ch. III, n. 108.

[25] See Kákosy 191 f.; and Goyon 101 ff., our Ch. IV, n. 63.

Harpocrates and Osiris, and beneath this scene comes a representation of Horus in the shape of a crocodile carrying the mummy of Osiris, surrounded by reeds. It looks as if this last scene takes place in a low-lying part of the temple, a crypt, which was in some way connected to the Nile so that water entered and reeds grew in it. In this crypt rested Osiris' mummy, which was the source of the Nile flood and of the regenerative power of nature[26]. A comparison may be drawn with the so-called Osireion of the Osiris temple at Abydos, which consisted of a crypt lying beneath a grove behind the temple. This crypt contained a primeval island surrounded by water, and a chamber for a sarcophagus. Although it presumably was a cenotaph for Sethos I, its arrangement was undoubtedly inspired by the tomb of Osiris[27].

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[26] See nn. 83, 113, figs. 81, 82; Junker 40, 44; Goyon 101 ff.; Kákosy 39 ff.; Alföldi 12.

[27] See *RÄRG* 567, s.v. Osireion; *LÄ* IV, 622 f., s.v. Osireion; Strabo XVII 1, 41; Badawy 1968, 218 ff., fig. 129, pls. 11–12; David 13, fig. on 217. For other Osiris-Nile crypts see *LÄ* III, 823 ff., s.v. Krypte; Yoyotte 100 ff.

APPENDIX 9

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE TEMPLE AND TOMB OF OSIRIS IN RELATION TO THE RITUALS (Ch. IV, n. 128)

The short account of the ritual given in Ch. IV, p. 63, is adequate to explain the way in which this is representated in the Nile Mosaic. In reality, however, the ritual was much more complicated; moreover variations may have existed in different places. We shall shortly discuss the processes involved, in order to gain a better understanding both of the representation in the Nile Mosaic and of the other representations which we have adduced for comparative purposes (see figs. 75, 77, 79–85 and 89). Nevertheless several aspects must remain unclear, because the procedures of the Osiris ritual have not been studied in full.

Our best source of information is the Dendera inscription which, however, contains many obscure elements[1]. On the roof of the temple at Dendera there are two complexes of chapels, which we may call the eastern and western chapel, each consisting of three rooms[2]. The revival ritual seems to have taken place in the eastern chapel which contains both the Dendera inscription (in the first room) and a representation of the 'garden' in which the rebirth of the corn-mummy took place (on the backwall of the third room)[3]. On the 22nd of the month of Khoiak there was a festive boat procession which carried the revived mummy together with Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Amon, Thot, Anubis, the 29 children of Horus, 34 boats and 365 lamps. The procession was staged in miniature on the sacred lake of the temple[4]. At the end of the procession the Corn Osiris was placed in the western chapel, which was called the upper Duat or upper tomb[5]. While the ritual of the corn-mummy was performed there, a mummy of Osiris-Sokaris was also prepared in the eastern chapel. On the 24th this mummy was carried in a procession through and round the temple and was eventually also placed in the western chapel[6]. On the 26th took place the famous procession with the Henu-bark of Sokaris[7]. The mummies of Osiris and Sokaris underwent the various embalmment rites and then remained in the upper tomb for the rest of the year[8]. The mummies of Osiris and Sokaris of the previous year had in the mean-time been moved from the third room to the second room of the chapel. They were redressed and placed in new sarcophagi and then on the 30th of Khoiak buried in the lower tomb. This is described as the place of the *nbh* plants beneath the grove in the necropolis; it has not been preserved[9]. The Dendera inscription tells us firstly that the Khoiak mystery consisted of two rituals, i.e. those of the Corn Osiris and of Sokaris, which proceeded partly in parallel; secondly that several larger or smaller processions with sarcophagi took place[10], and thirdly that there were two 'funerals': that of the new mummies of Osiris and Sokaris, in the upper tomb, on the 22nd and 24th of Khoiak respectively, and that of the old mummies in the lower tomb on the 30th. The distinction between the upper and the lower tomb reflected Egyptian burial practice where a tomb usually consisted of a funerary chapel, the upper tomb, for funerary rites above ground, and the lower tomb, a crypt which contained the sarcophagi[11]. What is striking about Dendera, however, is that at Dendera the upper and lower tombs were not connected; the upper one was on the roof of the temple while the lower one must have been elsewhere. This may be explained by the fact that the ritual took place in the roof chapels of the temple and the burial elsewhere.

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[1] See Ch. IV, n. 126

[2] In literature they are also referred to as the southern and northern chapel respectively, see *PM* VI , 93 ff.; Beinlich 312 f.; Cauville 24.

[3] Cauville 23 ff., 27 ff.; Beinlich 276 ff.

[4] See Chassinat 71, 229, 614 ff.; Cauville 29.

[5] See Chassinat 71, 257 ff., 618 ff.

The other sanctuary where we are informed about the Osiris ritual is the temple of Isis at Philae. In this case the tomb of Osiris, the Abaton, was situated on the island of Bigeh[12]. The procedures at Philae have been partly reconstructed by Junker on the basis of the Abaton decree inscribed on Hadrian's Gate at Philae[13]. In general terms they bear a similarity to those described at Dendera but it is not easy to carry out a more detailed comparison. This is mainly due to the fact that the inscriptions and reliefs in the Osiris chapel on the temple roof at Philae have never been comprehensively studied[14]. The most conspicuous part of the ritual at Philae was the great funeral boat procession, in which Isis annually transported the Ba of Osiris, from Philae to the Abaton at Bigeh, together with many offerings. The object was to bring about Osiris' revival and thus the Nile to efflux[15]. The gods who took part in the procession are the same as those mentioned at Dendera and include Khnum and Ptah. The 365 lamps mentioned at Dendera do not reappear here but one may compare the 365 altars which surrounded Osiris' tomb at Bigeh[16]. The procession is represented on the architrave of the interior of the pronaos of the temple at Philae[17]. Essentially it was identical to and had the same aim as that of the 22nd of Khoiak at Dendera[18]. The Ba of Osiris, represented by a falcon with a human head, personified the vital powers of the deceased and dwelt separately from the mummy in the trees of the tomb[19]. So when the inscription at Philae states that a new Ba should be brought to the Abaton this implies that it should be accompanied by a new mummy. The ritual of the Corn Osiris and Sokaris, too, were performed in the Isis temple at Philae, as appears from a relief in the roof-chapel which depicts the sprouting of the corn-mummy and the carrying of Sokaris by the four sons of Horus (see fig. 81)[20]. The corn-mummy must therefore have played a part in the procession although this is not discussed by Junker[21]. In the Dendera inscription the Ba of Osiris is hardly mentioned. Nevertheless, it is depicted in a relief sitting in the tree beside Osiris' mummy.

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[6] See Chassinat 71, 635 f., cf. our Ch. IV, n. 126.

[7] See *LÄ* V, 1066 f., s.v. Sokar, XII, Henu-bark; Cauville 30 ff., fig. 5.

[8] Chassinat 71 f., Cauville 31.

[9] See Chassinat 71 ff., 232 ff., 618 ff., 625 ff., 632 ff.; cf. our Appendices 8 and 10.

[10] See further Appendix 10.

[11] See Chassinat 227, 618 f.; Junker 44; and in general *LÄ* I, 994 ff., s.v. Dat; II, 826 ff., s.v. Grab, esp. 834; Badawy 1968, 415 ff., e.g. figs. 217, 219; Chassinat 626 ff.

[12] See n. 113, App. 8, figs. 82, 83, 88, 89.

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[13] See Ch. IV, n. 114 and Junker *passim*.

[14] See *Philae* 123–127, pls. XXXIX- XLII.

[15] See Junker 39 f., 57, and the inscription reproduced at the beginning of this book.

[16] See Junker 28 f., 39 f., 57 f., 70 f.

[17] See *Philae*, pls. LXII–LXV; Junker fig. 19.

[18] See Junker 70, 86 f.

[19] See our fig. 82; Junker 26, 66 ff., figs. 23, 24; *LÄ* I, 588 ff., s.v. Ba.

[20] See Ch. IV, n. 127, and Appendix 10; *Philae*, pl. XL.

[21] For some references to the corn-mummy, see Junker 8 and 38.

Among the procession shrines and sarcophagi with mummies of Osiris and Sokaris, described and depicted at Dendera, there is a shrine supporting three figures of the Ba[22]. So the Ba of Osiris too played a part in the funeral procession at Dendera[23]. A difference is that the date of the procession at Philae seems to have been the 12th of the month Epiphi, which is four months before Khoiak[24]. However, that is not a real problem because the date of the festival of Osiris in practice changed over the course of time owing to the unstable character of the Egyptian calendar. In the Ptolemaic period the month Epiphi actually fell around the time of the beginning of the flood[25]. Yet another difference is that at Dendera the boat procession was a miniature procession staged on the sacred lake of the temple whereas at Philae it was a real boat procession sailing to the island of Bigeh (cf. fig. 89). This difference may be explained by the different location of the tombs at Dendera and Philae. At Philae there was only one roof chapel, while the funerary temple and the tomb were at Bigeh. The burial procession was therefore a real boat procession sailing from Philae to Bigeh[26]. At Dendera the western roof chapel served as the upper tomb , so the boat procession was staged in miniature on the sacred lake and then returned to the temple roof. The arrangement at Dendera implies another procession on the 30th to the lower tomb, which was situated elsewhere, while at Bigeh that burial may have passed unnoticed within the funerary temple complex. So far the course of events at Philae seems reasonably clear, despite the differences from procedures at Dendera. The question is when and where the Sokaris rites, which are depicted in the roof chapel, were performed. These rites included the carrying of the mummy Sokaris by the four sons of Horus and the procession with the Henu bark (see fig. 81)[27]. Since only one procession is mentioned at Philae, it seems that it must have included both the Corn Osiris and Sokaris, which suggests a different order from that followed at Dendera. None of this is discussed by Junker and it is impossible to reach a decision as long as the relevant inscriptions and reliefs in the roof chapel at Philae have not been fully studied.

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[22] Cf. Junker 66; see Mariette IV, pl. 72; Junker, fig. 15; cf. the Abaton relief at Philae discussed in Appendix 8, fig. 82; and Chassinat 632 f.; Mariette IV, pl. 67.

[23] For the procession see Appendix 10.

[24] See Junker 28.

[25] See Ch. IV, nn. 174, 176.

[26] See Appendix 8; Junker 35 ff., 41 ff., 71.

[27] See our fig. 81, and *Philae*, pls. XL, XLII.

We have much less information about the Khoiak festival at other places, but in two cases, at Sais and at Canopus, there is mention of a boat procession of Osiris, apparently a public event[28].

So it appears that considerable differences may have existed in the ritual of Osiris from place to place, depending on the local situation[29]. This was not unusual in Egyptian religion[30].

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[28] See respectively Merkelbach 37; Dunand 1973, I, 217, and our Ch. IV, n. 193; Chassinat 614 f.

[29] See Chassinat 257 ff., and the examples of Osiris sanctuaries given in *LÄ* I, 16, s.v. Abaton.

[30] Another case where a ritual may vary markedly according to location, owing to differences in the lay-out of the temple, is the exposure of the divine image to the sun on new year's day, see *LÄ* IV, 466 ff., s.v. Neujahr, esp. 470.

APPENDIX 10

THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF OSIRIS AND SOKARIS AT DENDERA (Ch. IV, n.129)

The meaning of the scenes at Dendera, depicting a procession with the sarcophagi of Osiris and Sokaris, is uncertain because the inscriptions and reliefs of the roof chapels at Dendera have not been fully published. Several smaller and larger processions were involved in the ritual, and it is not always clear to which stage the reliefs refer[1]. The two scenes reproduced in our fig. 77, flank the door leading to the third room of the western chapel. This position and the fact that the bearers and the mummies are all facing outwards suggest that the procession is leaving the room. If we assume that the order of events suggested by Cauville is correct and that the new mummies were placed in the third room of the western chapel, which served as the upper tomb, then Beinlich and Cauville are probably right in supposing that the reliefs represent the previous year's mummies being brought to the lower tomb[2]. In any case, these reliefs give a good impression how the sarcophagus of Osiris was carried in a procession, or more precisely, how it was carried to or from a procession litter[3]. They thus offer a fine parallel for the procession in the Nile Mosaic.

In another relief at Dendera a boat-shaped procession litter stands beside the tomb of Osiris. The Pharaoh, who acts as high priest, is also present (see fig. 84)[4]. The exact meaning of this scene is again unclear. The relief is situated in the third room of the eastern chapel, which also contains the relief with the 'garden' of the corn-mummy, and which is presumably the place where the revival ritual was performed[5]. The litter with the sarcophagus of Osiris at the left forms part of a series of boat-shaped procession litters with various shrines and sarcophagi of Osiris and Sokaris[6]. The position of this scene in the third room and its presence with the other procession litters may suggest that these scenes refer to the great boat procession of the 22nd of Khoiak in which the Corn Osiris was brought to the upper tomb[7]. However, in the tomb we see the falcon-headed mummy of Sokaris and among the other litters appears the Henu-bark of Sokaris[8]. This might imply that Sokaris took part in the procession of the 22nd, but we know that Sokaris was only brought to the upper tomb on the 24th[9]. The presence of the Henu-bark on the other hand suggests the great procession of Sokaris on the 26th. However, another picture of the Henu-bark and reference to it can be seen in the second room of the western chapel[10]. That is a more logical position because the mummy of Sokaris had already been brought to the western chapel before the procession with the Henu-bark took place.

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[1] For the reliefs reproduced in fig. 77 see Ch. IV, n. 99 and cf. Appendix 9.

[2] See Beinlich 281, 283; Cauville 31, and cf. Appendix 9.

[3] Cf. Ch. IV, n. 93.

[4] See Ch. IV, n. 118.

[5] See Cauville 27 ff.; and our Ch. IV, n. 127.

Cauville suggests that the Sokaris procession is represented in yet another picture of a procession, notably in the first room of the eastern chapel[11]. It shows rows of priests representing the *nomes* of Upper and Lower Egypt headed by the Pharaoh, and litters with the sarcophagi of Osiris and Sokaris. Here, however, the conspicuous Henu-bark is missing, while the sarcophagi of Osiris and Sokaris suggest a shared procession. This would point to their common burial on the 30th, except that the position of the reliefs is suggestive rather of the beginning of the ritual. For completeness' sake it must be noted that yet two more processions with Osiris are mentioned in the inscriptions, respectively on the 24th and 25th[12].

The position of the second relief in the third room of the eastern chapel and the connection with other litters could suggest that it represents the procession with the new Sokaris mummy to the upper tomb on the 24th. It must be noted, however, that among the other litters there is one with the sarcophagus of Osiris and three others which in the Dendera inscription are described as belonging to the funeral procession of the old mummies on the 30th of Khoiak[13]. This suggests that the scene refers to the burial of the mummies of Osiris and Sokaris of the previous year in the lower tomb in the grove, on the 30th of Khoiak. In that case the position of the relief in the third room of the eastern chapel still has to be explained. In view of the confusing nature of the evidence, the lack of publication of the relevant texts and reliefs is particularly annoying. It remains impossible to reach any conclusion. Nonetheless, the two Dendera reliefs discussed here offer exceptional illustrations of the funeral ritual of Osiris-Sokaris[14].

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[6] See Mariette IV, pls. 64–68.

[7] Thus Cauville 29, cf. Appendix 9.

[8] Mariette IV, pl. 64; cf. Appendix 9, n. 7.

[9] See Appendix 9, n. 6.

[10] For the procession with the Henu-bark see Appendix 9; for the references to it in the 2nd room of the western chapel see Cauville 31 ff., fig. 5.

[11] Cauville 32 f.; *PM* VI, 96; Mariette IV, pls. 31–34, the sarcophagi have not been reproduced in Mariette's plates.

[12] See Chassinat 639.

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[13] See Appendix 9, and Chassinat 66f., 624 f., 632 f.; Mariette IV, pls. 65–67.

[14] For the presence of the Pharaoh, see Ch. IV, nn. 155, 156.

APPENDIX 11

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF OSIRIS IN THE NILE MOSAIC (Ch. IV, n. 130)

Several larger and smaller processions formed part of the ritual of the Khoiak festival. At first sight the procession in the Nile Mosaic seems neatly to illustrate the instruction in the Dendera inscription that the Osiris mummy of the previous year should be buried in the crypt in the funerary grove. This, however, was a minor event which is attested only at Dendera. The great funeral processions were those with the new mummies of Osiris and Sokaris on the 22nd and the 24th of Khoiak respectively[1]. The procession with the Henu-bark on the 26th may be excluded because it was not a boat procession but circled round the temple, and its main feature, the conspicuous Henu-bark, is not present in the Nile Mosaic[2]. In general it was the great funeral procession of Osiris which was associated especially with the inundation. At Philae it is stated specifically that the procession to the Abaton at Bigeh had to take place before the Nile could efflux[3]. In the temple of Opet at Thebes, too, the festive funeral of Osiris is associated with the inundation[4]. The procession in the Nile Mosaic plays an important part in the composition. Its pompous and festive character is indicated by the presence of the divine standards and the train of female musicians. The standards with the animal symbols of the gods and the provinces of Egypt also were part of the great funeral processions of Osiris[5]. At Philae the funeral procession was a real boat procession, and a real boat procession is attested also for other places such as Canopus and Sais[6]. We have already seen that in the Nile Mosaic, on the right-hand side of the propylon in section 16, originally there was probably a boat to which the female musicians were looking. It seems therefore that a boat was part of the procession and that it may have carried the sarcophagus of Osiris or a shrine for Isis[7]. The procession in the Nile Mosaic may thus have been a real boat procession which in the original mosaic seemed to come from the Egyptian temple (cf. fig. 8)[8].

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[1] See in general Appendices 9, 10, and the references in Appendix 9, n. 9 and nn. 4, 6, respectively.

[2] See Appendix 9, n. 7; Cauville 31 f., fig. 5; *LÄ* II, 1119, s.v. Henu-barke.

[3] For the connection between the funeral procession and the inundation see Appendix 9, n. 15; Junker 39 f., 57; the motto at the beginning of this book and in general Ch. IV, n. 113.

[4] See De Wit III, 151.

[5] See Ch. IV, n. 103; the standards are not mentioned specifically at Dendera but cf. Chassinat 342, 635, where they are mentioned in connection with the procession of Sokaris on the 24th. For the female musicians see Ch. III, n. 189, fig. 70; they are not mentioned at Dendera but compare Cauville 32, fig. 5, where Anubis plays the tambourine on the occasion of the procession of the Henu-bark on the 26th.

With regard to the sarcophagus carried in the Nile Mosaic, the following observations may be made. The fact that it is carried by four priests can be explained by our conclusion that it was not a real sarcophagus but a ritual one (cf. fig. 77)[9]. The fact that the priests carry it on poles and not on the usual procession litter suggests a stage in the proceedings where the sarcophagus was carried from the procession litter, which may have remained on the boat, now missing in section 16, to the tomb[10]. The sarcophagus in the Nile Mosaic is plain but may originally have had a figure of a jackal or falcon on top[11]. Regrettably the Dendera inscription does not inform us about the manner in which the corn-mummy was carried in the procession of the 22nd of Khoiak but it was presumably in much the same fashion as the mummy of Sokaris was transported on the 24th, i.e. in a wooden sarcophagus[12]. It may have looked like the ornate sarcophagus which is depicted in the third room of the eastern chapel, where the new mummies had been prepared. This stands on a ceremonial couch and is richly decorated but there is nothing on top of it[13]. In the third room of the western chapel, where the new mummies of Osiris and Sokaris were placed after the procession and remained for the rest of the year, there are pictures of the mummies of Osiris and Sokaris, lying in their sarcophagi. These were again placed on ceremonial couches and have figures of falcons on the top and at the corners[14]. The sarcophagi in which the mummies of Osiris and Sokaris of the previous year were placed on the 24th were plain and had no figures on top[15]. The procession sarcophagi in which these were transported on the 30th showed sometimes a figure of a jackal or a falcon on top[16]. So the evidence of the sarcophagi at Dendera is rather inconclusive. The simple character of the sarcophagus in the Nile Mosaic may perhaps indicate that it was the sarcophagus of the mummy of the previous year. On the other hand, it is very similar to the sarcophagus in the Osiris shrine in the painting from the Iseum at Pompeii (see fig. 76)[17].

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[6] See Appendix 9, n. 28.

[7] See Ch. IV, n. 104; Ch. III, n. 190.

[8] See Ch. IV, nn. 131, 133.

[9] For the carrying of real sarcophagi see Ch. IV, n. 93, and for the size of ritual sarcophagi Chassinat 60, 66 f; it will not have exceeded 60–80 cm in length, 36 cm in width, and 22 cm in height.

[10] Cf. nn. 93, 129, figs. 77 and 84.

[11] See Ch. IV, n.102; Ch. III, n. 187.

[12] See Chassinat 71.

[13] See Mariette IV, pl. 72.

To sum up the evidence: most of it suggests that the procession in the Nile Mosaic was the great funeral procession of the mummy of the newly revived Osiris of the 22nd of Khoiak, rather than the final burial of the old Osiris mummy on the 30th. However, we must ask ourselves whether it actually was the aim of the designer of the mosaic to present a specific part of this complicated ritual. It seems more likely that he just wanted to convey a general impression of the festive funeral procession of the revived Osiris to his tomb, from which the Nile flood would come forth, and combined several aspects of the ritual in one scene. In this generalised form the Khoiak festival will have been comprehensible to common Egyptians and certainly to Romans, while the knowledge that in reality the Khoiak ritual was much more complicated will have remained restricted to the priesthood[18].

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[14] See Mariette IV, pls. 89, 90; cf. for this kind of decoration Ch. IV, n. 102.

[15] See Chassinat 60, perhaps they are represented in our fig. 77.

[16] See Chassinat 66f., 632 f., and cf. our fig. 84.

[17] See Ch. IV, n. 97.

[18] For the symbolic character of the Nile Mosaic see Ch. IV, pp. 73–75.

APPENDIX 12

THE FEASTS OF THE NILE FLOOD AND THE NEW YEAR IN THE CANOPUS DECREE AND THE ASSUAN STELE

(Ch. IV, nn. 178, 179)

The beginning of the flood ideally coincided with the day Sothis rose again in the sky, which usually happened around the 19th of July. Originally this date fell on the 1st of Thot which was the first day of the inundation season and of the new year. However, due to the unstable character of the Egyptian calendar the 1st of Thot had moved in the course of time from the 19th of July. Nevertheless, the rising of Sothis and the beginning of the Nile flood naturally did not pass unnoticed and ceremonies and feasts continued to be held. These included offerings to the Nile and processions with the new Nile water (cf. fig. 71)[1]. In the Canopus decree, issued on the 15th of the month Tybi (the 7th of March) 238 B.C., there is a description of the feast at the time of the rise of Sothis and the beginning of the flood, which then fell on the 1st of Payni. It is of interest for our subject to quote the relevant passage:

> "It is decreed that there shall be celebrated yearly a national festival both in the temples and throughout all the land in honour of king Ptolemy (III) and queen Berenice, the Benefactor Gods, on the day when the star of Isis (i.e. Sothis) rises, which is held in the sacred books to be the new year, and now falls on the 1st of the month Payni, on which the little and the great Bubastia are celebrated, and the crops are gathered and the river rises; but if it happens that the rising of the star changes to another day in four years time the feast shall not be changed but shall be kept on the 1st of Payni, the date on which it was originally held in the 9th year (of the reign of Ptolemy), and it shall last for five days with the wearing of wreaths and with sacrifices and libations and other suitable observances..."[2].

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[1] For the Egyptian calendar and the shifting of the beginning of the new year see Ch. IV, pp. 71 f., n. 174. For the festivities at the beginning of the flood see Ch. IV, n. 178.

[2] In order to achieve the fixation of the 1st of Payni an intercalary day was introduced. For the calendar reform and the Canopus decree see Ch. IV nn. 174, 175, 193, and for the quoted passage see Budge 25 f., 58, ll. 17–19; p. 166 ff., ll. 34–40.

We see that the traditional connection between the rise of Sothis, the beginning of the flood, and the new year is here maintained[3]. In addition we see that the sovereigns are closely connected with the events. Traditionally the sovereigns were closely associated with the flood, and the feast of the new year was a popular date for coronations and coronation jubilees (cf. fig. 93)[4]. The Pharaoh, acting as Horus, would ritually kill hippopotami and crocodiles, which symbolised Seth, the murderer of Osiris[5]. After his victory the Pharaoh was crowned as the new Horus, the successor of Osiris. The king and queen might also enter a ritual marriage symbolising the union of Isis and Osiris. Finally, representing the triumphant Horus, the Pharaoh might sail down the Nile in conjunction with the flood of which he was the embodiment[6].

Another interesting monument in this respect is a stele from Assuan in the British Museum. On this stele were inscribed eight letters which had been exchanged between Ptolemy IX Soter II on the one hand and the priests of Khnum of Elephantine and the local governor on the other hand. These letters concerned privileges granted by Ptolemy during his visit to the area of Assuan at the time of the inundation in 115 B.C.[7]. The inscription is very fragmentary and it is impossible to give a coherent text. Nevertheless, some lines provide interesting information, especially in the first letter which gives a short summary of Ptolemy's visit. The part which is of interest to us will be summarised here:

> "On the ... in the month Mesore of the 2nd year of his reign (i.e. somewhere between August 15th and September 14th in 115 B.C.) king Ptolemy (IX) and queen Cleopatra (III) had visited the area of Assuan[8]; at Elephantine he had brought the usual offerings and libations to the great god the Nile who had risen; he had brought

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[3] Cf. Ch. IV, n. 175; for the feast of the month Payni see further Bonneau 365 ff.; cf. *LÄ* II, 179, s.v. Feste, II, Payni.

[4] See Bonneau 303 ff.; David 246 f.; Alliot I, 303 ff.; Borghouts 11 ff.; Merkelbach 21 ff., 52; Van der Plas 184 f.; our Ch. IV, n. 186.

[5] See Ch. IV, nn. 169, 180.

[6] See Ch. IV, nn. 96, 156.

[7] See *OGIS*, no. 168, pp. 241 ff., 545 ff.; M.L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (1897) 264 ff., no. 140; *MBI* IV, 2, no. 1066; Merkelbach 67 f.; Bonneau 1971b, 59.

[8] Ll. 1–3; the month Mesore of the 2nd year ran from August 15th to September 14th, 115 B.C.; queen Cleopatra was Cleopatra III, Ptolemy's mother and widow of Ptolemy VIII, who was his joint ruler; his young wife and sister Cleopatra was probably also present; cf. ll. 23, 54.

> offerings to the great goddess Hera (i.e. Isis)[9]; he had invited all his kinsmen and friends[10]; he had visited the source of the Nile (i.e. Bigeh)[11]; he had brought the usual offerings to the Nile ....; he had been regaled with a banquet in the sanctuary of Isis-Satet at Elephantine"[12].

Furthermore, some of the letters are directed to or refer to Phommous, or to his immediate predecessor as *strategus* and *epistrategus* of the Thebaid, Hermokrates[13]. In the 2nd century B.C. the administration of Upper Egypt was essentially in the hands of the *epistrategus* of the Thebaid, a very high office. As governor of the area of the first cataract the *epistrategus* of the Thebaid will undoubtedly have accompanied the Pharaoh on his visit[14].

It appears then that Ptolemy IX and his joint ruler and a company of high-ranking officials had visited the sacred places of the area of the first cataract including the source of the Nile at Bigeh, at the time when the Nile was rising. He had brought all the necessary offerings to Isis and the Nile and at the conclusion of his visit he and his company were regaled with a banquet in the sanctuary of Satet at Elephantine[15]. The date of the month Mesore which is missing in the inscription fell between August 15th and September 14th, and so coincided more or less with the beginning of the high flood towards the end of August[16]. Other Ptolemies are known to have made the same pilgrimage and similar pilgrimages are attested of officials and civilians[17].

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[9] Ll. 4–7; Hera is here assimilated with Isis and especially with Isis-Satet of Elephantine, see Merkelbach 67, n. 27; Fraser I, 671 f.; and for Isis-Satet our Ch. IV, nn. 164, 167, 173.

[10] L. 8; these are honorary titles given to high officials, see n. 14.

[11] Ll. 9,10; for Bigeh see Ch. IV, n. 113; Appendix 8; figs. 82–83.

[12] Cf. l. 23, *OGIS* 245, n. 33, for the banquet see Ch. IV, n. 167; Bonneau 416, n. 1.

[13] Ll. 26, 36, 49; *OGIS* 246, n. 36.

[14] See Fraser I,182; both governors are styled 'brother' or 'kinsman', which are honorary titles see Fraser I, 102 f.; cf. Ch. IV, n. 163.

[15] Cf. Ch. IV, nn. 156, 167 and 180.

[16] See n. 8 and Ch. IV, n. 173. For the feast of the high flood see further Ch. IV, nn. 179, 180.

[17] For pilgrimages to Philae by the Ptolemies, officials and civilians see Ch. III, n. 80, Ch. IV, nn. 156, 167; Merkelbach 67, n. 23; Dunand 1973, I, 188.

APPENDIX 13

PYGMIES AND DWARFS IN NILOTIC SCENES (Ch. V, n. 15)

In the course of the first century B.C. it became a popular fashion to depict the population of the Nile valley in Nilotic scenes as dwarfs or pygmies[1]. These two types are not identical but must be clearly distinguished. On the one hand we find negroid people of a reduced stature who presumably represent pygmies[2]. On the other hand we find dwarfs of the pathological type with the disproportionate limbs, large heads and projecting buttocks, which are characteristic of *achondroplasia* [3]. There are also cases where the distinction is unclear and the artist simply depicted small people with large heads like children[4]. In each case the intention was obviously to enhance the exotic character in Nilotic scenes by these strange inhabitants. The origin of this fashion will have been the vague knowledge, expressed already in Homer, of the existence of pygmy races in Aethiopia, where the Nile has its source. Lack of knowledge of real pygmies, who will have been seen only rarely, may easily have led to confusion between the fabulous pygmies and real dwarfs[5]. Pathological dwarfs seem to have been more common in Egypt than they are now, owing to inbreeding[6]. Although the distinction in physiognomy may be blurred and variable, the two kinds are essentially different and they seem also to have been employed in Nilotic scenes to represent different categories of people. Pygmies and naked black dwarfs usually appear in simple landscapes with reed huts, and are engaged in conflict with hippopotami and crocodiles. Dwarfs of a lighter colour, often dressed in Greek style, appear in scenes which show more sophisticated kinds of buildings and they are engaged in all kinds of activities which belong to the time of the inundation. The first kind apparently represents the poor indigenous population of Egypt and Aethiopia. The second kind represents the Hellenised and Greek population[7].

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[1] For examples see Ch. V, nn. 13, 14, 16 bis, e.g. figs. 34, 35; for earlier examples see n. 5, and Ch. III, n. 17.

[2] See e.g. the frieze in the Casa dello Scultore, see Ch. V, n. 14; and in general J.P. Cèbe, *La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique des origines à Juvenal* (1966) 347 ff., pls. 5–15.

[3] For this distinction and the respective characteristics see *LÄ* VI, 1432 ff., s.v. Zwerge; Whitehouse 1977, 66; Tybout 347; A. Rupp, Der Zwerg in der ägyptischen Gemeinschaft, *CdE* 40 (1965) 260 ff.; W.R. Dawson, Pygmies and Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt, *JEA* 24 (1938) 185 ff.; V. Dasen, Dwarfism in Egypt and Classical Antiquity: Iconography and Medical History, *Medical History* 32 (1988) 253 ff; and most recently V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (1993) which I have not been able to read.

[4] See e.g. Schefold 1962, fig. 144.

[5] The confusion between dwarfs and pygmies is found at an early date. Thus the geranomachy on the François vase shows negroes whereas Etruscan versions of the theme show pathological dwarfs, see Ch. III, n. 17, and in general *EAA* VI, 167 ff., s.v. Pigmei.

[6] See R. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (1988) 175 ff.

However, besides indicating differences in the population and enhancing the exotic character of Nilotic scenes, there may have been additional reasons for depicting the inhabitants as pygmies and dwarfs. Pygmies were occasionally brought to ancient Egypt as servants and are known to have performed ritual dances. Dwarfs too were popular as servants and as entertainers who danced and made music; besides, they were associated with gods like Ptah and Bes. The connection with Ptah may have given them apotropaic powers, while the connection with Bes, who is himself represented as a pathological dwarf, may have made them symbols of fertility[8]. In the classical world, too, performing dwarfs had been a popular form of entertainment in virtue of their status as objects of ridicule[9]. The ridiculous appearance and behaviour of the dwarfs in Nilotic scenes may therefore have given Roman spectators a sense of superiority and power over that exotic world[10].

In the classical world dwarfs could be associated with satyrs and Dionysus[11]. Because of their ridiculous appearance and miserable situation they were chosen by Ptolemy IV to take part in the Dionysiac thiasos. The blissful state which these creatures achieved in this situation underlined the god's power to bestow blessings on humanity and thus epitomised the Ptolemaic ideology of the *truphe* [12]. Dwarfs in other words were another means of illustrating the *truphe*, the blissful state of the population due to the inundation, to the Pharaohs, to Isis, to Sarapis and to Dionysus[13]. However, there may have been yet another reason why dwarfs were regarded as an appropriate vehicle to convey this message. It was a popular belief that dwarfs had a strong sexual potency. Indeed in Nilotic scenes dwarfs are often depicted ithyphallic, or at least with very large sexual members. This may express their apotropaic power but also their sexual potency, just as the god Bes himself could be represented as an ithyphallic dwarf[14]. Dwarfs could also, therefore, stress the fertilising power and activity of the inundation. In fact not only are dwarfs in Nilotic scenes represented as taking part in erotic dances, but we even find dwarf couples engaged in sexual activity, as in the Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges[15]. This sexual dimension also made dwarfs appropriate performers in the Dionysiac thiasos, where one of their contributions was to carry a large phallus[16]. The Phallophoria had an Egyptian counterpart in the festival of the Pamylia in which an ithyphallic image was carried in a procession. It has been supposed that Pamyles was the name of a god who was linked with Osiris, but it seems more probable that the name refers to the servants of a god who may actually be identified with Osiris, while the ithyphallic image was of Osiris. The name Pamyles may derive from an Egyptian word meaning 'servant of great love'(i.e. Osiris). Thus a tradition existed that

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[7] Cf. the Trogodytes and marshdwellers discussed in Ch. III, nn. 16 and 125; for both kinds together in one scene see e.g. figs. 34, 35).

[8] For pygmies, dwarfs and these associations see n. 3; Rupp (*o.c.* in n. 3) 298 ff.; *LÄ* I, 720 ff., s.v. Bes, esp. 722: Bes dancing and making music in the train of Hathor; Whitehouse 1977, 66f.; A. Adriani, Microasiatici o Alessandrini i grotteschi di Mahdia, *RM* 70 (1963) 80 ff., esp. 86, pls. 32–41; G. Clerc, Une figure phallique de Palaepaphos, *RDAC* 1988–2, 53 ff.

[9] See W. Binsfeld, *Grylloi, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Karikatur* (1956) 27 ff., 43 ff.; Cèbe *o.c.* in n. 2; Laubscher (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 20) 72 ff.

[10] Cf. McDaniel 271.

[11] See Dasen 272 (*o.c.* in n. 3); Wrede 97.

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[12] See Athenaeus VI 246 c: Wrede 103 ff.; Tondriau (*o.c.* Ch. IV, n. 157) 141 ff.; Dasen (*o.c.* in n. 3) 272; and more generally L. Giuliani, Die seligen Krüppel. Zur deutung von Missgestalten in der hellenistischen Kleinkunst, *AA* 1987, 701 ff.; T. Lorenz, Verwachsene und Verkrüppelte in der antiken Kunst, in *Soziale Randgruppen und Aussenseiter im Altertum, Referate vom Symposion "Soziale Randgruppen und antike Sozialpolitik" in Graz, 1987* (1988) 349 ff.

[13] See Ch. IV, nn. 198, 199; cf. in this sense already Schefold 1962, 47 f., 77.

[14] Cf. nn. 7, 8; Adriani (*o.c.* in n. 8) e.g. 86; Ch. V, n. 14.

[15] See Maiuri 1938, pl. VI, 2; La Rocca, De Vos 214, above Ch. IV, n. 130; other examples in Schefold 1962, fig. 144 f.; De Vos 1979, 92, s.v. Symplegma.

[16] See; Plutarch, *De Is.*, 12, 355 E; Griffith 1970, 297 ff.; Lloyd I, 220 ff.

Osiris was brought up by a female Pamyle[17]. Among the Alexandrian bone tesserae which we have discussed there are some which carry the inscription Pamyles. These depict either a shrine with two mummiform images or an ithyphallic dwarf with a very large penis[18]. It seems then that the Pamyles, the servants of Osiris, belonged to the same genus as the lascivious dwarfs of Bes. In general the names on the Alexandrian bone tesserae refer to quarters or suburbs of Alexandria, or places in the neighbourhood, which are characterised by a typical building or figure[19]. It follows that somewhere in Alexandria there was a shrine of Osiris in whose cult dwarfs called Pamyles played such an important role that their name became attached to the area. The emphasis on the penis of Osiris and of the dwarfs may be explained by the role of the male organ as a symbol of fertility. It was the only part of Osiris body which retained its vital energy and it was instrumental in the begetting of Horus with Isis. For that reason Osiris himself may be represented ithyphallic. This signifies the fertilising power of the Nile flood[20]. So, not only in the cult of Dionysus but also in that of Osiris, dwarfs in general and ithyphallic dwarfs in particular may have functioned as symbols of fertility.

On first sight the dwarfs in Nilotic scenes appear to stress the grotesque and exotic nature of the land of the Nile. Beneath this superficial appearance, however, their meaning is seen to be more complex. Their happy mood, in spite of their ridiculous appearance, illustrates the blissful state which the inundation and the gods and the sovereigns who are responsible for it, bestow on the population of the country. Their lascivious behaviour expresses the fertilizing power of the Nile and of Osiris and illustrates the revelry of the population. In every way they emphasize the ideology of the *truphe*[21]. The same complex symbolism may be found in the gardens, complete with miniature canals, of the Casa di Loreius Tiburtinus and of the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges at Pompeii. The garden of the first house has yielded statuettes which represent among other things one of the Ptolemies, disguised as Dionysus, an ithyphallic Osiris in Pharaonic dress, and Bes[22]. In the garden of the second house there is the Nilotic frieze with pygmy scenes to which, as having many features in common with the Nile Mosaic, we have frequently referred [23].

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[17] See Plutarch, *De Is.* 12, 355 E; 36, 364 B; Griffith 1970, 297 ff.; Lloyd I, 220 ff.; *LÄ* IV, 659 f., s.v. Pamyliënfest.

[18] See Alföldi- Rosenbaum 221 f, pl. 26, figs. 64, 65, 68 and 69.

[19] See Alföldi-Rosenbaum 226 f.; and cf. the examples of Canopus and the fishermen's village of Eurylochos, see Ch. IV, n. 78, fig. 41; Ch. III, n. 122.

[20] See n.17; Ch. IV, n. 96; Plut. *De Is.* 36, 365 B; Griffith 1970, 338 ff., esp. 344 f., 436 f. For ithyphallic images of Osiris see Lloyd I, 221 f.; *LÄ* IV 1018, s.v. Phallus; e.g. Mariette IV, pls. 69, 70, 89, 90; and a statuette of Osiris in Pharaonic dress from the garden of the Casa di Loreius Tiburtinus at Pompeii, see n. 22, Ch. IV, n. 80, Spinazzola II, 399, fig. 451. In other reliefs at Dendera Isis, in the guise of a falcon, unites herself with an ithyphallic Osiris, see Mariette IV, pls. 70, 88, 90; cf. Ch. IV, n.96.

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[21] See n.13; Ch. V, n. 46.

[22] See n. 20; Ch. III, n. 139; Ch. IV, nn. 80, 157; Spinazzola II, 395 ff., figs. 455, 451, 450; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 44 ff.

[23] See Ch. IV, n. 119, fig. 86.

APPENDIX 14

THE USE OF EGYPTIAN MOTIFS AS CONTROL-MARKS ON ROMAN REPUBLICAN COINS (Ch. V, nn. 23, 24, 26)[1]

During the first half of the first century B.C. Egyptian motifs were occasionally used as control-marks on Roman coins. I shall list those Egyptian motifs which are known to me, but it must be noted that a search through Crawfords lists of control-marks may yield further examples. It happened with the lotus which was once used by M. Plaetorius Cestianus[2]. The motifs which appear most frequently are the lotus and the Isis crown. The lotus is represented by a lotus bud between two leaves which curve outwards and may be supported by a horizontal stripe. When this last detail is present the figure may represent the stylised lotus headgear of Isis, but usually the motif is simply called lotus. The Isis crown is normally depicted by the sundisk between two horns; and surmounted by two feathers, it may be supported by corn-ears or ram's horns. Because of the small scale of control-marks the lotus and the Isis crown tend to look rather similar, both consisting essentially of a conical object between two curled leaves or horns. Therefore the interpretations do not always agree and it is not always clear if a lotus or an Isis crown is represented[3]. Those of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi dating to 90 B.C. possibly depicted both a lotus and an Isis crown[4]. In the same year C. Vibius Pansa used an Isis crown and a sistrum[5]. In 85 L. Julius Bursio used an Isis crown, a lotus and a crocodile[6]. In 81 C. Marius Capito used a sistrum, a lotus and an ibis[7]. In 79 L. Papius used pairs of control marks, i.e. a sistrum and a patera with fruit, a lotus and an Isis crown, a hippopotamus and a crocodile, a snake and a mongoose[8]. In 69 M. Plaetorius Cestianus used a lotus[9]. In 67 C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Cicero's son in law, used an Isis crown[10]. Finally in 64 L. Roscius Fabatus used, in pairs, an Isis crown and a peacock, a lotus and a sistrum, a pygmy and a heron, and a crocodile and a mongoose[11]. The over-all list of these motifs appears to be rather limited: Isis crown, sistrum, lotus, crocodile, hippopotamus, ibis, mongoose and snake, pygmy and heron. The Isis crown, the lotus and the sistrum are fairly frequently found, while the pygmy and the characteristic Nilotic animals appear rarely. Only the Isis crown and the sistrum are, strictly speaking, objects from the cult of Isis. The lotus may represent the lotus head-dress of Isis, but also may simply be a Nilotic motif in general terms, like the remaining motifs[12].

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[1] For the Egyptian motifs used as control-marks see A. Alföldi, Isiskult und Umsturzbewegung im letzten Jahrhundert der römischen Republik, *Schweizerische Münzblätter* 5 (1954) Heft 18, 25 ff.; A.S. Fava, F. Scafile, *I simboli nelle monete argentee republicane e la vita dei Romani* (1969) 71 f.; Malaise I, 238 f. who discusses only those motifs which, in his opinion, are more strictly religious, i.e. Isis crown, lotus and sistrum.

[2] Crawford 417.

[3] For the lotus see e.g. Crawford, pl. LXVIII, 51, and cf. above Ch. III, nn. 105, 137; Ch. IV, n. 155. For the Isis crown see Ch. III, n. 151 and figs. 93, 97. For some uncertain cases see e.g. some of the references given by Malaise I, 238 f., in the case of L. Papius, and below n. 4.

[4] See Crawford 340 ff., no. 342, 23, mentioning a lotus; H.A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (1910) 1978, mentioning a 'head-dress of Isis'. Actually Piso may have used both. L. Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine* (1886) I, reproduces on p. 293, no. 66, an object which could be a lotus while no. 230

Sydenham has suggested that control-marks in general referred to various trades and professions and to their corporations, which for the greater part favoured the Populares. The Egyptian motifs could be tokens of Caesar's imperialistic interest in Egypt[13]. To this it may be objected firstly that the very wide variety of motifs that occur will have made any reference to specific trades or corporations obscure, and secondly that the Egyptian motifs

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on p. 294, represents what may be an Isis crown.

[5] See respectively Alföldi, (*o.c.* in n.1) fig. 3, and Crawford 346, no. 342,1; 349.

[6] See Crawford 368 f.; for the Isis crown see Alföldi (*o.c.* in n. 1) fig. 4, Babelon (*o.c.* in n. 4) II, 7, no. 129; for the lotus Grueber(*o.c.* in n. 4) 2531.

[7] See Crawford 392 ff., 394 f.

[8] See Crawford 398 f., resp. pls. LXVI, 91; LXVII, 143 (cf. Babelon (*o.c.* in n. 4) 281, no. 65); pl. LXVI, 29 (Alföldi (*o.c.* in n. 1) fig. 8); pl. LXVII, 122, it is clear that a hippopotamus is represented and not a pig as it is called in the text. For hippopotami and crocodiles, see Ch. III, n. 114; for the snake and mongoose Ch. III, n. 74.

[9] See Crawford 417.

[10] See Crawford 419, no. 420, 12; Alföldi (*o.c.* in n. 1) fig. 5.

[11] See Crawford 439 f., respectively pls. LXVIII, 50, 51, 69, LXIX 141.

[12] For the motif of a pygmy fighting a heron see Ch. III, n. 17; for the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the mongoose and the snake see the references given in n. 8.

[13] See E.A. Sydenham, Symbols on Denarii of L. Papius and L Roscius, *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1931) 1 ff., esp. 3, 8, 12.

were in use already before Caesar[14]. Alföldi assumes that the Egyptian motifs referred generally to the sacred land of Isis and represented religious and political propaganda on the part of the mint workers[15]. This seems, however, highly improbable. In the first place, as Crawford rightly points out, control-marks in general appear to have been chosen from every aspect of Roman daily life; when they appear in pairs, it was obviously simply because the two objects were closely associated. Furthermore, if in general religious motifs were interpreted as tokens of the religious affiliations of the mint workers, this would lead to absurd conclusions[16]. In the second place, the Senate, which was hostile to the Egyptian cults, would hardly have tolerated the mint-masters using religious and political symbols which were directed against it[17]. Vidman tries to explain this paradox by suggesting that the mint-masters chose Egyptian motifs because they were popular with the plebs[18]. Coarelli observes that, apart from the two Pisones, the mint-masters were usually not of senatorial rank but came from municipal families. He suggests that members of this class may have been more interested in the cult of Isis than is generally assumed and that the same may have been true of the two Pisones. Such an interest on the part of the mint-masters could be explained by their possible connections with the Delian slave-traders who may have venerated Isis as a patron-goddess and who were perhaps instrumental in the founding of the shrine of Isis Capitolina, around 100 B.C.[19].

It must be pointed out not only that the control-marks draw from all kinds of aspects of Roman life, but also that the number of Egyptian motifs is actually very small. Pansa, who appears to have been fond of musical instruments which in itself may explain his choice of the sistrum, used two Egyptian motifs in a total of some 20 figural motifs; L. Piso used only one in some 40 figural motifs; Bursio used three in a list of 180 and Capito three in 110; C. Piso one in some 20; Papius used four pairs in 207 pairs; and Fabatus five pairs in 237[20]. In this mass of motifs the Egyptian ones are a mere drop in the ocean, and their use must have largely gone unnoticed. Even if some of the mint-masters had commercial relations with Egypt or an interest in the Egyptian cults, the Egyptian motifs which were used as control-marks hardly constitute supporting evidence for such interests[21]. Nevertheless, the fact that they were used at all, and indeed were used repeatedly, needs to be explained. In general the mint-masters chose motifs which were familiar, so the same must have applied to the Egyptian motifs[22]. It seems therefore that Egyptian motifs and Nilotic scenes were already quite common in Rome in the Republican period, just as they were at Pompeii and elsewhere, as witness the Nilotic scenes from Pompeii and the Nile Mosaic of Praeneste[23].

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[14] See, for example, the large numbers of control marks referred to below in this Appendix.

[15] See Alföldi *o.c.* in n. 1; *idem* (*o.c.* in Ch. V, n. 2) 60 ff.; Schefold 1962, 29 f.

[16] See Crawford 398 f., 439, 584, n. 2.

[17] See Vidman 103; Malaise II, 371; Coarelli 1984, 471; for the position of the Senate see Ch. V, nn. 29, 38.

[18] See Vidman 104.

[19] See Coarelli 1984, 471–473; for the mint-masters see T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Senate 139 B.C.– A.D. 14* (1971) 145 ff. and the Prosopography; for the temple of Isis Capitolina, see Ch. V, n. 27.

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[20] See the references to Crawford given in nn. 5–8, 10,11. The lotus used once by Plaetorius Cestianus is the only Egyptian motif among more than 50 (see n. 2).

[21] Cf. Coarelli, *l.c.* in n. 19, and Ch. V , n. 29.

[22] Cf. Crawford *ll.cc.* in n. 16; Whitehouse 80, n. 17; also Vidman 104, underlines their popular character.

[23] See further Ch. V, n. 43.

APPENDIX 15

THE MYSTERIOUS GODDESS ON THE DENARIUS OF M. PLAETORIUS CESTIANUS OF 67 B.C. (Ch. V, n. 25)[1]

In 67 B.C. M. Plaetorius Cestianus issued a denarius depicting the head of a winged goddess (see fig. 95). The identity of this goddess is not immediately clear because of the number of attributes with which she is provided. In addition to being winged she has a helmet with a laurel-wreath and a lotus, a cornucopia, and behind her back a bow and quiver. Alföldi interpreted her as Isis Panthea and this interpretation has been accepted by Schefold, Vidman, and Crawford[2]. In the Hellenistic world Isis-Tyche-Aphrodite and Venus-Fortuna had been fused into one syncretistic world-goddess[3]. Her particular roles as Mistress of the Seas and Giver of Corn is stressed by Meyer, who connects the coin to Pompey's great campaign in 67 to rid the Mediterranean of pirates in order to safeguard the corn supply of Italy[4].

However, although the assimilation of Isis-Tyche with Fortuna must have been well-known at this time, it is doubtful if the Senate would have allowed such an open and direct reference to Isis on an official document of the nature of a Roman denarius. The first images of Isis on Roman coins appear as late as the time of Hadrian[5]. Nor is there any indication that Plaetorius was especially interested in Isis. There is only one Egyptian motif among his control-marks, i.e. the lotus which was quite common in this role[6]. So, whilst the syncretistic character of the goddess on

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[1] For this coin see Crawford 436 ff., no. 405,2; Alföldi (*o.c.* in Appendix 14, n. 1) 30 f.; Malaise I, 240; Meyer 254 f., 265 ff. For M. Plaetorius M.f. Cestianus, aed. cur. in 67, and a partisan of Pompey, see Crawford 414 ff., esp. 418; Wiseman (*o.c.* in Appendix 14, n. 19) 251, no. 320; Champeaux II, 250 ff.

[2] See Alföldi and Crawford *ll.cc.* in n. 1; Schefold 1962, 30; Vidman 101. An earlier interpretation as Vacuna by J. P. Morel (see *MEFRA* 74 (1962) 23–29) cannot be upheld.

[3] See Ch. II, n. 36; Ch. IV, n. 153.

[4] See Meyer 265.

[5] See Malaise *l.c.* in n. 1, and for the hostile position of the Senate Ch. V, n. 38.

[6] See Appendix 14, n. 20.

Plaetorius' denarius is apparent, her identity remains to be established. The wearing of a helmet is characteristic of several goddesses and personifications like Minerva, Victoria, Dea Roma, and certain forms of Fortuna. Helmeted goddesses are already common on Roman coins in the 2nd century B.C. Since they are often accompanied by the legend Roma, Crawford has argued that all these represent Dea Roma[7]. From the late Republican period onwards the Dea Roma appears in the guise of an Amazon[8]. It would be tempting therefore to assume that the goddess on Plaetorius' coin simply represented Dea Roma leading Pompey to victory. But the helmeted goddesses represented on Republican coins exhibit several differences and their identification is in fact far from certain. The legend Roma is hardly conclusive evidence because it is also found with totally different images such as those of Apollo, of Heracles and even of Philip V of Macedon; it may simply denote the city that issued the coin. Moreover, the cult of Dea Roma was not established officially until the beginning of the Imperial period[9]. Most cogent of all, Dea Roma never has wings. This feature points rather to Victoria, but she usually holds a laurel-wreath and a palm-branch and is not associated with the attributes of the goddess on Plaetorius' coin or at least not with all of them together[10].

The only goddess who may have a cornucopia as well as armour and wings is Fortuna[11]. A cult of a Fortuna wearing helmet, carrying arms and dressed as an Amazon existed in Antium[12]. This warrior goddess of Antium derived from a warrior goddess Fortuna at Rome, who is known variously as Fortuna

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[7] See Crawford 35 ff., 721 ff. (with lit. in 721, n. 5; 725, n. 2) e.g. pls. XLVIII, no. 380,1; LIV, no. 464, 3.

[8] See R. Mellor, The Goddess Roma, *ANWR* II, 17,2 (1981) 950 ff., esp. 1013 ff., pls. I–VII; Champeaux I, 175.

[9] See Mellor (*o.c.* in n. 8) 974 f. and 1004 ff. respectively.

[10] See *EAA* VII, 1191 ff., s.v. Vittoria; Hölscher (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 40) 133 ff.; J.R. Fears, The Theology of Victory at Rome; Approaches and Problems, *ANRW* II, 17, 2, 736 ff., esp. 773 ff.

[11] For Fortuna with wings see Fröhlich 133, pls. 45,1; 47,1; Tran tam Tinh 1964, pls. XIV,1, XVII.

[12] Actually she was one of a pair of Fortunae, the Fortunae Antiatae. See H. Riemann, Praenestinae Sorores. Tibur, Ostia, Antium, *RM* 95 (1987) 131 ff.; O.J. Brendel, Two Fortunae, Antium and Praeneste, *AJA* 64 (1960) 41 ff., esp. 42, pl. 7–8; Champeaux I, 149 ff., pl. IX, 1–2; Coarelli 1987, 74 ff., fig. 24, 1–4.

Victrix, Fortuna Redux and Fortuna Equestris. The cult of Fortuna as a goddess of military victory was established in Rome with the cult of Fortuna Equestris in 179 B.C. This cult was a variant of the cult of Fortuna Publica Populi Romani which had been introduced to Rome in two stages in 204 and 194 B.C.; it had come directly from Praeneste and it was originally no more than a Roman branch of the cult of Fortuna Primigenia[13]. From it developed other forms of Fortuna like Fortuna Victrix and Fortuna Redux. The Amazon disguise came from the Hellenistic East and resulted from the association of Fortuna with the Tychai of Hellenistic towns and with Dea Roma[14]. We may wonder if the goddess on Plaetorius' denarius could not represent the victory bringing Fortuna Populi Romani.

It is interesting that Plaetorius' family was of Praenestine origin. In 69 he had issued a coin with a female head which showed on the reverse a boy holding a tablet with the letters SORS. In combination with the female head this can only refer to the famous Praenestine oracular tablets, the *sortes,* and the goddess must represent the Fortuna of Praeneste[15]. Another coin by Plaetorius from the same year showing a female divinity probably again depicts Fortuna[16]. Plaetorius seems to have been devoted to the tutelary goddess of his home town to such a degree that he placed her image on some of the coins he issued. This would have created no problem because the cult of the Fortuna of Praeneste had been established at Rome for a long time, as we have just seen. But the main reason why Plaetorius placed Fortuna on these coins probably is that she was to symbolise Pompey's fortune and military power[17].

We need hardly ask again who the goddess on the denarius of 67 represented. Who else can she be than the Fortune of Rome, the Fortuna Populi Romani? Her syncretistic character was well known[18]. The cornucopia was her standard attribute; the wings, laurel-wreath, and armour represent her power to grant victory; the lotus may derive from her association with Isis-Tyche, developed in the Hellenistic period[19]. It seems fairly certain, then, that Plaetorius did not take the controversial step of representing Isis on a Roman coin. On the contrary, he chose a wholly appropriate deity, Fortuna Romana.

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[13] See extensively Champeaux II, 5 ff., 131 ff., 155 ff.

[14] See Champeaux I, 174 ff.

[15] See Crawford 414 ff., 418, no. 405,2, pl. L, 10; Brendel (*o.c.* in n. 12) 45 f., pl. 8, fig. 5; Champeaux I, 64 ff., pl. VI, 3–4, II 251 f.; Coarelli 1987, 71, fig. 24,5; because of the combination with the female head the suggestion by Meyer 267, that the scene refers to the oracle of Heracles at Ostia seems improbable.

[16] See Crawford, no. 405, 1, pl. L,9; Champeaux II, 252.

[17] See Champeaux II, 250 ff., with references to Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei,* from 66 B.C.; cf. the association of Fortuna with Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, see Ch. IV, n. 153.

The reverse of Plaetorius' denarius depicts an eagle on a thunderbolt. Rather than the Ptolemaic eagle this undoubtedly represents the eagle of Jupiter leading the Roman arms to victory, as it had been doing since the 3rd century[20]. Both Jupiter and Fortuna had the power to grant victory[21]. Both sides of Plaetorius' coin have the same meaning: they represent the triumph of the Roman nation, guided by Jupiter and Fortuna. The same Fortuna Romana was later represented on a coin by T. Carisius of 46 B.C., which shows a helmeted female head with the inscription Roma and on the reverse a cornucopia, globe, scepter, rudder and laurel-wreath[22]. It is to this victory bringing Fortuna that Horace's Ode I 35, is addressed[23].

Another monument which is relevant in this connection is a Roman lamp dating from the second half of the 1st century A.D., which depicts a winged, armed and helmeted goddess holding a cornucopia, beside an altar with a snake curled around it, and surrounded by the attributes of many gods, including an eagle, a dolphin, a torch, a caduceus, a lyre, a sistrum, and ears of corn. Her helm is crowned by an object which may represent a lotus. She is often identified with Isis Panthea, like the goddess on the coins of Plaetorius; alternatively she is interpreted as Roma

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[18] See n. 3.

[19] For the cornucopia see Ch. IV, n. 155; for the lotus and its symbolism Ch. II, n. 36; Ch. IV, n. 155.

[20] Cf. Crawford 436 and 714, 720.

[21] See Champeaux II, 141 ff.

[22] See Crawford 475, no. 464, 3, pl. LIV. The legend might lead one to identify her as Dea Roma but compare Mellor *ll.cc.* in n. 9; and the attributes suggest Fortuna.

[23] See R. de Cortez, La Fortune d'Antium et l'Ode I, 35 d'Horace, *AntCl* 19 (1950) 65 ff., esp. 71; R.M. G. Nisbet, M. Hubbard, A commentary on Horace: Odes. Book I (1970) 386 ff.; Riemann (*o.c.* in n. 12) 153, 157; cf. our Ch. V, n. 51.

Panthea[24]. It would fall outside the scope of this study to establish her exact identity, but given that the attributes of Isis are in no way conspicuous among the other attributes, and taking into account the evidence discussed above, it seems more probable that she represents Fortuna Romana, or the closely related Roma Panthea, and not Isis.

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[24] See Tran tam Tinh 1972, 69 f., with further literature, pls. XXX, XXXI.

APPENDIX 16

RELATIONS BETWEEN PTOLEMAIC EGYPT AND ROME
(Ch. V, n. 31)[1]

There were occasional diplomatic contacts between Alexandria and Rome in the 3rd century B.C. Thus, some time between 215 and 210, when Hannibal devastated the Italian countryside, Rome appealed to Ptolemy IV for a supply of corn[2]. From that time on Roman envoys and Italian and Roman mercenaries and merchants stayed in Alexandria. A Roman mercenary Lucius, son of Gaius, was commander of the Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos in Crete already c. 217–209. It is interesting to note that he was a close predecessor to the commander who made a dedication to Tyche Protogenes at Itanos c. 200 B.C.[3]. In 201/200 the Senate allegedly had charged M. Aemilius Lepidus with the guardianship of the young king Ptolemy V[4]. Reciprocal interests and contacts increased in the 2nd century. After 168, when Popilius Laenas ordered Antiochus IV to retreat from Egypt, it was in fact a Roman protectorate. In 164/163 Ptolemy VI Philometor fled to Rome for support and was accommodated with his compatriot Demetrius, the *topographus*[5]. From then on several Ptolemies appealed to and even came to Rome for support. Thus in 162 a legation came from Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, brother of Ptolemy VI, and reputedly he even bequeathed his posessions to Rome when he was king of Cyrene in 155. In the following two decades several delegations went between Alexandria and Rome to mediate between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII[6]. In 145 Ptolemy VIII began to expel scholars from Alexandria and a large number of grammarians and rhetors spread over the Hellenistic world including Rome, such as Dionysius of Thrace, which prompted the well-known observation by Menecles of Barce that in this way Alexandria became the teacher of all Greeks and barbarians[7]. In 140/139 Scipio Aemilianus travelled with a delegation to Alexandria. Aemilianus and his company, which included the philosopher Panaetius, surveyed the Delta as far south as Memphis. They were highly impressed by the quality of the land and the blessings brought to it by the Nile, and by the large number of towns and inhabitants. They recognised the great potential value of the country if it were aptly governed and presented their findings to the Senate[8]. Somewhere between 145–130, and perhaps in connection with Aemilianus' mission, Polybius visited Egypt. He may have visited Ptolemy VIII, whom he possibly had already met together with Ptolemy VI, when he was a youth in Athens in 169/168, and he will have seen Ptolemy VI in Rome in 164[9]. Somewhere around the middle of the second century a certain Gnaios, apparently a Roman, arranged a loan at Alexandria for some Greeks and Massaliotes for a journey to the Aromatic (Somali) Coast[10]. It seems probable that in 127 there was already a Roman settlement of merchants and shippers in Alexandria[11]. The visit of L. Mummius, perhaps a former praetor, to the Delta in 112 seems to have been mainly touristic. The diocete instructed the provincial governor to receive him differentially and to let him see the sacred crocodiles at Arsinoe at their feeding time[12]. In 116 four Roman visitors even travelled as far south as Philae as appears from the graffiti they left, one of them, C. Acutius, claiming himself to be the first to do so[13]. The Roman grammarian and rhetor M. Antonius Gnipho, a teacher of Caesar, had studied in Alexandria around 100 B.C.[14]. The touristic character of several of these visits to Egypt appears from the fact that when L. Licinius Lucullus was in Alexandria on a military mission during the Mithradatic war in 87/86, it is specifically stated that he declined to visit the sights because he held that to be the privilege of a leisured and luxuriant sightseer. From this phrasing it appears that such visits had become quite customary[15]. Shortly later Ptolemy XI, the protégé of Sulla, stayed in Rome from 84 until 80, and Ptolemy XII sought refuge there from 58 until 55, when he was restored to the throne by Gabinius[16]. From about 75 B.C. the evidence for Egyptians staying in Italy and Rome becomes much larger[17].

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[1] For these contacts in general see the literature given in Ch. V, n. 30.

[2] See Polybius IX 11a; Fraser I, 155.

[3] See in general Fraser II, 169, nn. 347, 348; Peremans, Van 't Dack (*o.c.* in Ch. V, n. 30). For Lucius see R.K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus* (1984) 1, no. 1. For the dedication to Tyche see Ch. II, n. 37.

[4] See Sherk (*o.c.* in n. 3) 2 f., no. 3.

[5] See Polybius XXIX 27; Diod. XXXI 18, 2; Val. Max. V 1, 1; Fraser I, 119 f.; II, 212 f., nn. 220, 221; Malaise II, 318; for Demetrius the *topographus* see further Ch. V, n. 32 and Ch. VII, n. 21, Appendix 21.

[6] See Van 't Dack 398 ff.; and for the testament of Ptolemy VIII, Sherk (*o.c.* in n. 3) 30, no. 31.

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[7] See Fraser I, 86 ff., 467ff.; II, 165, n. 324; Van 't Dack 402.

[8] For the embassy of Scipio Aemilianus see Diod. XXXIII 28b, 1–3; P.M. Fraser, The Alexandrian View of Rome, *BSAA* 42 (1967) 1 ff., esp. 8 ff.; Heinen 116 ff.; Van 't Dack 385 f.; and our Ch. IV, n. 159.

[9] See Strabo XVIII 1, 12; Polybius XXXIV 14, 6; Fraser I, 61 ff.; II, 144 f., nn. 183, 187; F.W. Walbank, Egypt in Polybius, Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, in *Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (1979) 180 ff., esp. 181, n. 36.

[10] See Fraser II, 275, n. 216; Van 't Dack 319 f.; R. Bogaert, Banquiers, courtiers et prêts maritimes à Athène et à Alexandrie, *CdE* 40 (1965) 140 ff, esp. 151 ff.

[11] See Ch. V, n. 36.

[12] See Van 't Dack 387; A.S. Hunt, C.C. Edgar, *Selected Papyri* II (1934) no. 416; a similar visit is described by Strabo XVII 1, 38; see further Ch. V, n. 33.

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[13] See A. Roccati, Nuove epigrafi greche e latine da File, in *Hommages M. J. Vermaseren* (1978) (*EPRO* 68) III, 988 ff., esp. 994 ff., nos. 5–6; *SEG* XXVIII, 1485; Van 't Dack 393 ff.

[14] See Van 't Dack 388 f.; *RE* I, 2, col. 2618 f., no. 59, s.v. Antonius.

[15] See Plut. *Luc.* II 6–9; Van 't Dack 387 f.; Fraser (*o.c.* in n. 8) 13 f.

[16] See Van 't Dack 398 f.; Malaise II, 316 ff.

[17] See Ch. V, n. 32.

APPENDIX 17

THE OWNERS OF THE CASA DEL FAUNO AT POMPEII (Ch. VI, n. 2)

Nothing certain is known about the owners of the Casa del Fauno, which was the richest Pompeian mansion of its period. On the basis of inscriptions found in the house the ownership has been attributed either to the old Campanian family of the Satrii, or to a family with the Roman name Cassia[1]. De Vos thinks that the size of the house and its sumptuous decorations suggest that the owner was not a local aristocrat, but a person of the status of a Marius or C. Papius Mutilus. One of her arguments is the presence of the Latin inscription HAVE in the pavement at the front entrance, which seems to date from before 80 B.C. However, this does not necessarily suggest Roman ownership because the inscription is not an official one and Latin was widespread in Campania in the 2nd cent. B.C.; in any case Pompeii had been a Roman ally since long[2]. Although Roman ownership cannot be excluded it is legitimate to ask why the owners should not have been a Campanian aristocrat with interests in Pompeii. The second largest house in Pompeii, the Casa di Pansa, belonged to the Pompeian branch of the Arrii, a Sabellian *gens* which is also known from Rome. In this respect one could, for example, compare the Puteolan Granii, a family which boasted a stepson of Marius. It had wide commercial interests, among other places in Delos, and also possessed a branch at Pompeii. Another possibility is that the owners belonged to a prominent Praenestine family, like the Oppii or the Saufei, members of which are attested in Rome, Delos and Pompeii[3] . The ownership of the Casa del Fauno by a Praenestine family would offer an easy explanation for the connections which we have recognised between the house's mosaics and those from Palestrina[4]. However, Praenestine ownership is by no means necessary for these connections, it is just as likely that both Praenestine and Pompeian clients ordered mosaics from the same workshop, a workshop which was possibly established in the Italian port of Puteoli [5].

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[1] See for these below nn. 11, 13 and nn. 6, 7, 9 respectively.

[2] See De Vos 1984, 134, and for the inscription Pernice 90, pl. 42,1.

[3] For the Arrii see Castrén 137, no. 42. For the Granii see Ch. V, nn. 29, 35, 37; Castrén 172, no. 187; Plutarch, *Marius* XXXV 6; cf. also the villa of Marius at Misenum, see Ch. V, n. 41. For the Oppii and the Saufei see Ch. V,. n. 48; Castrén 39, n. 6; 200, no. 290 and p. 217, no. 358; for the Oppii see also below in this appendix.

There is further evidence from the Casa del Fauno which must be considered in this respect. In the tetrastyle atrium the body was found of a woman, apparently a victim of the eruption of A.D. 79, wearing rich jewelry, including a ring with the inscription *Cassia.* In addition, there was a graffito reading *M. Cassius* on a column in the Doric peristyle. These indications led, as early as the last century to the idea that the owners of the house were the Cassii[6]. However, the Cassii are attested at Pompeii only in the Imperial period[7]. The inscription on the ring may indicate only that the woman herself belonged to the *gens* Cassia. Her relationship to the family which owned the house, may simply have been one of marriage[8]. Some inscriptions on the façade of the Casa del Fauno mentioning a Cassius are in fact arbitrary reconstructions by Della Corte[9]. The most that we can deduce is that the *gens* Cassia may have been related to the owners of the Casa del Fauno in the period preceding the disaster of 79 A.D.[10].

More important evidence from the pre-Roman period is provided by two Oscan inscriptions discovered in house. The first one appears on a fragment of travertine which was found in the atrium near the entrance of the *tablinum.* It measures 81 cm in length, and 27 cm in height; its depth is not recorded but according to a reproduction of the fragment may be estimated 6–8 cm. It has a heavy moulding on the lower part which takes up about 1/3 of the height. The inscription reads: *v sadiriís v. aídil,* which may be translated into Latin as *V(ibius) Satrius V(ibi f.) aedilis* [11]. The second inscription appears on two fragments of an otherwise plain travertine slab found in two rooms adjacent to the atrium. It reads *[-s] puriís ma (merekeís) [k] vaísstur [kú]mparakineís [ta] ogin (ud) aamanaffed*, which can be translated as *Spurius Ma(merci f.) quaestor (de) consilii sentent(ia) locavit*, meaning that a certain Spurius (son of Mamercus?) quaestor, acting upon a resolution of the town council, erected (...)[12]. The Satrii were a prominent Campanian *gens* and the Spurii a prominent *gens* of pre-Roman Pompeii[13]. The Spurius inscription evidently comes from some public monument. The provenance of the Satrius inscription is less clear. It has been pointed out that the fragment can not come from an architrave because the heavy moulding at the bottom would have obscured the inscription[14]. Fuhrmann assumed that the fragment belonged to a statue base, which supported a statue of the person mentioned in the inscription, and that this statue decorated the atrium of his house[15]. Because the case for linking the Satrius inscription with the owners of the house seems somewhat stronger than that for the Spurius inscription, which apparently comes from a public monument, it has been suggested that the Satrii were the original owners of the Casa del Fauno[16]. This idea was opposed by Della Corte, who believed to have identified the mansion of the Satrii in another house. However the Satrii identified by Della Corte were actually Lucretii, one of whom used the *cognomen* Satrius and may have been related to the Satrii[17].

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[4] See Ch. VI, n. 5 and App. 18.

[5] See Ch. VI, n. 40.

[6] See G. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompei* (1875) 152 ff.; Della Corte on various occasions (see Fuhrmann 334, n. 6) and lastly Della Corte 97.

[7] See Castrén 150, no. 105.

[8] See already Fuhrmann 173 ff.

[9] See Fuhrmann 173 ff.; and for this habit of Della Corte, Castrén 26.

[10] See M.L. Gordon, The Ordo of Pompeii, *JRS* 17 (1927) 165 ff., esp. 167; Fuhrmann 173, 194.

[11] See R.S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects* (1879) I, 65, no. 53; E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (1953) 53, no. 20; Fuhrmann 183; Castrén 42 f.; a reproduction in I. Zvetaieff, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Oscarum* (1878) 46, no. 68,

The original character and function of the fragment with the Satrius inscription is unclear. From the measurements of the piece it looks as if it formed part of a travertine revetment for a mortar core. Assuming for the moment that the inscription is preserved more or less complete, taking note of its low position near the moulding below, and assuming the presence of another

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pl. XIII,4.

[12] See Conway (*o.c.* in n. 11) 64, no. 50; Vetter (*o.c.* in n. 11) 52, no. 17; Fuhrmann 183; a reproduction in Zvetaieff (*o.c.* in n. 11) 48, no. 78, pl. XIII,7.

[13] See resp. Castrén 216 f., no. 355, and p. 224, no. 386.

[14] See Conway (*o.c.* in n. 11) 65, no. 1.

[15] See Fuhrmann 184, who actually assumes that both inscriptions come from statue bases.

[16] See Gordon (*o.c.* in n. 10) 167; Fuhrmann 184 ff.; Castrén 217.

[17] Notably Pompeii, VI 6, 2; see Della Corte 319 ff.; Fuhrmann 189 ff.; Castrén 185 f., no. 227.

moulding above, the original monument would have had a height of not more than 40 cm, which would have resulted in a very low base. Such a form would be highly unusual. Another possibility is that the name and function in the inscription originally represented the dedicator's name from a larger text, which appeared above it. In that case the monument would have been higher and it may have been either a statue base (but carrying a public statue and certainly not a statue of the dedicator) or an altar[18]. The Satrius inscription does not seem, therefore, to be from the base of an ancestral statue and both inscriptions apparently derive from public monuments. Nonetheless, the presence of the Satrius inscription in the Casa del Fauno need not have been entirely coincidental. Looking at the fragment one gets the impression that the name and function were deliberately cut out of a larger piece, because the words neatly fill the space above the moulding. Gordon has suggested that inscriptions from old monuments with names of officials were preserved out of piety by their descendants in their homes[19]. Such could have been the case with the Satrius inscription. In this respect Satrius' office is of interest, i.e. the magistracy which was responsible for public building and buildings. The extension and decoration of the Casa del Fauno coincided with a major phase of building activity around the Pompeian forum[20]. It is perhaps not beyond the bounds of possibility that the aedile Satrius used his position to enlarge and embellish his own house too. His descendants may therefore have wanted to keep his memory alive in his house by preserving an inscription with his name. The quaestor Spurius mentioned in the other inscription may have been related to the Satrii in some way.

An argument in favour of ownership by the Satrii which has not previously been advanced may perhaps be adduced from the famous statuette of the dancing faun after which the house was named in the 19th century. This statutette (now a replica, the original being in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples) stands in the centre of the *impluvium* in the atrium. It is an unusual decoration for an *impluvium* and would have been visible to anyone who looked through the front door. Moreover, its animal's tail indicates that actually it represents a satyr and not a faun[21]. One wonders if the statuette of the satyr in this prominent position was not meant to serve as an allusion to the owners of the house: the Sat(i)rii. The association satyr-Sat(i)rius must have been an obvious one, even if etymologically it was perhaps unsound[22]. The statuette of the satyr would therefore have been an appropriate canting device for the house of the Satrii[23].

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[18] Cf. Castrén 43, who calls it a piece of an altar.

[19] See Gordon *(o.c.* in n. 10) 165, 166, n. 1,

[20] See Lauter 1979, 429 ff.; *AA* 1986, 493 f., and Ch. VI, n. 4.

However, there is yet another possibility to be considered. The atrium of the Casa del Fauno has produced an Oscan graffito reading *skan*, which has been reconstructed as *[Oppiu]s Cam [pan(i)us]* [24]. This reconstruction is based on the presumed existence of a certain Oppius Campan(i)us, a quaestor, mentioned in the Oscan dedicatory inscription in the mosaic pavement of the cella of the temple of Apollo, dated to c. 100 B.C. It is striking that this pavement with its large panel in *opus sectile* is very similar in design and execution to that of the *tablinum* of the Casa del Fauno[25]. One could hazard a guess that the quaestor Oppius was also the owner of the Casa del Fauno and was responsible for the decoration of both floors. The Oppii were an old Praenestine *gens* with branches in several Italian towns, and Praenestine ownership would readily account for the relationship between the Palestrina mosaics and those of the Casa del Fauno[26].

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[21] See A. Maiuri, *Pompeji* (1956) figs. 59, 62, for the statuette, and fig. 61, for a view through the front door; compare *EAA* III, 598 ff., s.v. Faunus, and VI, 67 ff., s.v. Satiri. For some contemporary *impluvia*, among which that of the Casa del Fauno is the only one with such a decoration, see N. Fadda, Gli impluvi modanati delle case di Pompei, in *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* (1975) 161 ff., figs. 158, 160, 163, 165.

[22] Cf. also the Saturii mentioned by Castrén 217, no. 356. For the associations between the word satyr and seemingly related names in Italy, like Satrii and Satricum see K. Kerényi, Satire und Satura. Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund einer literarischen Gattung, *StMatsStorRel* 9 (1933) 129 ff.

[23] Compare the case of the Dea Satriana, presumably the tutelary diety of a *gens* of the same name (or a branch of the same *gens*) in Etruria, see G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (1965) 282; *CIL* VI, 114, 30695.

[24] See Della Corte in *NSc* (1929) 473, fig. 6; 475 f., no. 257; Fuhrmann 181 f.; Vetter (*o.c.* in n. 11) 63, no. 59,2, who erroneously states that it was placed on the façade of the house.

[25] For the inscription see Mau, in *BdI* (1882) 223; Della Corte, in *NSc* (1929) 47b; Vetter (*o.c.* in n. 11) 52, no 18; La Rocca, De Vos 100. For the pavement see Fuhrmann 182, figs. 1 and 6; Pernice 69 f.

[26] See above n. 3.

It must be noted though, that the reading of the graffito and the inscription are far from certain. The reading of the graffito seems to be based on wishful thinking and other reconstructions are possible[27]. What remains of the name of the dedicator in the inscription from the Apollo temple is actually *U. Kamp.* This formulation suggests that *U* represents a *praenomen,* in which case it probably stands for Uvius-Ovius, which was a Sabellian *praenomen* (and *gentilicium* as well)[28]. Even the *gentilicium* Campan(i)us seems uncertain. It is not listed by Castrén who does, however, list a *gentilicium* Campius[29]. So the evidence of the existence for a quaestor named Oppius Campanius is very meagre if not non-existent.

To conclude we have to admit that the evidence for the possible ownership of the Casa del fauno in its heyday is uncertain. If we are to offer any suggestion the Satrii would seem to be the more likely candidates. The status of the important Campanian *gens* of the Satrii will not have differed much from that of the Arrii and the Granii and there is no valid reason to assume that they could not have owned a mansion like the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii. Even if an attribution to the Satrii is deemed too uncertain after all, the names and offices which appear in the two Oscan inscriptions may nevertheless be illustrative of the house-owner's status.

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[27] Cf. Castrén 148 f., listing under nos 94–98, five *gentilicia* beginning with *cam* or *can,* whereas the *s* could be the last letter of many names.

[28] See Vetter 52 (*o.c.* in n. 11) and Castrén 43, 269, and 201, no. 296, who both read Ovius Campanius.

[29] See Castrén, no 94.

APPENDIX 18

POMPEIAN AND RELATED FISH MOSAICS (Ch. VI, n. 6)

There are four Pompeian fish mosaics which show striking similarities in composition and in the choice and the rendering of the fish, both to each other and to the Fish Mosaic of Palestrina. It is these similarities which reveal that all five mosaics were made by one group of artists using the same models[1]. They enable us to reconstruct a prototype in the form of a large fishing scene which showed a bird's eye view of a bay surrounded by a rocky coast and populated by a large variety of accurately depicted fish and by fishermen. The character of this model has been preserved in the Fish Mosaic of Palestrina[2]. At Pompeii mosaic *emblemata* were commissioned to decorate the centres of floors, with similar scenes but of a much smaller size. About 100 B.C. the artists of the workshop created the fish mosaic of the Casa del Fauno by grouping a number of fish around a central group of an octopus struggling with a moray and a spiny lobster, an episode which in the Fish Mosaic of Palestrina is merely a detail of the marine fauna. In the process the landscape surrounding the bay was largely dispensed with[3]. This new composition with the central octopus group apparently became popular because it was repeated in other *emblemata* in Pompeii and elsewhere[4]. Some even smaller *emblemata* were made c. 90 – 70. Here the central octopus group was omitted and the decoration only consisted of a number of fish, which however still reproduced those of the earlier mosaics[5]. But the original composition of a fishing scene in a bay was not forgotten: it appeared again in a mosaic from the same period but of unknown provenance which turned up at Naples shortly before the Second World War[6]. These fish mosaics did not remain restricted to Campania. In addition to the Fish Mosaic of Palestrina traces of similar mosaics have been found in Rome. These include fragments of a fish mosaic from near San Lorenzo in Panisperna which again seems to have shown a central octopus group[7]. Another fish mosaic, dated to c. 60 B.C., which has recently been found near the Via Sistina in Rome, shows a very strong likeness to the later Pompeian fish mosaics with regard to composition, the choice of the fish and the style[8]. In a fish mosaic from Populonia, probably dating from the 2nd quarter of the 1st century B.C., now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the composition with the central octopus group and the same choice of fish can still be recognised in spite of the coarse execution. The same choice of fish recurs in another mosaic from Populonia, laid at the same time as the last and probably at the same site, i.e. a Roman villa, and which depicts a

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[1] For the Pompeian fish mosaics see Meyboom 1977. The so-called mosaics A (from the Casa del Fauno) and B have recently been studied again from a zoological point of view by L. Capaldo, U. Moncharmont, Animali di ambiente marino in due mosaici Pompeiani, *RStPomp* 3 (1989) 53 ff., pls. 1b, 2b (col.). These authors suggest other identifications for some fish and the bird, which do not, however, affect the conclusions regarding the iconography drawn by me in 1977.

[2] See Meyboom 1977, 63 ff., fig. 16; Ch. II, n. 7; Ch. VII, n. 12.

[3] See Meyboom 1977, 51, mosaic A, 60 ff., figs. 1, 10, 16.

[4] See Meyboom 1977, 51 f., fig. 2 , mosaic B from Pompeii VIII 2, 16, c. 90–80, and other examples considered below.

[5] See Meyboom 1977, 52, 55, figs. 3, 4; mosaics C and D, from VII 4, 31,

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and VII 6, 38 respectively.

[6] See Meyboom 1977, 60 ff., fig. 15; *AA* 1941, 583 ff., fig. 102.

[7] See Meyboom 1977, 57, nn. 87–89; Gullini pl. VI (col.); *NSc* 1888, 437; *BCom* 1888, 263; M. Morricone Matini, Precisazioni sui mosaici di Quaderna e di San Lorenzo in Panisperna a Roma, *AC* 15 (1963) 233 ff., esp. 236 f. The central motif of the octopus group could have a relation with the fish mosaics of Pompeii and Palestrina. However, this motif seems to have been very popular and in the absence of clear similarities in composition its presence may be insignificant (see Meyboom 1977, 55 ff.; it is even found as a control-mark on Roman coins from the same period, see Ch. V, n. 43). Moreover, the style of this mosaic is very different from those of Palestrina and Pompeii (cf. Gullini pl. VI). Whereas the latter show bright blue, greenish and reddish colours, the fragments of the Roman mosaic show a large variety of tones of light and dark grey. In the Pompeii and Palestrina mosaics the fish are depicted in a very colourful manner but always in the same schematic position so that it seems as if the artists scrupulously copied their models. In the Roman mosaic the fish are depicted in a much more lively fashion and, owing to the many greyish and silvery tones, they really seem to swim and sparkle in the water. Altogether, this impressionistic style is very different from and actually far superior to that of the Pompeii and Palestrina mosaics. It is highly regrettable that the remains and the site of this important mosaic have not been better studied. The preserved fragments are not even mentioned in Helbig II, possibly because they were not on display but were kept in the director's office of the Antiquarium Comunale.

[8] See C. Fiorini, Edificio di età republicana in Via Sistina, *Topografia Romana, Ricerche e discussioni; Quaderni di topografia antica* X (1988) 45 ff.; pls. IIIa, IVb.

large fishing scene [9]. A fish mosaic from Aquileia which may be dated to c. 50 B.C. shows a style which is very different from those at Pompeii. Still the composition with the central octopus group and the other fish around it reveals its derivation from the Casa del Fauno fish mosaic[10]. We must also mention two fragmentary fish mosaics from Sicily. A fragment of an *emblema* from Syracuse (now lost) showed a very lively octopus[11]. A number of fragments has been preserved of a large fish mosaic from Solunto, which may be dated to c. 80 B.C. It shows the remains of some fish characteristic of the Pompeian fish mosaics and possibly the head of a moray biting the tentacle of an octopus[12]. The style of these mosaics is much coarser than that of the Pompeian mosaics but the choice of the fish perhaps suggests some connection. It may seem far-fetched to claim a connection between mosaics in Sicily and Campania, but such a connection can be postulated also for a hunt mosaic in Palermo and the Alexander mosaic from the Casa del Fauno[13]. Sicily had been a Roman colony as early as 210 B.C. and there was an extensive (corn-) trade between the island and Puteoli. The trade route between Puteoli and the eastern Mediterranean also went via Sicily. Depending on the winds and the currents, ships heading for Central Italy usually sailed west of Sicily, passing Palermo, while ships heading for the East passed through the straits of Messina[14]. Still further afield we may suggest a possible link, notably with Ampurias in Spain. Part of a fine fish mosaic from Ampurias shows some remarkable similarities with the fish mosaic from the Casa del Fauno[15]. The existence of a connection between Ampurias and Pompeii is implied by the presence at Ampurias of a replica of the refined mosaic showing a bird playing with a jewel box from the Casa del Labirinto. This was another large house at Pompeii which lay immediately behind the Casa del Fauno and which was sumptuously decorated in the course of the 1st half of the 1st century B.C.[16]. An unpublished *emblema* from Ampurias depicts the motif of a cat catching a bird, found also in another mosaic from the Casa del Fauno[17]. These *emblemata* from Ampurias could be imported from Campania[18].

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[9] See Meyboom 1978, 209 ff., resp. 213 ff., fig. 7, and 209 ff., figs. 1–4.

[10] See Meyboom 1977, 56, no. 2, nn. 80–83, fig. 6; L. Bertacchi, Nuovi mosaici figurati di Aquileia, *Aquileia Nostra* XXXIV (1963) 19 ff., esp. 71 ff., fig. 35, col. pl. II b (reproduced also in *EAA*, Suppl. 1970, pl. opp. p. 68); M. Verzar Bass, Contributi alla storia sociale di Aquileia repubblicana, in *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes au IIe et Ie siècles av. J.C.* (1983) 213, n. 75, pl. XX, fig. 18.

[11] See Von Boeselager 208, no. 1; Pernice 16, pl. 5, 2.

[12] See Von Boeselager 63 ff., pls. XVII, XVIII, figs. 34–37; Pernice 16, pl. 5,1.

[13] See Ch. VI, nn. 8, 9.

[14] See Ch. V, n. 34.

[15] Barcelona, Archeological Museum, Inv. 4030; see Meyboom 1977, 58, no. 12, nn. 102–104, fig. 13; A. Balil, Las escuelas musivarias del conventus tarraconensis, in *La mosaïgue gréco-romaine* (I) (1965) 29 ff., fig. 3; col. pl. in E. Ripoll Perelló, *Ampurias, Description of the Ruins and Monographic Museum* (1972) pl. XIV.

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[16] See Pernice 166, pl. 67; Balil (*o.c.* in n. 15) fig. 2; Strocka 49 f., 99, 101, fig. 323, dating it to the earlier part of the 1st century B.C.; Ripoll Perelló (*o.c.* in n. 15) pl. XI, upper right-hand side.

[17] Barcelona, Archeological Museum, Inv. 4029, cf. Ch. VI, n. 7.

[18] Cf. Balil (*o.c.* in n. 15) 31. Another mosaic from the Casa del Labirinto depicts Theseus and the Minotaur (see Pernice 175 f., pl. 75, 2; Strocka, fig. 272). Better replicas of the same composition have been preserved from the neighbourhood of Gaeta and Chieti (see Pernice pl. 75,1 and 3; W. A. Daszewski, Nea Pahpos II (1977) 79 ff., pls. 33, 34). It is unlikely, therefore, that the influence travelled from Ampurias to Campania.

APPENDIX 19

ILLUSTRATED PAPYRUS SCROLLS (Ch. VII, n. 13)

There are many surviving examples of illustrated religious texts, Books of the Dead etc. Naturally the number of illustrated secular texts which have been preserved, is much smaller, because these were used in daily life; mathematical and didactic papyri provide good examples. The illustrations come in all shapes and sizes, varying from period to period and depending on the nature of a text[1]. In religious papyri small illustrations are often set within the text. There are also larger illustrations which fill the height of the papyrus. Other illustrations may appear in frieze-like form above or below the text. Finally there are examples of frieze-like compositions which fill almost the entire scroll and are accompanied by a minimal text; the result, to all intents and purposes, is a painted scroll[2]. The same forms of illustration occur in secular texts. In this genre we sometimes find examples of small illustrations in the text[3]. Examples of fully painted scrolls with frieze-like compositions appear in a satyrical papyrus in London and in an erotic-satyrical papyrus in Turin[4]. Of special interest for our enquiry is a geographical-geological papyrus in Turin, dating from the end of the 13th century B.C., which shows a map of the area of Wadi Hammat, lying between Koptos on the Nile and Kosseir on the Red Sea coast[5]. This papyrus, which measures c. 270–40 cm depicts the roads of the area running between reddish granite rocks and dark basalt rocks; while the roads are depicted from above, as in a map, the rocks are seen from the normal horizontal viewpoint. Also indicated are the sites of the goldmines, as well as the village of the miners, and a commentary accompanies the various parts. This papyrus is a rare example of its kind, but more may have existed. Compare a papyrus, also in Turin, which depicts the plan of the tomb of Ramses IV lying amidst the rocks of the Valley of the Kings[6].

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[1] For illustrated papyrus scrolls in general see *LÄ* III, 137 ff., s.v. Illustration; Weitzmann, 47 ff., 57 ff.

[2] See e.g. Weitzmann, figs. 48, 51, 52; 45 b, 46, 53; 47 and 54.

[3] See e.g. G. Robins, Ch. Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, an Ancient Egyptian Text* (1987) e.g. pl. 17.

[4] See respectively Weitzmann, fig. 54; col. pl. in *Il papiro di Siracusa, Atti del primo convegno internazionale sul Papiro di Siracusa, 1984* (1985) 25; and J. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften* (1973) pl. I.

[5] See H.W.A. Sommerlatte, Der Papyrus von Turin, *AW* 17 (1986) Heft 3, 31 ff., fig. 4; D. and R. Klemm, Pharaonischer Goldbergbau im Wadi Sid und der Turiner Minenpapyrus, in *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologischen Kongresses München 1985*, 2 (1989) 73 ff.; col. pl. of the central part in *Il papiro di Siracusa* (*o.c.* in n. 4) 24.

If we turn to the Hellenistic period we find that the only illustrated scrolls which have survived are those with small illustrations in the text columns. It has frequently been assumed in the past that painted scrolls with a continuous composition existed in the Graeco-Roman period, but all evidence is lacking[7]. Still we must take account of the fact that this period has yielded only a small number of illustrated papyrus scrolls anyway. The existence of painted scrolls in this period, serving for instance as maps or as study material for artists, like the two papyri at Turin, need not be excluded[8]. A memorandum from the 3rd century B.C. concerning the overflowing of an irrigation canal, is of interest in this respect. At the bottom of the text there is a drawing, which shows in a schematic way, both the canal and a circular palisade which is recommended for the protection of the farm animals[9].

In connection with the possibility that illustrated papyrus scrolls were used as models for the Nile Mosaic, the first option is the scroll with smaller illustrations in the text columns, a method of illustration which may be found both in ancient and Ptolemaic Egypt. The existence in the late Hellenistic period of herbals illustrated with figures of plants, is revealed by Pliny *NH* XXV 4, who records that Crateuas, Dionysius and Metrodorus used to depict plants in colours, together with a description of their properties. Pliny's phrasing indicates that the pictures formed the primary record and the text was merely an accompaniment to the pictures. An impression of such a document may be given by an illustrated herbal in a papyrus scroll from the 2nd cent. A.D.[10]. Crateuas was a physician-herbalist at the court of Mithradates VI in the first quarter of the first century B.C. Metrodorus is mentioned by Pliny *NH* XX 214, as a physician and author of a herbal but the date is unknown. Of Dionysius we have no information[11]. In general the existence of illustrated texts in the classical world can be traced back at least to the second century B.C. The copy of the Theriaca by Nicander of Colophon, dedicated by the author to Attalus III of Pergamum, may have been illustrated [12]. One could easily imagine therefore that a description of, for example, Aethiopia contained pictures of the animals and plants described in the text, just as do surviving scrolls and codices from the Roman period[13]. A comparable phenomenon are the extremely fine coloured pictures of sacred animals, found in ancient Egyptian Books of the Dead[14]. However, a scroll illustrated in this way would not offer much opportunity to display the accurately rendered landscape background which is so essential to the Nile Mosaic. For this one would rather expect a painted scroll in the style of the geographical papyrus at Turin. Particularly interesting for us are the reddish granite and dark basalt rocks depicted in this papyrus; similar granite rocks are depicted in the upper part of the Nile Mosaic[15]. It is possible to visualise a painted scroll depicting as a frieze the animals and a limited part of the landscape of the upper part of the Nile Mosaic; but for the lower part it seems difficult to compress the complex and coherent composition into the limited height which a scroll would impose. Such compression is not impossible, but if the model were a scroll one would expect to find trace of a frieze-like composition on the Nile mosaic; compare the Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges at Pompeii[16]. This frieze lacks the richness in details characteristic of the Nile Mosaic, perhaps because of its limited height. Finally, one could suggest that a scroll contained a schematic design for the composition as a whole, followed by separate scenes rendered in more detail[17].

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[6] See *LÄ* I, 415, s.v. Architekturdarstellung, fig. 4; 662 s.v. Baupläne; col. pl. in *Il papiro di Siracusa* (*o.c.* in n. 4) 24.

[7] For illustrated scrolls from the Hellenistic period see Weitzmann 47 ff., e.g. pls. XIII–XV. For the first view see e.g. Th. Birt, Die *Buchrolle in der Kunst* (1907) 269 ff.; and Schefold *ll.cc.* in Ch. VII, n. 7; for the opposite view see extensively Weitzmann 123 ff.

[8] For models and sketches for artists in general see R.W. Scheller, A *Survey of Medieval Model Books* (1963) 45 ff.; *LÄ* IV, 244 f., s.v. Musterbuch; Vassilika 7 ff. There is only evidence for the existence of Egyptian pattern books for religious objects but that does not exclude the possibility that pattern books for secular arts existed also; compare the sketches of animals on small lime-stone slabs reproduced in Michalowski, figs. 762–764.

[9] See C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan* (1931) pl. VI; also reproduced in Lewis (*o.c.* Ch. III, n. 205) fig. 3, and Bowman, fig. 38.

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[10] See Weitzmann (*o.c.* in Appendix 1, n. 5) 11 f., figs. 10, 11.

[11] For Crateuas see *RE* XI, 1644 f.; for Metrodorus see *RE* XV, 1483, s.v. Metrodorus, no. 27.

[12] See Weitzmann 144 f.

[13] See the example given in Ch. VII, n. 10 and e.g. our fig. 30; other examples in Weitzmann, pl. XXI.

[14] See e.g. a fine col. pl. in *Il papiro di Siracusa* (*o.c.* in n. 4) on p. 78.

[15] See Ch. III, n. 31.

We may conclude that it is not impossible that the Nile Mosaic was made from illustrated or rather painted papyrus scrolls, but there are no indications for this. On the contrary, the coherent composition, especially of the lower part, together with the richness in detail can hardly be conceived within the limited height of a painted scroll. If one wished to postulate a painted scroll as a model, a large and creative contribution must have been made by the designer of the mosaic. The same observations apply to the Fish Mosaic. In this case the large number of accurately depicted fish may indeed suggest derivation from an illustrated treatise on Mediterranean fishes. Equally essential to the Fish Mosaic, however, is the bold composition of the bay rendered in a bird's eye view, the earliest composition of its kind preserved in ancient art. One hesitates to attribute this striking feature only to the mosaicist and not to his model. That it belonged to the model is implied by the remarkable way in which the perspective in the water surface was rendered, which has been preserved in some of the copies[18].

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[16] See Ch. IV, n. 119, fig. 86.

[17] Cf. the Magical Papyrus Salt 825, which offers a picture of the House of Osiris which fills the height of the papyrus, followed by a number of other objects beneath the text columns, see Ch. IV, n. 132; Weitzmann, fig. 53.

[18] For the original composition of the Fish Mosaic see Meyboom 1977, 60 ff., 68 ff.; Ch. VII, n. 12, and Appendix 18.

APPENDIX 20

THE RENDERING OF LANDSCAPE AND SPATIAL DEPTH IN GREEK ART (Ch. VII, n. 17)[1]

It was the traditional view that landscape painting, and by association the rendering of spatial depth, were alien to Greek art[2]. This view was undoubtedly influenced by the limited role which landscape and depth naturally played in vase painting and sculpture, the two forms of Greek art which are best preserved. However, in the course of time more evidence has come to light to suggest that the spatial rendering of landscape was not as alien to Greek art as was believed formerly[3]. Ancient descriptions of famous 5th century paintings mention various landscape elements like rocks, trees, and shores and the use of different levels for human figures to indicate fore- and background[4]. An impression of such paintings may be gained from the famous Niobid crater in the Louvre[5]. In the following period artists mastered the perspective rendering of buildings like *naiskoi* and temples. Less than a century after the Niobid painter, we may find on an Apulian crater at Naples with a scene of Orestes and Iphigeneia in the land of the Tauri, a convincing depiction of a hilly landscape with Orestes sitting on an altar in the foreground, and the temple of Artemis rising behind a hill in the background[6]. A further stage in the development is formed by the Vergina frieze dating to the 3rd quarter of the 4th century[7]. The frieze which measures 5,35 – 1,16 m, depicts a hunting party in a landscape consisting of rocky outcrops, single trees and a grove. Spatial depth is created by the overlapping of figures and by their placement at different levels. The ground is depicted as if sloping slightly upwards to the rear, where the scene is closed by a range of mountains[8].

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[1] A good summary of the various opinions concerning the problem of the existence of Greek landscape painting and the possible relation with Roman landscape painting is still that by Von Blanckenhagen 1963, 135 ff.

[2] See e.g. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung bei den Griechen* (1923) II, 703, 853; C.M. Dawson, *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting* (1944) 1 ff., 48 f.

[3] For landscape see Carroll-Spillecke, and for perspective in relation with it, Childs 85 ff., and Borchardt (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 11).

[4] See Carroll-Spillecke 150 ff.; Childs 86 f.; cf. e.g. Pausanias I 16,1, describing the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile; and X 25–31, describing the paintings by Polygnotos in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi, cf. *EAA*, *Atlante dei complessi figurati e degli ordini architettonici*, pls. 235–238; and *AJA* 93 (1989) 203 ff., figs. 1–5; *AJA* 94 (1990) 213 ff, figs. 1–5).

[5] See Richter 1970, 29, fig. 124; J.P. Barron, New Light on Old Walls. The Murals of the Theseion, *JHS* 92 (1972) 20 ff., pl. I.

[6] See in general Richter 1970, 45 ff., e.g. figs. 159, 194–199, and for the Orestes crater, Richter 43, 46, figs. 176, 197.

The next comprehensive landscape picture to have survived is the Nile Mosaic. If we compare its upper part to the Vergina frieze, we cannot fail to notice that the landscape elements, the rocks and the trees, are essentially the same. But a major difference is that the ground in the mosaic slopes much more steeply, and continues to do so right up to the horizon near the top. In addition, the hunters and animals in the mosaic are much smaller in scale compared to the landscape. It is these two features which are chiefly responsible for the effect of a bird's eye view in the upper part of the Nile Mosaic. In the lower part the perspective is achieved by the oblique setting of the major buildings which recede in the distance towards the upper right, and by the difference in size between the figures and objects in the foreground and those in the background[9].

The conception of a large landscape rendered in bird's eye view with many small human figures is not known to have existed in Greek art. Such pictures were, by contrast, characteristic for the arts of the Near East, like those of Assyria and Egypt. Still, it must be observed that the treatment in these examples is essentially different from that in the Nile Mosaic[10]. The Eastern and Egyptian examples depict the earth as seen directly from above, forming a background for buildings and figures depicted from a normal horizontal viewpoint[11]. Also different in conception are the reliefs depicting hill-forts from Pinara and Tlos, which have sometimes been compared to the Nile Mosaic. These do not offer a bird's eye view but simply show mountains seen from a horizontal viewpoint with the various fortifications and other buildings, along with attackers, ranged up the slope of the hill[12].

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[7] See Andronicos, figs. 58–59; Carroll-Spillecke 152 ff.; for the interpretation L.E. Baumer, K. Weber, Zum Fries des "Phillipgrabes' von Vergina, *HASB* 14 (1991) 27 ff.; compare also the hunt mosaic from Palermo, see Ch. VI, n. 9.

[8] This manner of rendering the landscape is strikingly similar to that of some Pompeian hunting scenes, see Ch. VII, n. 26.

[9] See Ch. VII, n. 11.

[10] See Richter 1970, 5 ff., e.g. figs. 6,7, 17, 19; Childs 88 f., pls. 26, 27; *LÄ* I, 477 ff., s.v. Aspektive (E. Brunner-Traut); Beyen I, 169 ff., II, 306 ff. cf. Ch. VII, n. 5.

[11] See e.g. Richter 1970, figs. 6,7, and 19.

The Nile Mosaic is not rendered as if seen from directly above, but from a high vantage point. This results in a foreground and a background which together with the gradual transition from one to the other constitute its perspective. The rendering of spatial depth in a landscape as outlined here, was a Greek invention[13].

What many Eastern pictures do show is the small size of the human figure in relation to the background. This allows them to include a large number of human figures and to depict them in a more natural physical proportion to buildings and the like, than was customary in Greek art. It is in this respect that for example the relief from Tlos may be compared to the Nile Mosaic. The warriors storming up the hill-side are strikingly similar to the hunters above the Egyptian temple in the Nile Mosaic. This Eastern style of depicting large landscapes with small figures may not have been entirely unknown in Greece. One can for example, cite a painting dedicated by a certain Mandrokles in the Heraion at Samos. This depicted the bridge, which Mandrokles had built across the Bosporus in 506, with the army of Darius crossing it and Darius himself sitting on his throne on the shore[14]. No other strictly comparable examples of Eastern influence are known, but artistic contacts did exist, as witnessed by the Lycian reliefs. Here the rendering of perspective is due to Greek influence[15].

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[12] For the relief from Tlos see Beyen I, 164 ff.; II, 306 fig. 110; Childs 42 ff., figs. 25, pls. 24,2, 25,2; Borchardt (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 11) 267, pl. 57, 1–2, and for the Pinara reliefs, Childs 37 ff., figs. 21–24, pls. 18–23.

[13] See Richter 1970, 26 ff.; Childs 85 f.; *LÄ* IV, 987, s.v. Perspektive (E. Brunner-Traut); and in general for Greek perspective R.A. Tybout, Die Perspektive bei Vitruv: Zwei Überlieferungen von *scaenographia*, in *Munus non ingratum, Proc. of the Int. Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura' and the Hellenistic and Republican architecture* (eds H. Geertman, J. de Jong) (1989) 55 ff.

[14] See Herodotus IV 88; Childs 95 f.; Hölscher 35 ff. Other examples of Eastern influence in this respect are not known; the reconstruction of the shield of Athena Parthenos with buildings and walls of the Acropolis between the warriors by E. Harrison in *AJA* 85 (1981) 281 ff., ill. 4, remains conjectural, at least for the original shield, see Carroll-Spillecke 7 f.

[15] See Childs 85 f.

The rendering of buildings and objects in perspective by means of receding lines was a Greek invention of the fifth century B.C. However, in the classical period the basic principle of linear perspective, namely that receding lines should converge to a single vanishing point, seems to have remained unknown. Each building and object in a picture was depicted with their own perspective, i.e. that by which its shape and volume could be most easily comprehended , as may be seen in the Orestes crater mentioned above[16]. For buildings the receding lines ran slightly downwards giving the impression that they were seen slightly from below, as would have happened in reality, given that buildings are larger than man. For smaller objects the receding lines could run slightly upwards indicating that the object was seen slightly from above, again in accordance with reality. At an unknown time and place the principle of depicting an object as if seen from above came to be applied also to buildings which were consequently rendered in a kind of bird's eye view, showing their roof or part of their interior. The earliest clear example occurs on a Megarian bowl which may be dated to the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century B.C., or slightly earlier[17]. The scene in question depicts the abduction of Helen by Theseus. The mythological figures are placed between two small identical pictures of a fortified town rendered in bird's eye view, which are inscribed Athens and Korinth respectively. The artist obviously combined a mythological scene from the classical repertoire with incongruous mechanical reproductions of towns which must derive from a different tradition. Because such town-pictures were later to be a frequent feature of cartographic paintings, the ultimate source of the town-pictures on the Megarian bowl may itself have been some kind of cartographic painting. We may assume that some time must have passed in the transmission of the motif from this painted prototype, perhaps via an illustrated text and a metal bowl, to the Megarian bowl; so the original town-picture may be dated to the 3rd century B.C.[18].

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[16] See the references in n. 13 and for the Orestes crater n. 6.

[17] Possible earlier attempts to produce this effect may be recognised in some of the Lycian reliefs, see e.g. Childs 28 f., 72, figs. 18, 19; for the Megarian bowl see Ch. VII, n. 11.

[18] It has been argued that the Megarian bowls reproduced Alexandrian metal models, which in their turn were inspired by illustrated texts, dating

The last element in the rendering of perspective in the Nile Mosaic to be considered is the proportional diminution in scale of the buildings and the human figures from the foreground to the background, a feature which appears only in the lower part. It is usually assumed that this was a device which occurred since the late Hellenistic period. However it has been demonstrated that some attempts to employ it can already be found in the 5th century[19]. So the different features which constitute the rendering of the landscape and perspective in the Nile Mosaic, are all attested in earlier periods. What is new is the degree to which they have been used and the sophisticated way in which they have been combined[20].

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from the 3rd century: see the references given in Ch. VII, n. 11. More recently Sinn (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 11) 41 ff., 46 ff., has attributed the bowls to Macedonia and assumed a less close connection with metal bowls. Still the incongruity of the town-pictures remains, and suggests derivation from another medium. For cartographic painting see further Appendix 21.

[19] See in general Richter 1970, 47 f., 54 f., who claims that the earliest example is the Odyssey frieze, which dates from c. 45 B.C. (cf. Ch. VII, n. 12). For the early examples see Borchard (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 11). Without rejecting his conclusions it must be observed that his examples are not very striking. In the case of the scene with the Argonauts on the Niobid crater, any difference in scale between the man who turns his back to us and the others is hardly perceptible (see Borchardt 261 f; Richter 1970, fig. 124). The fact that the figures sitting at the bottom would be larger than the others if they stand up does not necessarily indicate that they are intended to be in the foreground. Similarity in height between sitting and standing figures is a classical artistic tradition, as may be seen in several examples in the Parthenon frieze, where sitting, standing and mounted figures are all of the same height.

[20] See further Ch. VII, nn. 12, 30, also for the perspective in the Fish Mosaic.

APPENDIX 21

CHOROGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY AS PICTORIAL GENRES (Ch. VII, n. 35)

Besides the literary forms of chorography and topography we also hear of pictorial variants in the form of cartographic paintings[1]. The exact character of these pictorial genres is disputed. It would seem that chorography refers to larger areas such as whole countries and topography to smaller regions. Beyen assumed that chorography referred to a painted map which included figural details illustrating local characteristics, and that topography referred to a landscape painting which depicted the characteristics of a certain area. He believed that the Nile Mosaic was an example of the second type[2]. The rendering of spatial depth in the Nile Mosaic he attributed, however, to the period when the mosaic was laid assuming that the original Alexandrian topographies would have offered a more schematic perspective[3]. Others have argued that a topographical picture looked like a map with, in or around it, vignettes illustrating topographical characteristics; they too believe that the Nile Mosaic was an example of this genre[4]. In their view an earlier example of this art was the triumphal painting of the conquest of Sardinia by T. Sempronius Gracchus from 174 B.C., described by Livy XLI 28, 8–10. It depicted the island of Sardinia, shown in bird's eye view, and included representations of battles and sieges. In fact this genre of cartographic painting marked the beginning of a long tradition. Examples may have been the map of the world in the Porticus Vipsania in Rome, and eventually the Peutinger Table. Many reflections of it are to be found in Roman mosaics and illustrated manuscripts[5]. Dawson, Von Blanckenhagen, Leach, and Rouveret all stress the similarity of these pictures to the Nile Mosaic pointing to the neutral background of water in which the scenes appear like vignettes[6]. We have seen, however, that this interpretation is incorrect being due to a false impression created by the restoration, and that originally the Nile Mosaic offered a large coherent landscape composition[7].

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[1] For the literary genres see Ch. VII, n. 21. For the pictorial genres see Ptolemaeus I 1, 5; Strabo II 5, 17; Vitruvius VIII 2, 6; Beyen I, 170 ff.; II, 311; Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 56; Leach 91 ff, 108 f.; Tybout 340 ff.

[2] See Beyen I, 168 ff.; II, 311 ff.; Tybout 341 ff, 344 f.

[3] Beyen I, 170; II, 308 ff., 313 f., dating the mosaic to c. 60 B.C.

[4] Dawson (*o.c.* in Appendix 20, n. 2) 52, n. 12; Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 56; Leach 91 f., 108 f.; A. Rouveret, Peinture et 'l'art de la mémoire', Le paysage et l'allégorie dans les tableaux grecs et romains, *CRAI* (1982) 571 ff., esp. 580 ff.

It seems therefore that the ancients distinguished between two classes of painting, chorography and topography; at the same time we have evidence for the existence of two kinds of pictures which represent places and areas. The problem is which name should be given to which kind. The first kind, the cartographic style of painting, appears to fit the description by Strabo II 5, 17, who speaks about continents shaped by the sea, oceans, mountains etc., and calls a painting encompassing such features a chorographical *pinax*. From this it seems safe to conclude that a chorography depicted a certain large area in the manner of a map, including features of a topographical character. If we accept this definition of chorography we can deduce that topography was the other type, namely an elaborate and detailed landscape picture. This supposition may be supported by an interesting passage in Vitruvius VII 5, 2, which lists various kinds of paintings in relation to their surroundings: *ambulationes vero propter spatia longitutidinis varietatibus topiorum ornarent ab certis locorum proprietatibus imagines exprimentes (pinguntur enim portus, promontoria, litora, flumina, fontes, euripi, fana, luci, montes, pecora, pastores),* (Because of the length of porticoes they decorated the walls of these with various kinds of landscapes, the features of which derived from the characteristics of real places (they painted harbours, promontories, shores, rivers, springs, straits, sanctuaries, groves, hills, herds and herdsmen)[8]. Vitruvius is referring broadly to the middle of the 1st century B.C. and his description of the various kinds of landscape suggests the generic type which was painted in that period, but he also indicates that these derived from more realistic landscape pictures representing the characteristics of certain areas[9]. He is obviously writing about landscape paintings which, since they include details as springs, groves and sanctuaries, do not fit into the category of map-like paintings. It seems probable therefore that a topography was a picture of a certain area, complete with its topographical features, and that the Nile Mosaic should be regarded as a reflection of such a topography, as already proposed by Beyen and Tybout[10]. If we consider again the vignette-like picture of a town on the Megarian bowl discussed in Appendix 20, it now appears that this probably derives from a cartographic painting[11]. A similar observation may be made about the Alexandrian bone tesserae. They illustrate parts of Alexandria by means of characteristic figures or other elements which look like vignettes. We have already seen that some of these appear in, or are similar to, scenes in the Nile Mosaic, including the temple of Canopus, various shrines, towerhouses, a fisherman's hut and the figure of an ithyphallic dwarf[12]. Alföldi-Rosenbaum has suggested that such typical details could be taken from a pattern book or an illustrated guide book. Similar vignette-like illustrations can be found in painted Roman chorographies and in illustrated geographical texts[13]. One can therefore consider the possibility that the motifs on the bone tesserae too derive from a painted map, a chorography of Alexandria and surroundings. Alternatively we can argue that they derive from a large landscape picture of Alexandria and surroundings in the manner of the Nile Mosaic. It is not possible to reach a conclusion and actually the one possibility does not exclude the other. Both types may have existed, as different aspects of a single geographical interest, reflecting respectively chorography and topography; besides intermediate forms may have occurred[14]. The genre of topographical painting is attested in Rome around 165 B.C. in the person of the Alexandrian painter Demetrius the *topographus*, who may have been instrumental in its introduction[15]. This could imply that Nilotic scenes made an appearance in Italy even earlier than we have assumed[16].

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[5] See O.A.W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (1985) 41 ff., 52; and A. and M. Levi, *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peuteringeriana* (1967) 33 ff., pls. I, III–X, XII–XIII, XX–XXI, XXVI–XXX.

[6] See Dawson and Von Blanckenhagen *ll.cc.* in n. 4; Leach 92; and Rouveret (*o.c.* in n. 4) 582 f.

[7] See Ch. I, fig. 8. The aspect of the flooded countryside may also have contributed to the impression that the composition was made up of separate scenes, cf. Ch. IV, n. 60, fig. 67.

[8] See Tybout 61 f., 88 f.

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[9] See Tybout 339 ff., 344 f.; Beyen I, 168 f.; Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 57; Ling 7 ff.; Leach 96 ff.; and above Ch. V, n. 11.

[10] See Beyen I, 168 ff., II, 311 f.; Tybout 341 ff., 344 f.; Wataghin Cantino (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 12) 46 f. For some other examples see A. and M. Levi (*o.c.* in n. 5) pls. XIII–XIX, XXXII, but the distinction from chorographies is not always clear and intermediate forms occur.

[11] See Appendix 20; and compare Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 56, n. 91.

[12] See respectively Ch. IV, n. 78, fig. 41; Ch. III, nn. 88, 122; and Ch. V, n. 15.

[13] See Alföldi-Rosenbaum 227, and respectively A. and M. Levi (*o.c.* in n. 3) pls. XXIII–XXV and F. Blume, K. Lachmann, A. Rudorff, *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* (1848–1852) I, pls. 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, and compare *ib.* pls. 23, 24, where they appear in map-like pictures.

The last question which remains is whether the advanced rendering of landscape and perspective in the Nile Mosaic also reflects 3rd century Alexandrian topography, or, as Beyen and others supposed, belongs to the late Republican period and is mainly due to the artists who created the mosaic[17]. We have seen that the Vergina frieze which dates to the 3rd quarter of the 4th century and which was unknown to Beyen represents a stage of development in the rendering of landscape and space which seems to be the direct forerunner of that of the Nile Mosaic. Furthermore we have seen that all the features which characterise the rendering of perspective in the Nile Mosaic can already be found in the 3rd century[18]. Is it, therefore, necessary to assume that more than two centuries must have passed between the creation of the Vergina frieze and the Nile Mosaic simply because we know nothing about landscape painting in the early Hellenistic period? It is more probable that the whole picture contained within the Nile Mosaic reflects a 3rd century model made about one century later than the Vergina frieze. This inference does not imply that the Nile Mosaic is in every respect an accurate copy. It contains some details which belong to its own time rather than that of its prototype; the landscape, too, naturally enough may have been influenced by contemporary art, while the artist who finalised the present composition may have left something of his individual stamp upon it[19]. The true character and extent of later influence cannot be established, because the necessary comparive material is lacking. However, this does not preclude the possibility that the Nile Mosaic, in all essentials, even with regard to landscape and perspective, reflects a 3rd century model.

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[14] See for some examples of intermediate forms the references given in nn. 10, 13.

[15] See Ch. VII, n. 21; Ch. V, n. 32.

[16] Cf. Ch. V, n. 43; Tybout 344 f.

[17] See Beyen *ll.cc.* in n. 3; and cf. Ch. II, n. 58; App. 20, n. 2.

[18] See Appendix 20.

[19] See Ch. VII, n. 37

NOTES TO CHAPTERS I - VII

Notes to Chapter I

[1] See the detailed account by Pieralisi 1–15, extensive summaries in Aurigemma 44–53, Whitehouse 5–9, and the detailed account by Montagna 227 ff. I shall only discuss problems which in my opinion deserve further consideration.

[2] See Delbrück I, 77–90, pls. XV–XVIII; II, 1–4; Gullini 1953, I, 41–49; II, pl. II; Whitehouse 1–3, fig. A. For the nymphaeum see further below, Ch. II, p. 8. Later the apse was walled in and the room in front of it served as a servant's hall for the bishop's servants, cf. Aurigemma 44, n.1; Delbrück I, pls. XV, XVII. Since the apse received no light it can only have been used as a store room. In Delbrück's time the walled-in apse served as a wine cellar, see Delbrück I, fig. 79.

[3] This comparatively late date is surprising in view of the fact that the plan of the apse appears in older drawings, see e.g. Delbrück I, fig.45, reproducing a plan by Giuliano da Sangallo from c. 1500. There are some short references to the mosaic by visitors from the 2nd half of the 16th century. These only mention the existence of the mosaic but do not give information on its subject matter (see Montagna 240 ff.). In several cases it is connected to the *lithostroton* which Sulla is alleged to have had made at Praeneste, see Plinius *NH* XXXVI 64, 189, and further below Ch. II, p. 15f. A short description dating from the years 1588–1607 in the town archive of Palestrina reads '*...il pavimento fatto di Musaico finissimo con alcuni animali , cioè Elefanti, con altri ucelli, galere con un Marinajo, ed altri fogliami bellisimi...*' (... the pavement made of the finest mosaic, with animals, i.e. elephants, and birds, boats and a mariner, and very fine foliage...), (see Pieralisi 12; Aurigemma 44, n.1; Montagna 234). In 1614 it was seen by Prince Federico Cesi, one of the founders of the Accademia dei Lincei, on the occasion of his marriage to Artemisia Colonna, to whose family the feud of Palestrina belonged (see Zevi 1988, 34; Montagna 234, and for Cesi: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 24, 256 ff.; *Atti dei Convegni Lincei* 78: *Convegno celebrativo del IV centenario della nascita di Frederico Cesi, Acquasparta 1985 (1986).* Cesi wrote a short description of the mosaic. This description has not been preserved, but a copy exists in the Barberini archives. This was made by Cesi's fellow *Lynceus* (i.e. a member of the Academia dei Lincei) F. Stelluti, who gave it to G.M. Suarez in 1637 (see Montagna 229 f., 275 ff. Appendice I).The latter published it in his study on Praeneste (see Suarez II, 49 f.; Pieralisi 3, n.1; Whitehouse 6, 82, n. 31): '... *Extantis modo lithostroti exemplum habeas, cuius occasione Praenestinae ipsius Fortunae frontem habuisti. In eo multa quidem perspicienda sunt, quae lapillorum interrasis miculis, crustulisque intercisis, superstitiosa sedulitate, summoque otii dispendio conficta apparent. Loco in ipso nonnisi accensis facibus, superaffusaque ad perspicuitatem aqua, et saepe iterata inspersione pervidere expingereque licuit. Sunt hominum animaliumque complures imagines; Elephas,Rhinoceros, nomina litteris quibusdam peculiaribus excripta. Sunt et in aquis navigia, quae singillatim summa cum diligentia depicta apud doctrina simul ac nobilitate praeclarum Equitem Cassianum de Puteo Lincaeum collegam nostrum spectare poteris. Sed et huius (lithostroti) pars aliqua spectanda simulque admiranda remanet in crypta quadam quae ad inferiores cellas aedium episcopi abscondita est*'

(...But you may have an example of an extant *lithostroton*, the prototype of which you have had by reason of the Praenestine Fortune herself. Many indeed are the things to be seen in it, composed apparently of little chips of stone and cut fragments with assiduous attention to detail and painstaking care. At the site itself it was possible to see or draw only by torchlight and with water poured over [the surface of the mosaic] to aid visibility, and the washing down repeated frequently. There are various representations of men and beasts: elephant, rhinoceros, the names written out in some special letters; and in the water there are ships – you may behold these things meticulously portrayed, one by one, at the home of our fellow *Lynceus* Cavaliere Cassiano dal Pozzo, noted alike for his erudition and excellence. But a part of the mosaic remained in the crypt in the cellar of the episcopal place,where it can still be seen and admired ...; translation partly after Whitehouse 6).

Since Cesi mentions the making of drawings, it seems that he had some made. These drawings may perhaps be referred to in a note by Dal Pozzo from 1631 which mentions a drawing of the room, and a '*disegno colorito dell'historia che si vedono in detto mosaico*' (see A. Nicolò, F. Solinas, Cassiano dal Pozzo: appunti per una cronologia di documenti e disegni (1612–1630), in *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* 2 (1987) 59 ff., esp. 82; H. Whitehouse, Copies of Roman paintings and mosaics in the Paper Museum, in *Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum* I (1992) (*Quaderni Puteani* 2) 105 ff., 119. No trace of these drawings remains. The note by Dal Pozzo seems to refer to one drawing of the entire mosaic, but could alternatively refer simply to the only seemingly historical scene in the mosaic, i.e. the gathering of the military before the pavilion in section 13 (see immediately below and Ch. IV, n. 57). Perhaps these drawings served as models for the reproductions of some parts of the mosaic in Suarez II, two plates opposite 288; Phillips, figs. 2,3; Montagna 266 ff., figs. 8, 9. If so, these drawings only represented isolated scenes, notably in the first plate: the man punting in the papyrus boat in section 13, and a fragment with a bird and a snail, and in the second plate: the pavilion with the soldiers of section 13, the fisherman of section 8, and a temple precinct with two towers. The temple precinct has not been preserved in this form in the mosaic (see further below n. 32).

The scene with the bird, which is rather a purple gallinule than an ostrich, may have belonged to a section of the local fauna in the Nile Mosaic which remained *in situ* and later got lost. It is, however, doubtful that it ever formed part of the Nile Mosaic at all since there is no trace of it, and the motif may have been taken from elsewhere, e.g. a mosaic in Sta Maria in Trastevere in Rome to which, on uncertain grounds, also a Praenestine origin has been attributed (see Phillips 105 ff; Whitehouse 84, n. 46; Zevi 1979, 19 f.; Meyboom 1979, 61, n. 36; H.G.Beyen, *Ueber Stilleben aus Pompeii und Herculaneum* (1928) 40, 74, n.4; C. Gasparri, Due mosaici antichi in S. Maria in Trastevere, *Alessandria* III, 627 ff., pl. CII, 2; Montagna 270 ff.

[4] See Pieralisi 10,12; Aurigemma 47 f.; Whitehouse 6 f.; Montagna 234 f. The removal was begun by the then Archbishop of Palestrina, Andrea Peretti. The mosaic was removed without a plan being made, as appears from an important account in a ms. in a miscellany of Cassiano dal Pozzo's papers in Naples, dated 1642 (see below in this note). It is said that the removal was stopped by Peretti's successor in 1626, because it was not popular with the townsfolk, and part of the mosaic may have remained *in situ* (see Montagna 234 f. and further below, n. 10). The removal of the mosaic seems to have been undertaken on request of Cardinal Magalotti who presented the pieces to his nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini, a fellow Lynceus of Cesi

(see Montagna 253, 257 ff.). Only one piece, section 19, with the pergola, was given by Magalotti tot the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco de' Medici, on the occasion of his visit to Rome in March 1628 and was replaced by an oil-copy (see for this piece further Ch. III, section 19, n. 128, fig. 21). Francesco Barberini planned to return the mosaic pieces to Palestrina, which in 1629 after long negotiations had been bought from the Colonna by the Barberini (see *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 6, 180, s.v. Taddeo Barberini). See further below, nn. 6 and 9. For Francesco Barberini, see *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 6, 172 ff. The Naples account, Naples Bibliotheca Nazionale, cod. V.E. 10, *Notizie di varie antichità con un trattato di marmi*, by Cassiano dal Pozzo, was published by G. Lumbroso, Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo, in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana* 14 (1874) (reissued separately in 1875) 129 ff., esp. 171; see also Montagna 239, n. 37, fig. 7; '*Il mosaico famoso del tempio della Dea Fortuna di Palestrina, del quale ne fa mentione Plinio, fu dal Cardinale Andrea Peretti che allhora era vescovo di detta città donato al Cardinale Magalotto, e di là levato in pezzi senza esserne preso pianta o disegno. Il Cardinale Magalotto lo donò poi al Cardinale Barberino, riserbatosi per sè un solo pezzo, qual donò al Gran Duca in occasione di esser venuto a Roma, e questo fu l'historietta di quelli che mangiano sotto una pergola; qual pezzo da una copia che si fece far a olio esattisima da Vincenzo, et è in casa, il Cardinale Barberino lo fece rifar da Giovan Battista Calandra vercellese indentissimo del lavoro di mosaico, qual raccomodò gli altri pezzi di detto mosaico, e riportatili di ordine di detto Signor a Palestrina, unitigli insieme al meglio modo che si potè con l'aiuto di disegni di casa, lo rimesse in opra in un pavimento di stanza in detto luogo di Palestrina. Convenne al Calandra valersi nel rifare sì il detto pezzo che mancava che nel raccomodare gli altri di diverse breccie trovato nel contorno di Palestrina*'.

(The famous mosaic from the Fortuna Temple at Palestrina , which is mentioned by Pliny, was removed by Cardinal Andrea Peretti, then Bishop of Palestrina, without either a plan or a drawing being made of it, and presented to Cardinal Magalotti. Cardinal Magalotti gave it to Cardinal Barberini reserving one piece for himself which he presented to the Grand Duke (of Tuscany) on the occasion of the latter's visit to Rome and this was the scene with the diners beneath the pergola. Cardinal Barberini had this piece remade, following an exact copy in oils which Vincenzo (cf. for him n. 5) was commissioned to make and which was in the household, by Giovan Battista Calandra of Vercelli, an expert mosaicist, who restored the other pieces of the said mosaic and, having brought them back to Palestrina by order of the said Signor and joined them together as best as he could with the assistance of drawings belonging to the household, he put it into service again in a pavement in the said place in Palestrina. Calandra found it expedient to make use of various breccias found in the neighbourhood of Palestrina both for re-making the said missing piece and for restoring the others (cf. Whitehouse 7).

[5] For the copies see Whitehouse 6, figs. 1a–13a, 14, 15a–19a. They had been bought with a part of the Albani collection by King George III in 1762 (see Montagna 245) and are now in the collection of Her Majesty Queen Elisabeth II of Great Britain, in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, Portfolio Pf.Z, nos. 19201–19219. In the same collection are some pen-and-ink drawings of scenes from the Nile Mosaic which may have been preparatory sketches, see Dal Pozzo Folio, Vol. 196 Nettuno, nos. 11476, 11483, 11484 (Whitehouse 11, 18 f., sections 13 and 15, figs. 13c, 15c; below n. 8, and Ch. III; Montagna 245 f., n. 54, supposes that these drawings were made from the Dal Pozzo copies. They show, however, details which do not appear in the Dal Pozzo copies, such as fragments of boats in section 15 and the *krepides*

of the soldiers in section 13, so they must be original copies. For Cassiano dal Pozzo, who *inter alia* was attached as a secretary to the household of Cardinal Francesco Barberini and was keeper of his collection, see Whitehouse 9, 85 n. 47; Lumbroso, *o.c.* in n. 4; Nicolò, Solinas, *o.c.* in n. 3; and many contributions published in *Nouvelles de la rèpublique des lettres* (1987) 2; and in *Quaderni Puteani* 1–4 (1989–1993), e.g. Whitehouse, in *Cassiano del Pozzo's Paper Museum* I (*o.c.* in n. 3). It is not certain who the artist was who made the copies. Suggested have been Pietro Testa, Antonio Eclissi, Bernardo Capitelli, Vincenzo Leoncini, Vincenzo Leonardi, or Vincenzo Manenti, see Whitehouse 9 f., 86, n. 55, 87, n. 61; N. Turner, The Drawings of Pietro Testa after the Antique in Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum, in *Quaderni Puteani* 3 (1992) 127 ff.; *idem*, Some of the copyists after the Antique employed by Cassiano, in *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo* (BM Exh. Cat.) *Quaderni Puteani* 4 (1993) 27 ff; Montagna 256). The copies must have been made after the mosaic was cut in pieces, so after 1626, and before the death of Cesi in 1630 who mentions them (cf. his account cited in n. 3). Montagna assumes that they were made between 1626 and 1628 (Montagna 250 ff.). However, it seems that they were made after section 19 had been separated from the rest by Magalotti in 1628, because the copy of that section was not made from the original mosaic but from an oil copy which had replaced it (see n. 4 and Ch. III, n. 128). So the watercolours will have been made somewhere between 1628 and 1630. The width and height vary roughly between 30 and 60 cm. The only exception is the copy of the large section 13, which measures 80 by 60 cm. They have no uniform scale but vary from one third to two thirds life size. For the quality of the copies, see Whitehouse 11, 70. In general they seem fairly accurate (cf. Whitehouse 70). Thus the scene represented in Dal Pozzo copy no. 1, which in the mosaic has now been divided in two parts, is likely to be correctly represented (cf. Ch. III, section 1, fig. 10; Whitehouse 11 f., figs. 1a–c). In copy 16 the four litter-bearers are represented correctly, whereas one of them is strangely missing in the mosaic (cf. figs. 24, 26; Ch. III, n. 186). The small scene of copy 14 does not appear at all in the mosaic (cf. fig. 23). In copy no. 7 the inscription CATTYOC appears, which has been lost in the mosaic (cf. Ch. III, n. 62; Whitehouse figs. 7a–b). In some cases, however, the drawings omit authentic details which survive in the mosaic. Thus the *simpulum* which the woman in section 13 holds in her hand is part of the original mosaic, but is missing in the copy (cf. Ch. III, n. 159, and Whitehouse fig. 13a, 14). In the case of section 2 the puzzling inscription ΞΙΟΙΓ in the mosaic is missing in the copy, cf. below n. 8, and Ch. III, fig. 11; Whitehouse, fig. 2a. Minor differences will be noted below, see for section 9, n. 10, for section 16, Ch. III, n. 187, and for section 17, Ch. III, nn. 192, 197. So, if details appear in the restored mosaic which do not appear in the Dal Pozzo copies, these may be due to mistakes by the restorer, but it is also possible that the original mosaic showed details which the copyist overlooked, but which the restorer did repair correctly.

[6] This restoration is attested in Dal Pozzo's account cited in n. 4: '*Calandra, qual raccomodò gli altri pezzi di detto mosaico*' (cf. Aurigemma 48). Since Calandra also did the restoration at Palestrina, it seems probable that the restoration in Rome took place not too long before the pieces were returned to Palestrina. The Dal Pozzo copies must therefore have been made before the restoration. For Calandra see Aurigemma 48, n. 6; Whitehouse 84, n. 39; *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 16, 426 f.; Montagna 236, n. 31.

[7] This disastrous return to Palestrina is mentioned in a draft of a letter of c. 1665, in the Barberini archives, adressed to Suarez and possibly written

by Cardinal Barberini himself (see Pieralisi 10; Aurigemma 48; Whitehouse 7, 83, n. 38; Montagna 234 ff., 279 ff.): '*havendo ordinato che s'incassassero et se riponessero nel Palazzo di Palestrina, furono armati le cassi a rovescio in modo, che havevano macinato et scommesso tutto il mosaico; però con li disegni gia cavati dal mai abbastanza lodato Cav. Cassiano dal Pozzo et dalla lunga cura et molto peritia del.... Calandra fu tutto riposto insieme: et havendo Taddeo Barberino tolto il semiciclo... per l'edifitio di una sala, rimasta in quello una gran nicchia, tribuna o absida che vogliamo dire, ivi ripose il detto lithostroto cosi ben ristaurato, che neppure una pietruccola vi manca o alcuna ne sia scommessa o fuori dell'antico ordine...*' (having ordered that the mosaic should be packed in boxes and replaced in the Palazzo at Palestrina, the boxes had been propped the wrong way round with the result that they had crushed and dislodged the whole mosaic; but with the drawings already executed by the inestimable Cav. Cassiano dal Pozzo and the lengthy care and great skill of ... Calandra it was all put together again and Taddeo Barberino having appropriated the hemicycle ... for the construction of a room, there being a large niche, platform or apse, what you will, left over in it, he put the said *lithostron* back there, so well restored that not even the tiniest stone is missing from it, nor might there be one dislodged or put out of the original order...; translation after Whitehouse 7; see for the apse n. 9).

[8] Cf. the account cited in n. 7; also in C. Dato, *Orazione delle lodi del Commendatore del Pozzo* (1644) 14, the Dal Pozzo copies are mentioned as the basis for the restoration of the mosaic: '.....*a lui si deve la restaurazione del pavimento di commessi nel tempio della Fortuna fabbricato a Preneste da L. Sulla, perche una parte composta nel di lui intero disegno si conservo....*' (....to him is owned the restoration of the mosaic pavement in the temple of Fortune constructed at Praeneste by L. Sulla, because a part which was broken up was preserved in his complete drawing of it.... see Whitehouse 7 f., 84, n. 42). In the Naples account, however, Dal Pozzo himself mentions *disegni di casa* as a basis for the restoration (see above n. 4). This might refer to the drawings which Cesi had had made and which may have been left behind in the Palestrina household (see n. 3). But if these are indeed reflected in the plates of Suarez they did not have much in common with the Dal Pozzo copies and it would be difficult to reassemble the whole mosaic from them. The reference might also be to drawings which Cardinal Barberini is said to have had made by Suarez, but of which nothing else is known; cf. Whitehouse 7, 70, 84, nn. 40, 41; Zevi 1979, 19 f.; and further below. In general the similarity between the Dal Pozzo copies and the actual mosaic is striking (cf. Whitehouse 70). Cf. e.g. the hindleg of an animal disappearing behind a rocky outcrop in section 3 (see Ch. III, n. 35, fig. 12; Whitehouse, figs. 3 a–b). The representation of an incomplete animal is exceptional in the mosaic where all animals are represented as clearly as possible. Is the animal hiding from the hunters or was the mosaic so damaged that the copyist was not sure if he saw animal-forms or rocks (cf. Whitehouse 13)? At all events the leg was accurately copied in the restoration. Some differences mentioned in n. 5 may be explained by the bad state of the mosaic. The inscription CATTYOC in section 7 may have been damaged in 1640 and may have been overlooked by the restorer (cf. n. 5 and Ch. III, n. 62). In the case of the ΞΙΟΙΓ inscription in section 2 there may have been a remnant of an inscription which was overlooked by the copyist, just as he overlooked the *simpulum* and some highlights, but which the restorer restored in this puzzling way (cf. n. 5 and further below Ch. III, n. 22). For some other differences see below n. 9. For the missing scene of copy no. 14 see below Ch. III, section 14, fig. 23. It is harder to explain why the restorer did not

reunite the two broken parts of section 1 as shown in copy no.1 (fig. 10). Perhaps the restorer had begun by setting these parts at the back of the apse where the mosaic was to be placed (see nn. 7, 9), when he realised that he would not be able to reconstruct the whole mosaic without models and the Dal Pozzo copies were sent for. By and large, it seems probable that the mosaic was indeed restored from the Dal Pozzo copies and not from other copies. It appears from the incomplete set of pen-and-ink drawings at Windsor (see n. 5) and from the fact that the Dal Pozzo copy no. 15 is by a different hand (cf. Whitehouse 20 f.) that other series of copies did exist. Perhaps these drawings were the Barberini drawings, made for Cardinal Barberini himself. One can imagine that the drawings were insufficient for the restoration after the crash of 1640 and that the Dal Pozzo watercolours were then sent for. After the restoration the two series may have got mixed up and parts of them may have remained together. If both series were made roughly at the same time, when Dal Pozzo himself was attached to the Barberini household, and the series also later remained together, this may explain Dal Pozzo's use of the inexplicit phrase '*disegni di casa*'.

[9] See Aurigemma 48; Whitehouse 7; Montagna 238, 263. This was probably finished before 1644, the year in which Calandra died, while in 1645 all the Barberini fled to France. The mosaic was laid in the floor of the apsidal space at the back of the entrance hall of the Barberini palace. The specific plan of this place resulted in the nicks in the upper left- and right-hand corners of the actual mosaic (see above n. 7; Gullini 1956, 8; Whitehouse 7, 83, n. 38, p. 94, n. 4; Iacopi, plan opp. frontisp.).

[10] It is often supposed that parts of the mosaic had remained *in situ* when the removal was stopped (cf. Aurigemma 47, 92; Whitehouse 6 f., 72; Pieralisi 12). Actually Cesi states that a part of the mosaic had remained in the cellar (see n. 3). There are indeed some parts of the mosaic which are original but which are not depicted in the Dal Pozzo copies, e.g. the small sections 20 and 21 and some other parts, like the towers on the right-hand side of the temple in section 8 (see Whitehouse, figs. 8a–b). Therefore it has been supposed that these parts had remained *in situ* and were incorporated in the recomposition of 1640. There are, however, other small parts in the mosaic which are original but which were not copied. In section 9 an overgrown strip of land may be seen at the top, and also the top of a palm on the left-hand side. Both are original and join with the main block of the section; there is no trace that they have ever been separated (see fig. 16; cf. Gullini 1956, pls. XIV, XVI, XXII; Aurigemma figs. 17, 44). Nevertheless, these parts do not figure on the Dal Pozzo copy. The reason for this is obviously that the copyist lacked space on his paper (see Whitehouse, fig. 9a). For the copy of the large section 13 he used two sheets of paper (Whitehouse 18). In fact the copyist did not make precise-scale copies. His watercolours are more or less free copies, carried out on various scales (cf. above n. 8; Whitehouse 70). If we look at section 8 again (fig. 15; Whitehouse, figs. 8a–b) we see that there is no trace of any division in the towers at the right-hand side and both Gullini, pl. XIV, and Aurigemma, fig. 11, indicate that the section forms one block. So the towers on the right-hand side cannot have been a loose fragment which had remained *in situ* and was incorporated in 1640. In this case too the copyist will have left his copy incomplete on the right-hand side because of lack of space.

In section 20 (Gullini 1956, pl. XIX; Aurigemma, fig. 30) Gullini represents the whole lower part of the sitting man in section 16 as belonging to section 20. This suggests that the copyist of section 16 also had section 20 at his disposal, which cannot therefore have remained *in situ*. But Aurigemma only represents the foot of the sitting man as belonging to section 20. This is probably correct because it is precisely the man's foot that is missing in the copy of section 16 (Whitehouse, fig. 16a). Does this mean that the small fragment 20, which represents only part of a wall, was taken from the grotto as late as 1640? This is not necessary: it may equally well have been removed with the other sections, like the small section 14, but have been considered too insignificant to copy.

As regards section 21 (see Ch. III, n. 73, fig. 15; Gullini 1956, pl. XIV; Aurigemma, figs. 9,10) Aurigemma represents it as a separate fragment but Gullini represents it as connected with section 8. The join seems arbitrary so Aurigemma may be right that it was a loose piece. But that does not necessarily imply that it had remained *in situ.* Furthermore the piece is heavily restored, especially with regard to the snake. Could the restorer have recognised the contents of this scene, i.e. the rivalry of the snake and mongoose? It seems more probable that he had seen it in a better condition and that it was damaged only in 1640. The copyist may have failed to copy it separately because it was too small. If we look at the remaining parts of the mosaic which have not been copied (fig. 7) we see that these are wholly restored and consist mainly of water, rocks and plants. So except perhaps for sections 20 and 21 the copyist seems to have had all the other original parts of the mosaic at his disposal. That implies that only very little, if anything, of the mosaic which may have remained *in situ* was incorporated in the restoration of 1640. Cesi apparently referred to a piece of some importance, otherwise it could not have been admired. There is, however, no such piece in the mosaic which is not represented in the Dal Pozzo copies. It would also seem strange that the remaining piece was not lifted in 1640. Perhaps it was lifted shortly later and added to the others. What may have remained *in situ* and what has become of it is unknown (see also Montagna 234, 249 f., 260 ff., who doubts that there was anything left at all). There are no traces today of any tesserae left on the spot. It is a mystery why Schmidt 2, and Steinmayer 57, mention the inclusion in 1640 of parts which had been kept in the Barberini palace at Cortona. It is doubtful if there ever was a Barberini palace at Cortona. Perhaps this derives from Petrini's mistaken believe that Pietro da Cortona took part in the restoration (see P.A. Petrini, *Memorie Prenestine disposte in forma di annali* (1795) 247. Da Cortona certainly worked for the Barberini household and made drawings of the Fortuna sanctuary, which were published by Suarez (see Montagna 250; Ch. II, n. 11), but there is no evidence that he cooperated in the restoration of the Nile Mosaic.

The mosaic may have represented more animals, such as elephants, which are mentioned in the early accounts (cf. above n. 3) and which the copyist still thought were partly visible in sections 3 and 6 (cf. below Ch. III, nn. 17, 35, 36, 51). For the sections reproduced by Suarez see above n. 3 and below n. 32. Since the mosaic was originally c. 1 m wider at the base (cf. below text to n. 20) it may originally have contained more scenes. We shall see that other scenes may have been included between sections 13 and 17 and on the right-hand side of section 16 (cf. pp. 37, 65 ff., and below nn. 35–38). Since no mention is ever made of their contents, and considering the damaged state of section 14, which was copied nevertheless, it seems that these parts were already damaged before Peretti started to remove the mosaic. So it seems that the damaged mosaic was cut into convenient pieces and that this process was considered largely finished when the townfolks' protests stopped the removal, leaving only scattered fragments, which were too small to be worthy of lifting.

[11] See Aurigemma 48. The restorer was Giovanni Azzurri, professor of the Accademia di San Lucca. At that time it was placed in one of the rooms on the first floor of the Barberini palace. On that occasion the Barberini coats of arms were added in the upper corners of the mosaic (see Aurigemma, fig. 1). These were removed in 1952 (see n. 12).

[12] See Montagna 239; Gullini 1956, 15, pls. XIII, XIV, XVI–XVII; Aurigemma 50, figs. 4–52. These parts were distinguishable by differences in the composition of the mortar, and the shapes, sizes and materials of the tesserae. The original tesserae vary markedly in size and shape and are very small in detailed work, whereas the new tesserae are larger, squarer and have sharper edges, cf. Ch. II, n. 65 and Ch. III, n. 1. The investigations by Gullini and Aurigemma were conducted separately and in certain details their divisions do not correspond. On the whole Aurigemma's diagrams seem somewhat more accurate but this is not always the case (cf. e.g. nn. 10, 14).

[13] E.g. in section 17 (see fig. 27; Gullini 1956, pl. XIX) the prow of the galley and the water around it have been restored, as is clearly indicated by the difference in colour. In the process the trumpet held by the soldier and the lower ends of two lances have disappeared (cf. the Dal Pozzo copy; Whitehouse 22, fig. 19a; below Ch. III, section 17, n. 197). Both Gullini, pl. XIX, and Aurigemma, fig. 27, however, show this whole part as original.

[14] Thus the right-hand side of the upper part of the pavilion in section 13 is indicated as restored in Aurigemma's diagram, fig. 23, apparently because this whole part had a new backing (cf. Aurigemma, fig. 22). Gullini's pl. XVII, however, shows part of it as authentic, including the corner acroterium. This unusual corner acroterium does not appear on the Dal Pozzo copy (Whitehouse, fig. 13a) and can hardly have been invented by the restorer, so must be original (cf. below Ch. III, n. 150). Gullini's rendering must, therefore, be correct.

[15] Gullini 1956, 16; Aurigemma 92; G. Quattrocchi, *Il Museo Archeologico Prenestino* (1956) 56 f.; Iacopi, plan opp. frontisp., room XIV, fig. 57; Whitehouse 94, n. 4.

[16] Cf. however n. 10.

[17] Cassiano dal Pozzo states emphatically that no plan of the mosaic was made (see n. 4). A drawing of the entire mosaic might in fact have existed (see n. 3) but apparently it was not used. Making an accurate drawing of the mosaic will have been difficult given the primitive circumstances under which it had to be examined in the grotto where it lay (see Cesi's account in n. 3).

[18] The remainder of the mosaic must have been heavily damaged and the over-all effect must have been very defective. Furthermore the grotto had to be lit by torches (see n. 3). It must have been difficult therefore to trace the original position of all fragments.

[19] Cf. the other series at Windsor, the Barberini drawings and the drawings which Cesi had made. But it seems improbable that these contained a picture of the mosaic as a whole (cf. nn. 3, 4, 8, 17, and 18).

[20] Whitehouse 71 f. There is no trace on the floor of the apse of any surrounding border, so the mosaic seems to have covered the whole floor, like the Fish Mosaic. See for the new position in the Barberini Palace nn. 7, 9.

[21] Cf. Phillips 72; Whitehouse 11 f.; above n. 8 and below Ch. III, section 1. Probably this section was broken in two in the accident of 1640, see n. 7.

[22] See Whitehouse 70–74, fig. 20. Our fig. 8, is based on Whitehouse, fig. 20, with a few alterations discussed below (cf. nn. 26, 27, 34) and the

inclusion of a sketchy outline of some lost parts which may be roughly reconstructed. These are the temple precinct in section 13 (see n. 32); section 14 (see nn. 33, 34 and Ch. III, section 14, fig. 23); the boats on the left-side of section 15 (see n. 36) and some minor additions on the level of the horizon (cf. n. 29 and Ch. III, sections 3 and 6). I cannot follow Whitehouse 72, in her supposition that the sections 20 and 21 and the right-hand part of section 8 had remained *in situ* and that when they were later lifted their positions were noted and served as fixed points for the reconstruction (cf. above n. 10). Section 21 cannot with certainty be connected to any other section, see n. 24. Section 20 has been shifted to the centre of the mosaic in Whitehouse's own reconstruction. Moreover, these supposed points are not essential for the reconstruction because the large blocks, which the sections apparently belonged to originally, can hardly be arranged in any other way (cf. immediately below and nn. 28, 32, 35).

[23] There is hardly any space missing between a number of these sections while several details clearly connect sections to each other, e.g. the hind leg and tail of the *thoas* in sections 1 and 2 (see Whitehouse, figs. 1a and 2a). See for the joins between the other sections Whitehouse 70 f., and 9, 12–17.

[24] The subject matter of section 21 consists only of animals, i.e. a mongoose, a snake and a dog, which could suggest that the fragment belonged to the upper part. There are, however, no names added and a group consisting of a mongoose and a snake was a popular motive in Nilotic scenes so it may equally belong to the Nilotic fauna of the lower half (cf. below Ch. III, nn. 73, 74).

[25] Both in the mosaic and in the Dal Pozzo copies the sky is usually of a plain pale grey-blue, whereas water is usually indicated by light and darker horizontal stripes, cf. Whitehouse 90, n. 15, and her description of the sections 12–15.

[26] Cf. Whitehouse 12 f., fig. 20. It should perhaps even be shifted a little more to the left because the contour of the left-hand side of section 4 seems identical to that of the apse in this place and therefore the section may have been placed close to the wall.

[27] Whitehouse 16, fig. 20, assumes some distance between these but they must have been closer together because of the white and yellowish blossoms which appear on the right-hand side of section 9 and the left-hand side of section 10 and which apparently belong to the same tree, probably a Nile acacia (cf. below Ch. III, n. 95). Gullini's diagram (1956, pl. XVIII), as well as Aurigemma's (fig. 25), indicate as authentic a large part of the tree, which is missing in the Dal Pozzo copy (Whitehouse, figs. 9a–10a), but which clearly connects sections 9 and 10. Moreover, grouping sections 9 and 10 together results in the temple precinct of section 9 lying level with the buildings of sections 10 and 11. The rocks in the upper part of sections 9 and 10 thus would also end up at the same level. That these rocks should join is furthermore suggested by the facts that river-hogs are placed on them in section 9 and wart-hogs in section 10 (see Ch. III, nn. 66, 68). In this respect the present-day arrangement of the Nile Mosaic seems more correct than Whitehouse's reconstruction.

[28] Some remains of foliage in the lower part of section 10, which appear now above the tower of the small precinct at the upper left of section 13, seem originally to have belonged to the trees of section 16. This may suggest that section 10 originally was situated above the trees of section 16, which must have been placed in the right half of the lower part, although probably further to the left than at present (cf. nn. 32, 35; Gullini 1956, pl. XVIII, above and below; Whitehouse 74, fig. 10a; our fig. 17).

[29] The background in the top left-hand corner of the copy seems to represent sky and not water as depicted now in the mosaic. This would suggest that the piece in fact belongs in the sky-line register of the mosaic (see Whitehouse 14). Whitehouse suggests that the foliage from which the giraffe on the right-hand side is eating belongs to the tree in section 6 with the monkey in it (Whitehouse 14, figs. 5a and 6a). However, it would have been strange for a giraffe to be shown bending forward to eat from a tree which is placed on a lower level than the giraffe itself. In the Dal Pozzo copy the giraffe is more logically feeding on a shrub, the foliage of which is quite different from that of the tree. (Whitehouse, fig. 5a; cf. Ch. III, n. 41)

[30] Again there is sky at the top and the hunters may belong to the groups of hunters in section 2 (Whitehouse 13, 74).

[31] Cf. nn. 10, 24 and 34.

[32] Cf. Phillips 103, 110, and the reconstruction drawing *ibid.* 101; Whitehouse 73 f. The rocks on which this wall stands may have been connnected with those in section 8, to which they are identical in shape and colour. We may assume that there was another tower to the left of the wall and it is tempting to connect it to the upper part of the tower which has been preserved in the lower right-hand corner of section 8 (Gullini 1956, pl. XIV, cf. above n. 10; fig. 15). Phillips made the attractive suggestion that this precinct was the temple complex reproduced in the second plate of Suarez (cf. above n. 3) and that subsequently the upper part was damaged (see further below Ch. III, section 10, n. 141). Moreover, the unaccountable piece of foliage overlapping the tower of the small precinct in section 10 (see n. 28, fig. 17) becomes explicable if we interprete it as the top of the large tree in section 16 (see Whitehouse 74). It shows the same sketchy style as the latter tree while it is different from the more massive foliage of the trees in section 13. So the piece of foliage seems to have been separated from section 16 and originally sections 10 and 16 seem to have joined in this place, see further n. 35.

[33] See Whitehouse 19, 73. Section 14 showed the beginning of the arcaded quay in the right-hand corner of the pavilion in section 13 (see fig. 23). It ran obliquely upwards to the right, presumably along the wall in section 20. In the Dal Pozzo copy of section 17 we can see how the quay meets a platform (Whitehouse, fig. 17a). This platform must be the same as that in section 16 on which the propylon stands (Whitehouse, fig. 17a). See further below Ch. III, pp. 37, 40.

[34] With regard to the possible coherence of sections 13, 14, 20, 16 and 17, I cannot entirely agree with Whitehouse. In her reconstruction (see her fig. 20) she has divided sections 13, 16 and 17 by a large open space, which partly may have been filled with the fragmentary section 14. The following objections may be made to this. In the first place she has shifted section 13 not only to the left of sections 20 and 16, but also downwards. The result of this is that the trees behind the pavilion in section 13 are placed on a lower level than the trees which appear on the left-hand side of the propylon in section 16. Since the pavilion and the propylon were connected by a wall which is partly preserved in section 20 and by a quay (see n. 33), such a position would create a strange perspective in the rendering of the trees. For the connection of these structures and the trees see Ch. III, p. 35. The trees must have been placed more or less on one and the same level and so section 13 will have been placed on a higher level, as it is now. If this were true, the quay which is wholly new but the angle of which seems to be indicated by that of the wall in section 20, would reach section 13 not at the level of the pavilion but beneath it. Therefore section 13 must have been placed more to

the right. It is not certain that the quay ran exactly parallel to the wall in section 20. The part of it which is represented in section 14, shows a less steep angle than the wall (fig. 23). This, however, does not necessarily offer a problem because the use of bird's eye view and receding lines was rather free and inconsistent in antiquity (see Ch. VII, n. 11). Also, if in the present mosaic section 13 is shifted somewhat to the left the quay would become longer and could reach the pavilion at the foot, and not at the somewhat illogical high level as it does now. So it would seem that in the original composition the wall and the quay between sections 13 and 16 were somewhat longer and that there was more space between the sections than there is now. In the restored mosaic section 17 has been placed too far to the left in order to fill up the gap caused by the exclusion of the fragmentary section 14. On the other hand, in Whitehouse's reconstruction section 17 seems to me to be placed too far to the right. The Dal Pozzo copy of section 17 clearly shows the end of the quay and platform just above the cargo vessel, and the length of the platform does not allow the cargo vessel to be moved that far to the right (see Whitehouse, fig. 17a). Considering the Dal Pozzo copies of sections 16 and 17 the cargo vessel originally seems to have been placed beneath the sitting man and the propylon in section 16 (cf. Ch. III, section 17, n. 192). Altogether this would leave somewhat less space between sections 13 and 17 than in Whitehouse's reconstruction. This space was partly filled in with the fragmentary section 14 which joined with the lower right-hand side of section 13. For the remaining space see below Ch. IV, n. 162. When section 13 (and with it sections 8, 12 and 18) is shifted to the position which is suggested here, the result would be that sections 8, 9, 10 and 11 end upon the same level, a probable position and one which they occupy also in the present mosaic (for the connection of sections 9 and 10 see above n. 27). There would also be room for section 21 above the upper left-hand side of section 8 (cf. nn. 10, 24).

[35] The original position of section 16 may possibly be established by means of the following argument. The top of the tree at the left-hand side of the propylon in section 16 seems to have extended into section 10 (cf. above nn. 28, 32). The grass which appears at the upper right-hand corner of the Dal Pozzo copy of section 16 may be connected to the left-hand corner of the island on which the Egyptian temple stands in section 11 (cf. fig. 26; Whitehouse 74, fig. 10a). Actually in Whitehouse's reconstruction (see her fig. 20) section 16 should be moved a little bit more to the right to take the position which she suggests herself. The shifting to the left of section 16 leaves an open space at the right-hand side where another scene may have been placed. That there was a scene of some importance in this position is suggested by the fact that women of the procession are looking to the right, where there is nothing now but where there may originally have been a boat (cf. n. 36).

[36] Section 15 was probably situated above section 19 as Whitehouse argues, because a copy of section 15 shows part of a stern of a boat and a coracle-like boat in the upper left-hand corner of this section above the cow (see Ch. III, n. 126; Whitehouse 21 f., 73, fig. 15c). If there was place for a boat in the upper left-hand side, it could only have been placed on the right-hand side of section 16, and not of section 17 which extends much more to the right. Moreover section 19 has a strip of land at the bottom which would fit with difficulty if the section were placed above (see Ch. III, n. 129, fig. 21).

[37] This oblique line is further emphasised by the quay (see n. 33) and by a piece of land on which the women of the procession in section 16 stand and which now ends abruptly at the right-hand side of the mosaic (see fig.

25; Gullini 1956, pl. XIX; Aurigemma, fig. 30). If continued at the right-hand side, this piece of land would reach the Egyptian temple roughly near the entrance in our reconstruction. In section 11 there is no trace of a possible connection with section 16, but everything in this part is restored (Whitehouse, fig. 11a; Gullini 1956, pl. XX; Aurigemma, figs. 23 and 32).

[38] For the possible contents of the latter two open spaces, see Ch. IV, resp. nn. 159, 162, 163 and n. 104.

Notes to chapter II

[1] For the grotto see Delbrück I, 83 f., pls. XV, XVII. XVIII (reproduced in our figs. 3–5); Gullini 1953, fig. 67; Romanelli, fig. 56; Gullini 1984, pls. 1, 2; and further below nn. 2, 41. For the building complex of which the grotto formed part and which is usually called the lower complex, see Delbrück I, 47 ff.; Gullini 1953, 17 ff; Gullini 1984, 527 ff., pl. 1; Lauter 1979, 437 ff.; Riemann 1986; and further below pp. 11 ff.

[2] See Vaglieri 1907, 291 f.; Vaglieri 1909, 235; Mingazzini 295 ff.; Kähler 195 ff.; Neuerburg, nos. 97, 98; Whitehouse 3; Lauter 1979, 441 f.; Riemann 1986, 396; Lavagne 247. Owing to the porosity of the rock the mountain-side of Praeneste was very damp. In an attempt to try to release this dampness nymphaea were built here and there in the town (see Neuerburg, nos. 94–105; Romanelli, figs. 47–49). For the same reason the lower complex was divided from the mountain-side by two nymphaea and a kind of corridor (see fig. 2; Delbrück I, pls. X, XII, XIII, XV). The front of the grottoes was constructed of *opus caementicium* and *opus quadratum*, and the vaults were decorated with imitation rock made of pumice. The grotto-nymphaeum on the left-hand side (see n. 6) already existed before the complex was built, and was then incorporated into it, while the grotto-nymphaeum on the right-hand side, the original site of the Nile Mosaic, seems to have been constructed contemporary with the complex (see Gullini 1984, 530 ff.; Riemann 1986, 396). The floors of both nymphaea sloped slightly forward so that the water would run to the front (Gullini 1953, 25 f., 48; Delbrück I, pls. XI, XVII; figs. 4). The floor of the left nymphaeum lay 7,5 cm below that of the room in front of it and was separated from it by a limestone moulding; there was also a drain (see Delbrück I, 63, 66, figs. 53 f., 56; Gullini 1953, 25 f.; Lauter, 1979, 442, who also considers the possibility that there was a low wall in front of the nymphaeum and the presence of a cistern). The grotto with the Nile Mosaic does not seem to have had a drain. Its floor, however, also slopes and is some 20 cm lower than the floor of the hall in front of it. There is no trace of a moulding, because a wall was later built over this part (see Gullini 1953, 48; Delbrück I, pl. XVII; our fig. 4). The similarity between the two grottoes is so large that they must have had the same function. The flow of water may have been less in the right-hand grotto because only the niches impinge upon the rock of the mountain-side.The excess water could be drained by other means. Perhaps it was filled with water from time to time. The new nymphaeum on the right-hand side may have been a more ornamental and less functional counterpart to the older nymphaeum on the left-hand side (cf. Vaglieri 1909, 221, 236 f.; Riemann 1986, 372 f., 396). For such nymphaea decorated with imitation rock and floor mosaics in general see Vaglieri 1909, 235, n. 110, 268 f., who already referred to Pliny *NH* XXXV 154; Neuerburg, figs. 8–9; S. Settis, 'Exedra' e 'ninfeo', in *ANRW* I, 4, 661 ff., esp.701 ff; Lavagne 231 ff.; and for mosaic decorations especially F. B. Sear, *Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics* (1977) 20 ff. See further below n. 40.

[3] For the hall see Delbrück I, 77 ff., pls. XV–XVIII; our figs. 3–5; Gullini 1953, 41 ff.; Lauter 1979, 442 ff.; Gullini 1984, 576 ff., pl. 2. For its function see below nn. 34, 38 and 44. For the Aerarium see Delbrück I, 54 ff., fig. 48 c; Mingazzini 35, 299; Kähler 195 ff.; Lauter 1979, 437; Gullini 1984, 532; Coarelli 1987, 40.

[4] See Delbrück I, 67 ff., pls. XII–XIV; Delbrück II, 4, pl. I; Vaglieri 1907, 292; Vaglieri 1909, 221, 233; Gullini 1953, 27 ff.; Lauter 1979, 442 ff., fig. 30; Gullini 1984, 551 ff., pls. 1,3,4; Riemann 1986, 399. Delbrück I, *ll.cc.*, and II, pl. I, believed it to have been an open court. This opinion has recently been adopted again by Krumme 159, figs. 1,2. The back wall of the area clearly shows, however, that there must have been two stories and it is difficult to produce a satisfying reconstruction of the façade with a portico of one or two stories, if there was an open court. The reconstruction with a single row of columns, suggested by Krumme, fig. 2, looks highly improbable. Vaglieri, however, assumed that the building was closed, and that opinion is more generally accepted (see n. 38). The exact original form is still a matter of discussion. The most probable reconstruction seems to be the one offered by Lauter 1979, fig. 30, cf. Riemann, *l.c.* Delbrück I, 73, noted traces of statue bases. For its function see below nn. 14, 38, 44.

[5] See Delbrück I, 58, 66, pls. X, XI; Delbrück II, pl. I; Gullini 1953, 25 ff.; Lauter 1979, 441; Gullini 1984, 530 ff.; Riemann 1986, 396 ff. It is usually believed to have been open but Coarelli 1987, 81, believes that it must have been covered because it had the same white mosaic pavement as the apsidal hall, see Delbrück I, 65 and 83. At the left-hand side of the grotto there is a shallow niche with a base, presumably for a statue (Delbrück I, 62 f., figs. 52, 53, pls. X, XI; II, pl. I; Gullini 1953, fig. 34; and below n. 40). For this area see further below nn. 14, 34, 38, 44.

[6] See Delbrück I, 58 ff., pls. X, XI; Gullini 1953, 25 f.; Romanelli, pl. XIII; Lauter 1979, 441 f.; Gullini 1984, fig. 1; Riemann 1986, 362 ff., 370 ff., 394 ff. For its function see nn. 2, 14, 34, 41.

[7] See Marucchi 1904, 268 ff; Gullini 1956, pls. II, VIII–XII; Romanelli, pls. XIV–XXIII; Steinmayer 98 ff.; Meyboom 1977, 58 f., 63–65; Riemann 1986, 362, 396 ff.; Wattel-de Croizant 537 ff., who however confounds the mosaic with a fragmentary Fish Mosaic from San Lorenzo in Panisperna in Rome, now preserved in the Capitoline Museum (cf. her nn. 172, 173, 175, fig. 13; Meyboom 1977, 57, no. 6, nn. 87–89; Gullini 1956, pl. VI; and below Ch. VI, n. 6). For the Fish Mosaic see further Ch. V, nn. 5, 6; Ch. VII, nn. 12, 36; Appendix 18.

[8] For recent reconstructions of the façade see Lauter 1979, 445 ff.; fig. 30, which seems to be the most probable; Gullini 1984, 549 ff., pl. V.; Krumme, fig. 2, cf. n. 4 and below n. 49.

[9] For the forum area and the lower part of Praeneste see Kähler 196; Lauter 1979, 438 ff.; Quilici, esp. 212 ff.; *idem*, La struttura della città inferiore di Praeneste, in *Urbanistica ed architettura* 49 ff.; Gullini 1984, 530 ff.; H. Riemann, Zur Südmauer der Oberstadt von Praeneste, *RM* 92 (1985) 151 ff.; Riemann 1986, 358 ff. Champeaux I, 7, and Wattel-de Croizant 515 ff., 551 f., take up once again the old Renaissance view that the whole lower part of the town of Praeneste, including the nymphaea of the Via degli Arcioni, belonged to the sanctuary (see for the latter nymphaea Gullini 1953, 20 ff., 304). Although this part seems to belong to the same stage of urban development, they certainly do not belong to the sanctuary (see Coarelli 1987, 74; Coarelli 1988, 115, n. 1). For the forum temple see Gullini 1953, 27 ff., 49, fig. 38, pls. I–II; Lauter 1979, 438; Quilici 207; Gullini 1984, 543 f., 583, pl. I; Riemann 1986, 394 ff., where various suggestions are made about the god or

goddess to whom the temple was dedicated, e.g. Fortuna or Juno. Most recently it has been proposed that it was dedicated to Jupiter (Imperator). A Jupiter temple on the forum was a normal feature of towns in Latium (Coarelli 1987, 40; Champeaux I, 18; Torelli 17 f., 20; Zevi 1988, 42 ff.).

[10] In this respect it may be compared to the Tabularium at Rome, cf. K. Fittschen, in *HiM* II 340; and below n. 49.

[11] See for the upper complex Gullini 1953, 52 ff., pl. V. For the palace-museum see Iacopi 14; Romanelli, 83 ff. The remains of the upper complex were known since the Renaissance, as is revealed by the existence of elaborate reconstruction drawings, see Riemann 1986, 358 ff.; and e.g. Wattel-de Croizant, fig. 7 (by Ligorio), fig. 8 (by Da Cortona), fig. 9 (by Rossini); Romanelli figs. 41, 42 (by Palladio), fig. 43 (by Cortona), fig. 44 (by Blondel). See also P. Fancelli, *Palladio e Praeneste. Archeologia, modelli, progettazione* (1974). A publication of both complexes was undertaken by C. Thon and A. Nibby, *Il Tempio della Fortuna Prenestina* (1825), pls. 1–4; their plan was *inter alea* reproduced in R. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna* (1871) pl. opp. p. 385.

[12] It was already identified as such by Giuliano da Sangallo (1445–1516), see Delbrück I, fig. 45, a,c,d; and further Riemann 1986, 358 ff.; Wattel-de Croizant, figs. 6–9.

[13] See Riemann 1986, 362 and 363.

[14] See Marucchi 1885, 50 f.; 1904, 236 ff., 271 ff.; 1907, 292 ff. Cf. Cicero, *De Div.* II 41, 85–86: "..*Numerium Suffustium Praenestinorum monumenta declarant, honestum hominem et nobilem, somniis crebris, ad extremum etiam minacibus, cum iuberetur certo in loco silicem caedere, perterritum visis irridentibus suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis. Is est hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Iovis pueri, qui lactens cum Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam appetens castissime colitur a matribus. Eodemque tempore in eo loco, ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes, mel ex olea fluxisse dicunt, haruspicesque dixisse summa nobilitate illas sortis futuras, eorumque iussu ex illa olea arcam esse factam, eoque conditas sortis, quae hodie Fortunae monitu tolluntur.*" "According to the annals of Praeneste Numerius Suffustius, who was a distinguished man of noble birth, was admonished by dreams, often repeated, and finally even by threatening ones, to split open a flint rock which was lying in a designated place. Frightened by the visions and disregarding the jeers of his fellow-townsmen he set about doing as he had been directed. And so when he had broken up the stone, the lots sprang forth carved on oak, in ancient characters. The site where the stone was found is religiously guarded to this day. It is hard by [the statue (Falconer) or the shrine (Pease) of] the infant Jupiter, who is represented as sitting with Juno in the lap of Fortune suckling and reaching for her breast, and it is held in the highest reverence by mothers. There is a tradition that, concurrently with the finding of the lots and on the spot where the temple of Fortune now stands, honey flowed from an olive tree. Now the soothsayers, who had declared that those lots would enjoy an unrivalled reputation, gave orders that a chest should be made from the tree and the lots placed in the chest. At the present time the lots are taken from their receptacle if Fortune directs." (translation W.A. Falconer, ed. Loeb (1923, 1979) with a few modifications). See for this passage extensively: A.S. Pease, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Divinatione, Liber Secundus* II (1923) 480 ff. (= *Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* VIII, 3 (1923) 307 ff.).

As early as 1671 Kircher 93 ff., connected Cicero's passage with the ruins of Palestrina but he assumed that the upper complex had been the sanctuary. For the area of the grotto with the Fish Mosaic, see esp. Marucchi 1885, 51; 1904, 240 ff.; Riemann 1986, 362. The identification of the grotto as the finding place of the oracular tablets, even though Cicero does not mention a grotto, was first suggested by Cicerchia, the owner of the ground and the discoverer of the grotto. The position of the nearby statue of Fortuna with Jupiter and Juno in her lap was recognized in a base before a shallow niche at the left-hand side of the grotto (see above n. 5; Marucchi 1907, 299; Delbrück I, 62 f., fig. 52). In and around this niche have been found nail-holes and nails, which were supposed to have served for fixing votive offerings (cf. Marucchi 1907, 298; Delbrück I, 63) but which alternatively may have served as an armature for an architectural frame made in stucco. Part of a stone architrave has been preserved (Delbrück I, 63, fig. 53a). The nail-holes are, however, disposed very irregularly. There are traces of nails also in the apse of the Nile Mosaic; these seem to have served to fasten imitation rock (Delbrück I, 83). For the niche see below n. 40. The apsidal hall was identified with the *Aedes Fortunae* which stood on the site of the olive tree. Marucchi assumed that the chest with the lots was kept in one of the niches of the grotto, which he called the oracle-grotto, while a statue of Fortuna could have stood in the central niche (see Marucchi 1885, 50; 1904, 236 ff.; 1907, 299, and for a detailed account of Marucchi's interpretation and the changes it underwent in the course of time Riemann 1986, 373). The Antro delle Sorti was connected with the Aedes Fortunae by the courtyard, the Area Sacra (Marucchi 1907, 292 ff.). With the Area Sacra he associated an inscription found in the neighbourhood, dating from the reign of Antoninus Pius, which reads: *L. Sariolenus Naevius Fastus consularis ut Triviam in Junonario, ut in pronao aedis statuam Antonini Augusti, Apollinis, Isityches, Spei, ita et hanc Minervam Fortunae Primigeniae donum dedit cum ara.* (Marucchi 1907, 295, fig, 1; *CIL* XIV, 2867; Delbrück I, 49 (who incorrectly reads Saviolenus, a mistake which is occasionally repeated by later authors); Malaise 95, no. 1; Riemann 1986, 400; Torelli 18 f.). In the pronaos Marucchi recognized a portico of the Area Sacra in front of the apsidal hall (cf. below n. 38). For the identification of the lower complex and the sanctuary described by Cicero see further n. 34).

[15] Delbrück I, 49 f. Although Delbrück nowhere refers to Marucchi, he can hardly have come to this interpretation independently since Marucchi essentially had expressed his views as early as 1885 (cf. n. 14). It is also strange that Delbrück in his interpretation ignored the upper complex because he must have known of its existence. He mentions the old reconstruction drawings but merely speaks of ruins (Delbrück, 51 f.; see for the drawings above n. 11) . Moreover, Kircher 95, had already assumed that the upper complex was the sanctuary, and Marucchi believed that both the complexes belonged to the Fortuna sanctuary (1904, 233; 1907, 278).

[16] See Delbrück I, 50. Pliny *NH* XXXVI 64, 189: "*Lithostrota coeptavere iam sub Sulla; parvolis certe crustis extat hodieque quod in Fortunae delubro Praeneste fecit.* " "*Lithostrota* came into use as early as the period of Sulla. At all events there exists even today one made of small pieces of marble which he had had made in the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste." The interpretation of *lithostrata* as mosaics and the connection with the temple of Fortuna was already made by Cesi in the case of the Nile Mosaic (see above Ch. I, n. 3). Actually Delbrück discussed only the Fish Mosaic and not the Nile Mosaic, the date of which he left open (83 f.). In general, however, Sulla's *lithostroton* is often identified with the Nile Mosaic or with both mosaics, cf. e.g. Gullini 1956, 51 ff.; 1973, 752 ff., and below n. 58. For the identification see further below p. 15 f., nn. 55, 58.

[17] Cf. Delbrück I, 47; II, 43.

[18] See Vaglieri 1907, 293 f., fig. 7; 1909, 212, 215 f., n. 39; Delbrück II, 1 f.,

fig. 2; Gullini 1953, 38 f., 271 f., fig. 361, and for the other fragment *ibid.* 272, fig. 363; Degrassi 119, no. 13; Lauter 1979, 439, nn. 153, 154; Gullini 1984, 570, figs. 4a–f. The fragment -UND M- may be reconstructed in various ways: [f] *und*[amentis] *m*[urum] or [f] *und*[amenta] *m* [urosque], suggested by Gullini 1953, 272 , or [faci]*und m*[uros], suggested by Lauter 1979, 439. The second alternative suggested by Gullini (perhaps in the singular) seems the more probable. For the original position of the inscription see further below nn. 20, 53. For Varro Lucullus see *RE* XIII, 1 414 no. 109; T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* II (1952) 625; *idem, Supplement* (1960) 62. M. Licinius Lucullus, brother of the well-known Lucullus, and adopted son of M. Terentius Varro, is the only person to whom the inscription can refer, cf. below nn. 54 and 82.

[19] Vaglieri 1909, 212, 215 f. The pillage of Praeneste, where the younger Marius had taken refuge, by Sulla's troops is mentioned especially by Appianus I 94; and Plutarch *Sulla* XXXII; cf. also below n. 31. For the Sullan colony see Harvey, Cicero Leg. Agr. 2.78 and the Sullan Colony at Praeneste, *Athenaeum* NS 53 (1975) 33 ff. (reprinted in *Studi su Praeneste*, 185 ff.).

[20] Delbrück II, 2. Vaglieri 1907, 293, assumed that the inscription belonged to the forum temple, see n. 9, whereas Delbrück supposed that it belonged to the outer or the inner façade of the Area Sacra, (see n. 14). See for its uncertain origin below n. 53.

[21] Cf. n. 15. Vaglieri 1907, 291 f.; 1909, 212 ff., 233 ff. See for the Antro delle Sorti esp. Vaglieri 1909, 235, 268, n. 110; for the Area Sacra esp. Vaglieri 1907, 292, n. 1; 1909, 221, 233; for the apsidal hall, which C. Hülsen suggested was a library, because of the shallow niches in the walls, see 1907, 291 f, n.1; 1909, 269, n. 113. However, Vaglieri's interpretation was not accepted by Delbrück II, 4. See for Delbrück's ignoring of the upper complex n. 15.

[22] Marucchi dated the Nile Mosaic to the time of Hadrian because of the Egyptian content and certain similarities with the *Historia Animalium* by Aelian, a Praenestine priest whom he incorrectly believed to live in the Hadrianic period (Marucchi 1885, 78, 81; 1895, 29, 32 ff). A Hadrianic date had already been assumed by Barthélemy 526 (cf. Ch. IV, n. 57). Vaglieri 1907, 291; 1909, 237 f., corrected the date of Aelian and dated the mosaics to the end of the 2nd or the 3rd century. On their dating see further below pp. 16 ff.

[23] Cf. e.g. R. van Deman Magoffin, *A study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste* (1908) (reprinted in *Studi su Praeneste*, 49 ff.), who assumed that the lower complex was the original sanctuary and the upper complex a later one built by Sulla. This opinion was repeated by Marucchi 1910, 67 ff, cf. Riemann 1986, 367 f. H.Ch. Bradshaw, Praeneste, A Study for its Restoration, *PBSR* 9 (1920) 231 ff., accepted the sacral interpretation of the lower complex, and a Sullan date for both complexes.

[24] For the events of 1944 see Gullini 1953, 3ff; Riemann (1985, *o.c.* in n. 9), 166; Riemann 1986, 394, n. 367. For the publication and reconstruction of the upper sanctuary, see Gullini 1953, 57 ff.; and Lauter 1979, 390 ff.

[25] See Gullini 1953, 301 ff., esp. 322, 378 ff.

[26] See G. Lugli, Il santuario della Fortuna Prenestina e la sua decorazione, *RendLinc* 9 (1954) 51 ff.: upper sanctuary between 100 and 82, the lower sanctuary shortly after 82; Von Heintze 539 and 542: upper and lower sanctuary shortly after 82; Kähler 197 and 208 f., and *idem* in *Gnomon* 30, 1958, 366 ff.: both complexes in, or shortly after 82; Romanelli 51 ff. and Boëthius, Ward-Perkins 143 ff.: both sanctuaries Sullan.

[27] See Degrassi 116 ff., 125 f.; Coarelli 1987, 62 ff. (with strong criticism

of the methodical objections made by M. Clauss, Die Epigraphik und das Fortuna Primigenia Heiligtum von Praeneste, *AVes* 28 (1977) 131 ff.). The dedications seem to be more or less contemporary. Degrassi also suggested a *terminus post quem*. Because all the *liberti* have *cognomina*, which Degrassi believed to be attested elsewhere only after 112/111 B.C., he assumed that the temple was more or less completed c. 110 B.C. Degrassi's evidence, which mainly comes from Capua, may have only local relevance; elsewhere *cognomina* seem to have appeared somewhat earlier, cf. Lauter 1979, 394, n. 25; Lauter-Bufe 51, and in general *RE* IV, 1, 225 ff. s.v. Cognomen. See further n. 28.

[28] Since Degrassi's publication a date for the completion in the last quarter of the century, more specifically, between 120 and 110, has been generally accepted, see e.g. Coarelli in *HiM* II, 336 f; P. Gros, *Architecture et Societé à Rome et en Italie centre-meridionale aux derniers siècles de la République* (1978) 51 f.; Lauter 1979, 390 ff., 394; Coarelli 1987, 61 ff., 65; Champeaux I, 11 f.; II, 226; F. Rakob, Die Rotunda in Palestrina, *RM* 97 (1990) 61 ff., esp. 63. Gullini has stuck to his earlier date without offering, however, new evidence, see Gullini 1973, 746 ff.; 1983, 119 ff., esp. 140 ff.; 1984, 527 ff., and 1988. Most recently Lauter-Bufe 85, has dated the Italo-Corinthian capitals of both the upper and the lower complex also around 150 B.C. This comparatively early dating by Gullini and Lauter-Bufe would result in a discrepancy of three decades between the architecture and the epigraphical evidence (cf. n. 27). Assuming that the epigraphical evidence dates from 120/115 onwards the temple largely will have been built between around 120. In the upper sanctuary capitals of the new Greek Corinthian type appear besides the Italo-Corinthian capitals (see Lauter 1979, 393, n. 18, fig. 1; Lauter-Bufe 85, n. 190). The date proposed here implies that different types of capitals could have been used side by side for a longer period than Lauter-Bufe believes. However, this period spans only a quarter of a century, so the degree of overlapping is not unduly great.

[29] A few wall decorations which remain in the upper complex belong to the First Style, see Gullini 1953, 79 ff., 306 f., figs. 114–120. This decoration is not original but was applied after a reinforcement of the room in which it was found. Gullini dated it to shortly after 150 B.C. and Fittschen, in *HiM* II, 340, thought it old-fashioned compared to the First Style in Pompeii. However, in the main zone of the wall decoration there are alternatingly large rectangular blocks which are placed horizontally and small rectangular blocks placed vertically. This decorative motif is rare in the First Style in Pompeii (see e.g. Laidlaw, pls. 30a, 31a, 58). Originally it is reserved for the zone of blocks immediately above the orthostates (cf. Laidlaw, pls. 23b, 25a, 73, from the Casa del Fauno) but it became popular in the Second Style (see Laidlaw, pl. 57a, 58b; Beyen I, figs. 10, 12, 13). This would suggest that the decoration dates from a late phase of the First Style, c. 100–80 B.C.

The floors are rather simple compared to those at Pompeii. They consist either of *opus signinum* decorated with white tesserae or irregular pieces of coloured stone, or of plain white mosaic, or they consist of white tesserae combined with irregular pieces of coloured stone, see Gullini 1953, 307 ff., figs. 423–427. In Pompeii we find in the more important rooms, e.g. in the Casa del Fauno, other kinds of floors too, for example either white mosaics decorated with coloured borders or *opus sectile*, datable between 110 and 80 B.C. (see Pernice 90 ff., pl. 42; Laidlaw, 172 ff.; and in general De Vos, 1979, 162 ff.; for the date of the Casa del Fauno, see below n. 69). For these types of floors and the discussion of their ancient names in general see M.L. Morricone Matini, Aspetti del repertorio decorativo dei mosaici repubblicani di

Roma, in *Marmi antichi, Studi Miscellanei* 26 (1981–1983) 135 ff.; and M. Donderer, Die antiken Pavimenttypen und ihre Benennungen, *JdI* 102 (1987) 365 ff. For statues found in the sanctuary which may be dated to the 2nd half of the 2nd century, see Gullini 1973, 765 ff., pl. 137, 12a,b, 14, pl. 138, 15a,b, 16; Coarelli, in *HiM* II, 314; A. Linfert, *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit* (1976) 131 ff. For a large statue of Fortuna of dark grey marble, probably from Rhodes and dating from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century B.C., see Romanelli, pl. LIII; Lauro 199 ff., esp. 206 and 208; and below n. 40.

[30] The last quarter of the 2nd century saw the flowering of the Italic commercial towns and it were their resulting aspirations which gave rise to the Social War, see E. Gabba, Considerazioni politiche ed economiche sullo sviluppo urbano in Italia nei secoli II e I a. C., in *HiM* II, 315 ff.; G. Bodei Giglioni, Pecunia fanatica. L'incidenza economica dei tempi laziali, *Rivista Storica Italiana* (1977) 33 ff. (reprinted in *Studi su Praeneste,* 1 ff.) esp. 73 ff.; Gros *o.c.* in n. 28; Lauter 1979, 391, n. 9; *Architecture et Société, passim*; F. Coarelli, I santuari del Lazio e della Campania tra i Gracchi e le guerre civili, in *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* (1983) 217 ff.; Gullini 1984, 586; Coarelli 1987, 7 ff., 66; A. Ley, R. Struss, Gegenarchitektur: das Heiligtum der Fortuna Primigenia als Symbol der politischen Selbstbehauptung Praenestes, *Hephaistos* 4 (1982) 117 ff.

[31] Cf. above nn. 19, 20. See Gullini 1953, 301; 1973, 778; Degrassi, 129; Lauter 1979, 439; Riemann 1986, 369. The sources speak of slaughter and the confiscation of land and capital, but nowhere a destruction is mentioned.

[32] While e.g. Gullini 1984, 547 ff., 1988, 81 ff., defended once more his view that the lower complex was a part of the sanctuary added by Sulla, Riemann 1986, 396 ff, believed that the lower complex was the earlier sanctuary, built in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century. Champeaux I, 6 ff.; II, 226 f., accepts the identity of the lower complex with the sanctuary described by Cicero but leaves the date open. Lavagne 227 ff., 233 f., 243 ff., 252, also believes that the lower complex was the sanctuary described by Cicero and that it was pre-Sullan, but that the actual state was due to Sulla, who had it rebuilt as an Iseum. See further n. 35.

[33] For the absence of any connection between the two complexes see Gullini 1953, 52 and fig. 1; Kähler 197; Boëthius, Ward-Perkins 145. For the fundamental difference in style which at least indicates different architects, see Lauter 1979, 415; Gullini 1984, 546; 1988, 79 ff.; Coarelli 1987, 43 ff.; Coarelli 1988, 117. Remains of stairs may possibly be recognized above the grottoes but these can only have led to the overlying terrace and not to the upper complex itself, see Gullini 1984, 533.

[34] See for identifications of the lower complex with Cicero's Fortuna sanctuary nn. 14, 15, 23, 32. For the opposite view see especially Coarelli 1987, 67 ff.; 1988, 134 ff. For the passage from Cicero see n. 14. He clearly expresses his disdain for divination at the beginning of par. 85, at the end of par. 86 and in par. 87. The identifications which have been suggested for various parts of the lower complex with the features mentioned by Cicero, are often conflicting and bewildering (see e.g. the discussion of Marucchi's changing views by Riemann 1986, 370 ff.). Thus Gullini 1984, 547, following interpretations suggested already by Marucchi and Delbrück, assumes that the grotto with the Fish Mosaic was the spot where the oracular tablets had been found and that the apsidal hall was the temple of Fortuna. At the same time he suggests that the olive tree, which according to Cicero originally grew on the site of the temple, was in the court before the grotto with the Fish Mosaic. Furthermore, he suggests that the statue of Fortuna with Jupiter and Juno, which according to Cicero stood beside the finding spot of the

oracular tablets, in reality stood in the grotto of the Nile Mosaic. Accepting for a moment that the grotto with the Fish Mosaic was indeed the finding spot of the oracular tablets, one could argue that the Fish Mosaic was a mere embellishment. But it is difficult to believe that the box with the oracular tablets was kept in one of the upper niches of the grotto of the Nile Mosaic, and that they were fetched from there across the mosaic and the water which covered it. Marucchi even suggests that the narrow space behind the screen-wall at the back of the basilica served as a secret corridor connecting the two grottoes (see Marucchi 1885, 50; 1904, 240 f.; 1907, 301; cf. Riemann 1986, 370 f.). It seems very improbable, too, that the statue of Fortuna with Jupiter and Juno in her lap stood in the grotto of the Nile Mosaic. The improbability of this theory is evident from the reconstruction reproduced in *Bell'Italia* 40 (August 1989) 51 f. Riemann 1986, 400, supposes that the gilt cult statue of Fortuna (cf. Pliny *NH* XXXVI 154) originally stood in the central niche of the grotto of the Nile Mosaic and was moved to the temple above after the latter's completion. Only then the apse was converted into a nymphaeum. However, the central niche is only 2,50 m high and the statue would have been inconspicuous at the back of the large apse. Moreover, since there is no sign of any rebuilding, the apse-nymphaeum must have been constructed at the same time as the hall (see n. 81). It is not impossible that statues were placed in the niches, as often happened in nymphaea, but these would have been modest decorative works rather than cult statues (cf. n. 40).

[35] The idea that there was a connection between the Fortuna of Praeneste and Isis and Sarapis is long established. A Serapeum is mentioned in an inscription from the 2nd century A.D. (see n. 36, no. 2), Already Suarez I, 51 ff., 3rd pl. between pp. 50–51, located a Serapeum in the area before the grotto with the Fish Mosaic which he reconstructed as a hall similar to the apsidal hall. Also Kircher 95 and 109, supposed that there was a Serapeum in the lower complex. Barthélemy 511, assumed that it was identical with the apsidal hall because of the presence of the Nile Mosaic. Marucchi 1885, 79 ff., elaborated this theory. He concluded that the apsidal hall was dedicated to Isis-Fortuna. This would appear from the presence of two obelisks which may have been found in the neighbourhood (see n. 36, no. 5) and of the Nile Mosaic which he explained as an allegory of Isis-Fortuna and of divination (cf. Marucchi 1904, 232 ff.). More recently this theory had been revived, see M. Torelli, R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *La cultura ellenistica. Le arte figurative* (1977) 508, n. 394; Zevi 1979, 21; Le Corsu, 180. Coarelli 1987, 80 ff. suggests that the apsidal hall was a Serapeum and the Antro delle Sorti an Iseum; the building between them was, nonetheless, a basilica. He further assumes that the Nile Mosaic depicts the union of Isis and Osiris, of Egypt and the Nile (cf. Plut. *De Is.* 38) and that the Fish Mosaic refers to Isis Pelagia. Torelli (1989) 19 f., on the other hand, identifies the Antro delle Sorti with a Serapeum and the apsidal hall with an Iseum. A similar interpretation is adopted by Lavagne 227 ff., 254 f., who bluntly speaks of the Iseum of Praeneste. He believes that the lower complex was originally the sanctuary described by Cicero and that this was converted into an Iseum by Sulla. In his view this is supported by the two mosaics, which he explains as pictures symbolising the sovereignty of Isis over Upper and Lower Egypt and the sea (Lavagne 245, 248, 255). A similar view is expressed by Krumme 157 ff. He supposes that the so-called Iseum consisted of an entrance-court, a large forecourt partly surrounded by porticoes, and the apsidal hall which was the actuel temple. The Fish Mosaic refers to Sarapis, the patron of seafaring. The Nile Mosaic illustrates the function of the grotto as the source of the Nile

(163 ff.). However, his idea (163, after Steinmayer 98) that the fragmentary human figures in the Fish Mosaic do not represent fishermen but sailors, rescued from shipwreck, lacks all foundation. Actually, none of these authors adds any other evidence to that provided by Marrucchi. They simply construct a framework of suppositions. The Serapeum mentioned in the inscription of A.D. 157 (see n. 36, no. 2) was a private shrine and cannot refer to a part of the lower complex (see Torelli (1988) 20, n. 34, who therefore feels compelled to suggest the existence of two Serapea at Praeneste).

[36] See Malaise I, 95 ff. These are: no. 1, the Sariolenus inscription, mentioning Isis-Tyche (see above n. 14); no. 2, a dedication inscription, dating from A.D. 157, in which a Serapeum is mentioned, see *CIL* XIV, 2901, *IG* XIV, 1127); no. 4, the Nile Mosaic; no. 5, fragments of two small granite obelisks, probably dating from the time of Claudius. See further Roullet 2, n. 9, who mentions an altar with a representation of Anubis. In none of these cases, except the Nile Mosaic, is the original provenance known. The fact that a large number of the ancient monuments and inscriptions which have been preserved at Palestrina come from the area of the lower complex and especially the supposed Area Sacra does not mean much. It was the centre of the ancient town, which may have been crowded with monuments and which contained other sanctuaries; see for the forum and its temple and for a sanctuary for Juno n. 9, and for a Serapeum, above in this note and n. 35. See for other sanctuaries and cults at Praeneste Torelli 23 ff. In addition, in the course of the centuries finds seem to have been collected in the then court of the bishop's palace (see Riemann 1986, 374; Vaglieri 1909, 232), and these may originally have come from elsewhere, for example from the upper complex; cf. Kähler 196. See also Ch. V, n. 51.

[37] For interpretations in this sense see n. 35 and below Ch. IV, pp. 78 f.; Ch. V, pp. 89 f., nn. 6, 50, 51. For the assimilation of Fortuna, Tyche and Isis, see in general W. Drexler, Isis-Fortuna u. Fort. Panthea, in (W.H. Roscher) *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (1884–1937) I, 2, 1549 ff.; I. Kajanto, Fortuna, *ANWR* 2, 17 (1981) 508, 520; further below Ch. IV, nn. 153, 154; Ch. V, nn. 50, 51. For this assimilation at Praeneste, see E. Köberlein, *Caligula und die Ägyptischen Kulte* (1962) 70 f.; K. Schefold, Zur hellenistischen Theologie Alexandreias, in *Antidoron, Edgar Salin zum 70. Geburtstag* (1962) 167 ff.; S. Spyridakis, The Italian cult of Tyche Protogeneia, *Historia* 18 (1969) 42 ff.; Riemann 1983, 242, nn. 41, 42; Champeaux II, 37 ff.; Lavagne 252 f.; Coarelli 1987, 79 f. Especially relevant is the reference to Isis-Tyche in the Sariolenus inscription, see n. 14, and the appearance of Tyche Protogeneia, apparently a transcription of Fortuna Primigenia, in the eastern Mediterranean, see Spyridakis 42 ff; *idem*, *Ptolemaic Itanos and Hellenistic Crete* (1970) 79 ff.; Fraser I, 243; II, 395, n. 428; Dunand 1973, II, 80 f.; Riemann 1983, 242. Tyche Protogenes is mentioned in a dedicatory inscription by the commander of the Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos (Crete) from the reign of Ptolemy V (205–181); for literature, see Riemann 242, n. 40. Two dedicatory inscriptions to Isis-Tyche Protogeneia by a Ptolemaios from Polyrrhenia (Crete) have been preserved in Serapeum C at Delos (115/114) see *I. Délos*, 2072, 2073; for literature see Riemann 242, n. 41. For a lost gem with the inscription Tyche Protogenia from Kolossai (Phrygia) see Riemann 242, n. 42. For the interpretation of the Nile Mosaic see Ch. IV and for its function Ch. V. For the date and the uncertain origin of the Egyptianising monuments from Praeneste see the references in n. 36. Other early examples of Nilotic scenes will be discussed in Ch. V. The supposition that the Nile Mosaic inevitably comes from an Iseum (cf. n. 35) would lead us to the conclusion that e.g. the Alexander exedra in the Casa del Fauno and the

atrium of the Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii, which were both decorated with Nilotic scenes, were also shrines for Isis (see Ch. V, nn. 9 and 10).

[38] See in general Lawrence 201 ff.; Boëthius, Ward-Perkins, 146. Sanctuaries of the Egyptian cults, which came into being in the Hellenistic period, are also different, see Wild 9 ff., Malaise II, 239 ff. They usually consist of a courtyard surrounded by porticoes and various rooms, including the actual shrine and other rooms for cult practices. The interpretation of the Area Sacra as a courtyard would suit better a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, cf. Krumme 162, who compares the lower complex to Serapeum C at Delos. However, it is more likely to have been a columnar hall (see nn. 4, 49). Furthermore, the large size and central position of the lower complex exclude the possibility that it was a temple for Isis, because the cult of Isis was not yet a public one, see below the text with n. 43. Nowhere in the classical world is there any sacral building comparable to the columnar hall, except the Telesterium of Eleusis which, however, served a very specific purpose (see Lawrence 252, fig. 142). See for other columnar halls in the classical world W. Alzinger, Vitruvs Basilika und der archäologische Befund, in (H. Geertman, J. de Jong eds.) *Munus non ingratum* (1989) 212 ff., figs. 1–5. Columnar halls were a normal adjunct of temples in Egypt. There a large hypostyle hall,' the hall of appearance', often lay between the forecourt and the actual house of the god. It was used for processions involving the divine image (see Badawy 1968, 179 ff.; G. Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des neuen Reiches* (1970). In the Hellenistic period it could be partly open at the front, not unlike a pronaos (see *LÄ* VI, 360, s.v. Tempelarchitektur). The hypostyle hall was an important functional element in Egyptian temple complexes, because of the small size of the actual naos and the other ritual rooms. There is, however, not the slightest evidence that this element of an Egyptian temple was ever adopted in classical architecture. It seems far-fetched therefore to suppose that the columnar hall of the lower complex of Praeneste, lying as it did beside the large apsidal hall, was a free adaptation of the Egyptian hypostyle temple hall. Nevertheless, a sacral interpretation of the lower complex has recently been defended again, see n. 35. According to Riemann 1986, 396 ff., the apsidal hall was the *Aedes Fortunae* mentioned by Cicero, and the columnar hall was the *pronaus aedis* of the Sariolenus inscription (cf. n. 14). He thinks that the columnar hall cannot have been a simple market basilica because it seems to have had an entrance only on the west side. But the basilica of Pompeii too has its main entrance on one of the short sides and only some minor entrances on the long sides (see n. 39). In order to explain the exceptional appearence of a columnar hall in a classical sanctuary, Riemann introduces the phenomenon of a processional basilica which was meant to receive crowds of worshippers during festivals, and to contain votive statues (Riemann 1986, 399 f.; 1983, 242, n. 37, 244, n. 50, 247, n. 78). We have seen, however, that no parallels for such a basilica exist (cf. also Coarelli 1988, 118). It has been suggested that the tribunal of the basilica of Pompeii had a religious function (see K.F. Ohr, *Die Basilika in Pompeji* (1973) 147 ff., 162 ff.; *idem* in *CronPomp* 3 (1977) 17 ff., esp. 38 f.). There is, however, not the least support for such an idea (see J.M. David, Le tribunal dans la basilique: évolution fonctionelle et symbolique de la république à l'empire, in *Architecture et Société*, 219 ff., esp. 223 ff.; and now also K. Ohr, *Die Basilika in Pompeji* (1991) 84). Basilicas may to some extent have received a sacral function only in connection with the Imperial cult, beginning with the Caesareum of Alexandria (see in general J. Christern, Die 'Gerichtsbasilika' beim Forum von Tipasa (Neuaufnahme), ihre Funktion und die Frage nach den Vorbildern für den basilikalen Kirchen, in

Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet (1986) I, 163 ff., esp. 192 ff.). Moreover, it seems far-fetched to assume that *pronaus aedis* should refer to the columnar hall simply because the forum temple did not have a portico (see Riemann 1986, 400). This reasoning would imply that the apsidal hall later became a temple for Juno (thus Gullini 1984, 548). Praeneste will undoubtedly have had more temples and shrines and it is useless to try at all costs to connect the few sanctuaries which are mentioned in the inscriptions with the few monuments which remain of the ancient town (cf. nn. 9, 14, 34, 35 and 36). The sacral precursor to the apsidal hall which Riemann 1986, 400, recognizes in Delbrück I, 48, fig. 44c, is only a hypothetical reconstruction of an equally hypothetical earlier stage (cf. Gullini 1984, 530 ff., pl. 1; Champeaux I, 7). Traces of statues are not indicative of a sacral function, because statues were common in public places (see n. 4, and e.g. the curia at Pompeii, see n. 39). Coarelli 1987, 40, assumes that the columnar hall was a basilica, but also that the apsidal hall was a Serapeum and the Antro delle Sorti an Iseum (80 f.; cf. above n. 35). The shape of the Antro delle Sorti remains uncertain (see nn. 5, 44). The apsidal hall with the podium running around it is, according to him, suggestive of an Eastern cult room, but he fails to give an example (see further n. 44). One may also ask how the basilica and the two sanctuaries were entered. But there is no parallel in any case for such a combination of profane and sacral buildings.

[39] For Vaglieri see n. 21. See further Mingazzini, 295 ff.; Kähler 195 ff.; especially Lauter 1979, 441 ff.; Boëthius, Ward-Perkins, 146; Coarelli 1987, 40; 1988, 118. Alzinger (*o.c.* in n. 38) 214, interpretes the columnar hall as a basilica. For the public buildings of Pompeii, see Lauter 1979, 416 ff., 456; La Rocca, De Vos, 112 ff.; *NSc* 1942, 281 ff. At the southern end of the Pompeian forum there were three rectangular buildings, each consisting of a single hall. The hall in the centre has a large rectangular niche in the back wall for a statue, and shallow niches in the side walls, which may have served to house archives. The hall on the east had a large apse in the back with a bench in it, and presumably served for magistrates. The hall on the west also has an apse with a base for a statue and niches for statues in the side-walls; it may have been the curia. On the south-east corner of the forum there is a larger rectangular building, the Comitium. At the south-west corner is the Chalcidum of the basilica. This probably had no roof and there was a basin at the left-hand side (see Ohr (1991, *o.c.* in n. 38) 10 ff., 13 ff.). Within the basilica there is a podium for the judges (cf. n. 38). In Pompeii, therefore, we see, divided between several buildings, elements which seem to have been combined in the lower complex of Praeneste: a vestibule with a basin, a basilica, and a large hall serving various purposes (cf. n. 44).

[40] For nymphaea connected with public places like gateways, market-places, halls etc., see Neuerburg, 81 ff.; Lauter 1979, 442. For nymphaea connected to *triclinia*, see Mingazzini 300 f.; Neuerburg 88f.; Lavagne 117 ff. The practice of enriching *triclinia* with nymphaea originated at the Ptolemaic court in Alexandria with the combination of bowers for Dionysiac drinking parties with caves of the nymphs, see T.B.L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (1964) 162 ff.; cf. e.g. the symposium pavilion of Ptolemy II and the Nile yacht of Ptolemy IV (see respectively Studniczka, 91 ff.; Lavagne 94 ff. and Caspari, 60 ff., Lavagne 117 ff.). See further F. Rakob, Ein Grottentriklinium in Pompeji, *RM* 76 (1964) 182 ff.; Zanker 498 ff. Originally they were decorated with imitation rock, and with various kinds of inset stones and shells. The floors could be decorated with mosaics as at Palestrina, cf. the basin with a floor-mosaic with dolphins at Rhenea (Delos) (see Bruneau,

no. 351, figs. 298–300) and a possible nymphaeum at Populonia with a fishing scene (see Meyboom 1978, 216). In the Imperial period the mosaic decoration was often applied to the walls and vaults, see Sear (*o.c.* in n. 2) 20 ff., cf. a nymphaeum decorated with wall-mosaics including a Nilotic scene in the Casa del Granduca at Pompeii (Sear 67, no. 27, pl. 14, 2; La Rocca, De Vos, 168 col. pl.) and a wall-mosaic with a fish scene in a nymphaeum in the Casa dell'Orso (Sear 76 f., no. 38, pl. 22,2; W. Ehrhardt, *Casa dell'Orso* (1988) 52, pls. 230–232). In general mosaics with Nilotic, fish- and fishing scenes were popular for nymphaea, see Ch. V, nn. 7 and 22. Here and there in the lower complex there are remains of bases for statues, and these have also been used as arguments for a religious function of the lower part. In the first place there is a shallow niche in the left hand side of the Antro delle Sorti. It does not offer much space for a statue of a seated Fortuna with Jupiter and Juno (cf. n. 14), and this was probably placed in the upper complex anyway (see n. 42). Riemann 1986, 398, suggested a statue of Poseidon because of the proximity of the Fish Mosaic, and he discarded the possibility of a statue of Fortuna because at Praeneste, according to him, she did not have a connection with the sea (cf. Riemann 394, n. 361). The connection of Fortuna with the sea was, however, a general feature resulting on the one hand from her assimilation with Tyche and Isis, and on the other hand from her relationship with Eileithuia and Leukothea (see n. 37; Ch. V, nn. 6, 51; I. Krauskopf, Leukotheia nach den antiken Quellen in Die Göttin von Pyrgi. *Archäologische, linguistische und religionsgeschichtliche Aspekten.* (Akten des Kolloquiums, Tübingen 1979) (1981) 137 ff.). Therefore a statue of Fortuna would seem quite acceptable, the more so since votive offerings were possibly present (see n. 14). On the other hand, Poseidon and Fortuna appear only rarely among the large number of fountain statues which have been preserved. There is a large variety of fountain statues and by far the largest number are of typical water divinities, like nymphs, satyrs, etc.; see B. Kapossy, *Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit* (1969) 12 ff.. So a large variety of statues would have been appropriate for a position beside a nymphaeum. Moreover, a statue of a deity beside the grotto-nymphaeum would not have made it a sanctuary in the strict sense. It is highly regrettable that after the discovery of the area of the Antro delle Sorti c. 1870 the finds were sold without any record having been made of them, see Delbrück I, 59. The statue bases of which Delbrück I, 73, saw traces in the basilica do not indicate a religious function because statues of politicians and benefactors were a common feature in public buildings (cf. n. 39). It seems highly improbable that a statue of Fortuna stood in the grotto of the Nile Mosaic (see n. 34). It has also been supposed that a large statue of Fortuna of grey Rhodian marble, parts of which are preserved in the Barberini palace, originally stood in the apsidal recess in the podium of the east wall of the apsidal hall, facing the entrance (see n. 29, Zevi 1979, 20 f.; Zevi 1988, 39 f.; Riemann 1986, 400; 1983, 241, n. 35). This is, however, not certain. Only in one early source is there any mention of the statue having been found in the lower sanctuary, while the parts which are preserved have always been kept in the Barberini palace. For this reason it has also been assumed that this was the cult statue which stood in the cella of the upper complex (see Lauro 199, 212, and 208; Gullini 1984, 547; and for this statue below Ch. V, n. 51; for the real cult statue see n. 34. The suggestion by Coarelli 1987, 81 ff., that it originally stood in the court of the Antro delle Sorti (to him an Iseum, see n. 35) lacks any foundation. However, even if the statue was originally placed in the lower complex, e.g. in the apsidal hall, this does not imply that the apsidal hall was a sanctuary. The public buildings of Pompeii contained various statues (see n. 39) and one can also mention the example of the famous statue of Victoria in the Curia at Rome (see T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (1967) 6 ff.). A statue of Fortuna, the town's patroness, would be appropriate enough for the town hall.

[41] Cf. n. 34. The unsuitability of the grottoes for ritual purposes in connection with the oracle described by Cicero has been noted by Mingazzini 296 f.; Von Heintze 534; Kähler 196. Similar nymphaea elsewhere in Praeneste did not have a ritual function either (see n. 2). Another suggestion is that the grotto with the Nile Mosaic represented the source of the Nile, which was an essential element in the sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis (see Le Corsu 180; Lavagne 247; Krumme 164, and cf. n. 35). However, these Nile water containers were usually crypts or wells and not ornate nymphaea (see Wild 25 ff., 35 ff.). Moreover, such an interpretation fails to take account of the grotto with the Fish Mosaic. Nevertheless, the use of the water of the nymphaea for ritual purposes need not be excluded (see Lavagne 247; Krumme 164, cf. above n. 35). For religious interpretations of the two mosaics in the sense of allegories of Isis see n. 37. Such interpretations, however, do not necessarily imply a religious function for the grottoes as a whole, see n. 40.

[42] Nowadays the *locus saeptus religiose* is generally located in the eastern hemicycle on the terrace of the hemicycles of the upper complex, see Mingazzini 296 f.; Kähler 201 ff.; Lauter 1979, 395 f.; Riemann 1983, 239 f.; 1986, 403; Coarelli 1987, 50 f., 67 ff.; 1988, 134. The head of the statue of Fortuna has perhaps been preserved, see Gullini 1973, 767, pl. 137, fig. 13; Coarelli 1987, fig. 16. For the identification of the *Aedes Fortunae* with the remains of a circular building at the summit of the upper complex see Gullini 1953, 191 f., fig. 333; Lauter 1979, 396 ff., fig. 2; Coarelli 1987, 54 ff.; 1988, 127 ff.; Rakob *o.c.* in n. 28; *idem* La Rotonda a Palestrina, in *Urbanistica ed Architettura,* 87 ff.

[43] See for the Isea of Puteoli, Pompeii and Rome, and the introduction of the public cult of Isis in Rome Ch.V, nn. 28, 38.

[44] See the authors referred to in n. 39 and compare the public buildings of Pompeii discussed there. If the forecourt was covered (see n. 5), it is still possible that it was used as a vestibule. With regard to the apsidal hall, it may have served for all the purposes for which there were separate buildings at the forum of Pompeii (see n. 39). The shallow niches which are parallelled in one of the buildings at Pompeii may have served as archives (cf. nn. 21and 39). For nymphaea associated with public buildings and dining halls, see n. 40).

[45] For the Sullan date of the lower complex see Delbrück and Vaglieri, cited above in nn. 16,17,19, 23; Gullini 1953, 271ff., 304 ff.; 1984, 547ff.; Lugli (*o.c.* in n. 26), 86; Von Heintze 539, 542; Kähler 197; Boëthius, Ward-Perkins 146. A date in the later part of the second century has been espoused by Magoffin (*o.c.* in n. 23) 43; Marucchi 1910, 74 ff.; Mingazzini 300; Coarelli in *HiM* II, 339; Meyboom 1977, 76; Lauter 1979, 441; Quilici 211 ff.; Riemann 1986, 368, 404; Champeaux I, 6 ff.; Lavagne 227 ff.

[46] Cf. Lauter 1979, 439. Gullini 1953, 306, figs. 420 - 421, states that the *opus incertum* of the lower complex is somewhat more refined than that of the upper complex. Differences in the character of the *opus incertum* may indeed be noted throughout both complexes (cf. e.g. Gullini 1953, figs. 318–321) but they are not sufficient to indicate that they should be ascribed to separate phases, moreover the *opus incertum* sometimes is strikingly similar in both complexes (cf. e.g. Gullini 1953, figs. 67 and 100; Romanelli, figs. 57 and 64). The difference in quality may have been caused by different building contractors. It is clear that the two complexes were built by different archi-

tects, as demonstrated by the completely different architectural conceptions (cf. n. 33). Moreover, the fact that the remains of the upper complex consist mainly of substructures, for which a coarser construction material has been used than for the lower complex, needs to be taken into account, cf. Gullini 1953, 232 ff.

[47] For the Doric frieze see Gullini 1953, fig. 63, pl. XXV,3, and fig. 229, pl. XXI; Th. Kraus in *HiM* II, 456, 458. The long and narrow dentils of the dentil cornice below the frieze and the remains of wall decoration in the First Style, suggest in general a date before Sulla, see respectively Delbrück I, fig. 81, pl. XX; Riemann, 1986, 400; and Delbrück I, 89, fig. 88, cf. above n. 29.

[48] For the capitals see Lauter 1979, 392 f., with nn. 12, 18, and fig. I; 439, n. 152; and most recently Lauter-Bufe 51, 85, with n. 189, for the Italo-Corinthian type; and 84 f. (with n. 190), 93 f. for the Greek Corinthian type; and above n. 28.

[49] Lauter 1979, 452 ff. The plan of the basilica, which presumably consisted of several parallel porticoes running alongside the forum, still essentially betrays its relationship with the stoa. It may also be noted that in the façade of the lower complex arcades do not yet appear (Lauter 1979, 448, fig. 30; Gullini 1984, pl. V). These do appear on a limited scale in the upper complex (Gullini 1953, pls. V and XII), and figure prominently in the façade of the Tabularium at Rome (cf. F. Rakob in *HiM* II, 374; Fittchen *ibid.*, 340; Delbrück I, 23 ff.; II, pl. III). So the façade of the basilica of Praeneste with its stoa-architecture of columns and straight architraves will have offered an old-fashioned appearance, compared to the grandiose arcade architecture of the Tabularium, in spite of Gullini's evaluation (Gullini 1984, 592; 1988, 84).

[50] Gullini 1953, pls. I, II and fig.1; Gullini 1984, 530 ff., pl. 1; Quilici 211 ff. figs. 4–5; Coarelli 1987, fig. 9. The axes of the two complexes are not exactly identical but the difference is so small that they were obviously meant to be identical. The position of the temple on the forum is a little more off-centre and it is positioned somewhat obliquely, suggesting that it is the oldest building, see Gullini 1953, pl. II; Riemann 1986, 363, 378 ff.

[51] Thus already Marucchi 1910, 74 ff.; Riemann 1986, 378 ff.; Coarelli 1987, 41, 74. It would be strange to assume that the large symmetrical upper complex was built first and that the lower complex should subsequently have beeen squeezed into the comparatively narrow space between it and the forum temple, as has been argued recently once again by Gullini 1984, 546 ff. It would be equally strange that the design of the lower complex was not better adapted to the strictly symmetrical plan of the upper complex.

[52] A date in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century has been proposed by Lauter and Riemann (*ll.cc.* in nn. 32, 49). This date would result in a span of time of one to two decades between the construction of the lower and the upper complex, which was built between 120–110 (see nn. 27, 28). The relationships between the two complexes as outlined above rather suggest that the two complexes were constructed in the course of one large building process.

[53] For this inscription see above n. 18. Vaglieri 1907, 292 ff. believed that it belonged to the forum temple (see n. 9). Delbrück II, 2 ascribed it to the façade of the Area Sacra because the height and type of the architrave on which it was inscribed was similar to the architrave of the back wall of the Area Sacra. In this he was followed by Gullini 1953, 38 f., fig. 61, pl. XIV. Lauter 1979, 439 ff., doubts its connection with the basilica because the frieze of the architrave shows three *fasciae*, instead of the two *fasciae* shown by

other fragments which do seem to come from the basilica, and because it differs slightly in height. He therefore assumes that the inscription comes from another monument which has not been preserved. Gullini 1984, 570, suggests a new position in the interior of the basilica. This is, however, impossible because the distance between the columns, which in the interior was presumably twice as great as in the façade (i.e. c. 6 m), cannot have been spanned by a stone architrave, see Riemann 1986, 399, with n. 410. Riemann noticed that the bottom of the architrave block in question was not finished with stucco so it was presumably positioned on top of a wall, and he suggests that it refers to a restoration of the forum temple (see Riemann 1986, 391, n. 335), see further n. 54.

[54] It remains noteworthy that the height of the architrave block with the Lucullus inscription, 71,5–72 cm, differs only slightly from the architrave of the back wall of the basilica, 74 cm, and with blocks of another architrave, measuring 74,5 cm which Lauter ascribes to the basilica (Lauter 1979, 440 f., cf. Gullini 1953, 40, who gives the height as 76 cm and places it on the Doric colonnade on the ground floor of the basilica). These blocks carry the fragmentary inscription ... CATO. L ..., probably for Scato, a *cognomen* of the old Praenestan gens of the Magulnii, and so probably dates from before 82 (Gullini 1953, 272, fig. 362; Degrassi, no. 11). In each of these cases the differences in size and shape is only minimal and since Republican architecture can be rather careless in its measurements (cf. Lauter 440) one may wonder if they could not all belong to one of the three component parts of the lower complex, surmounting a colonnade or a wall. Since all the architectural evidence suggests that the basilica complex was built in the 2nd century (see n. 52), the block with the Varro Lucullus inscription must refer to a restoration (cf. Coarelli, in *HiM* II, 339; 1987, 66; 1988, 119). Lauter 440, n.157, states that there are no traces of a restoration but almost nothing at all remains of the lower complex except the back part positioned against the hill-side. The reconstruction of the façade is still hypothetical and the subject of debate (cf. n. 8) and it is not impossible that parts of it were restored at some time. Restorations in the upper complex are attested by two architrave blocks, each with the inscription *reficiendum* (Degrassi, nos. 4 and 10; Gullini 1953, 273, figs. 359–360). Activity in the time of, and on the part of, Sulla at Praeneste appears from his donation of the *lithostroton* to the sanctuary of Fortuna (see nn. 55–56; Coarelli 1987, 66). This must, however, not necessarily be dated after 82 because Sulla was devoted to Fortuna and may have made his donation at any time – although a date after 82 seems more probable (for Sulla and Fortuna see Plutarch *Sulla* VI 3–5, XXXIV 2; Champeaux II, 215 ff.; below Ch. IV, n. 153). The career of Varro Lucullus seems to have begun during the Civil War, so his inscription probably dates from after 82 (see n. 18 and below n. 82).

[55] See for Sulla's *lithostroton* above n. 16. Its identification with the Palestrina mosaics, which was suggested already by Cesi (see Ch. I, n. 3, and above n. 16) has been strongly defended by Gullini 1953, 314 ff; 1956, 51 ff.; 1973, 752 ff.; and is also accepted by Wattel-de Croizant 548 ff.; Champeaux II, 229 ff.; Lavagne 238 f. Nevertheless, a *lithostroton* is nowadays more generally identified as a kind of pavement made of larger pieces of stone; see Donderer and Morricone Matini (*ll.cc.* in n. 29); Donderer in *Archeologia Classica* 34, 1982, 230 ff.; Ph. Bruneau, Deux noms antiques de pavement: *katakliston* et *lithostroton*, *BCH* 91 (1967) 423 ff., esp. 431; Ph. Bruneau, Philologie mosaistique, *Journal des savants* 1988, 3 ff., esp. 37 ff.; figs. 3–4. Therefore the identity of Sulla's *lithostroton* with the Palestrina mosaics is denied by Meyboom 1977, 76 f.; Coarelli 1987, 40; 1988, 118; Zevi 1988, 35; see also

below n. 58). If we accept that the *lithostroton* was a pavement made of pieces or slabs of marble or other kinds of stone, it is still not absolutely certain whether it consisted of pieces of irregular shape (cf. Donderer *l.c.* above) or of regular pieces, a type of pavement which was also called *opus sectile* (cf. Donderer, and Morricone Martini, both *o.c.* in n. 29), or that the name could be used for both. However, this is irrelevant for the present study. Both kinds of pavements appear around 110 B.C. in the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii (see below n. 78). A pavement made of irregular pieces of stone has been found in the portico of the great court of the upper complex (see Gullini 1953, 172, fig. 252, 308 f., fig. 427). Gullini suggested that it could be a later addition because the pavement was obviously laid after the bases of the columns had been put in position. This suggestion would make it tempting to link this pavement with Sulla's *lithostroton* (thus already Marucchi 1910, 149 ff.). However, Gullini's argument for a later date is not valid because a floor was usually finished after the construction of a building. *Opus sectile* pavements have not been preserved in either of the two complexes. Coarelli suggests that an *opus sectile* pavement decorated the floor of the circular cella (see n. 42). However, no trace remains there of any pavement and in the comparatively small cella at the top of the huge sanctuary it would not have been a conspicuous feature (cf. Lauter 1979, 396 ff., figs 1–2; Coarelli 1987, 56 ff.; 1988, 131; Rakob *oo.cc.* in nn. 28, 42).

[56] See for the pavement of the space in front of the Antro delle Sorti, Delbrück I, 65. For the pavement of the apsidal hall, which was surrounded by a black border, see Delbrück I, 83, pl. XV; Gullini 1953, 316 f., fig. 435. For *opus vermiculatum* see *EAA* III, 324 ff., s.v. Emblema; V, 209 ff., s.v. Mosaico; Bruneau, 32 ff.; and for the development of *opus tessellatum* in general Salzmann 75 ff. The contrast between a pavement and an *emblema* in *opus vermiculatum* was already expressed by Lucilius as quoted by Pliny *NH* XXXVI, 185 "*Arte pavimenti atque emblemate vermiculato*" (cf. Donderer, *o.c.* in n. 29, 366). For the characteristics of the *opus vermiculatum* of the Palestrina mosaics, see Ch. III, n. 1. The vulnerable *opus vermiculatum* was reserved for mosaics which would not be walked upon, like the *emblemata* decorating the centres of floors (cf. the example of the Alexander mosaic, see below Ch. V, n. 9, or the floors of nymphaea, see above n. 40.

[57] See also n. 82.

[58] The more relevant dating proposals follow here. Others may be found in Whitehouse 79, n. 11; Wattel-de Croizant 557, n. 238. A date before Sulla has been suggested only quite recently. Steinmayer 108 ff., supposes that both the Palestrina mosaics date from between 175 and 100 B.C., because she assumes that they are prior to the construction of the lower complex (cf. below n. 81). Meyboom 1977, 76 f. dates both mosaics c. 110–100 B.C., because of the connections with the Casa del Fauno mosaics and the construction date of the lower complex. A date in the last quarter of the 2nd century is also assumed in R. Bianchi Bandinelli, F. Coarelli, L. Franchi dell'Orto, *La pittura antica* (1980) 85. Riemann 1986, 380, 396, assumes a date in the third quarter of the 2nd century only for the Fish Mosaic, which he regards as contemporary with the architecture, while the Nile Mosaic should belong to the time of Mark Antony (cf. below in this note). A Sullan date, usually in connection with an identification with Sulla's *lithostroton*, has been assumed by: Delbrück I, 50; Pernice 154, 167 ff; Gullini 1953, 310 ff.; 1956, 11 ff.; 1973, 752 ff.; Lugli (*o.c.* in n. 26), 74 f.; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung* (1953) 165, and Beyen II, 1, 313 f. (only for the Fish Mosaic); Mingazzini 299 f.; Romanelli 63, 69 f.; Castiglione 1970, 44, correcting the late date he had proposed in 1957; Phillips 59, 215; Dunbabin 5; Riemann 1986, 384 ff.;

Champeaux II, 229 ff.; Lavagne 238 ff.; Wattel-de Croizant 548 ff., 552, 557; Whitehouse 5 (1st half of the 1st century B.C., and probably Sullan); Adriani 1972, 184, 1st cent. B.C. Beyen II,1, 313 f., dated the Nile Mosaic c. 60 B.C., comparing it to the Nilotic frieze in the atrium of the Villa dei Misteri (cf. below Ch. V, n. 10). M.E. Blake, The Pavements of the Roman buildings of the Republic and the early Empire, *MAAR* 8 (1930) 7 ff., esp. 139 ff. 141, regarded any date between Sulla and Hadrian as possible, but preferred a Hellenistic date. Riemann 1985 (*o.c.* in n. 9) 152 f., n. 12; 1986, 401, connects the Nile Mosaic to the presence of partisans of Mark Antony at Praeneste and dates it to the 3rd quarter of the 1st century B.C. A date after the conquest of Egypt by Augustus is assumed by Iacopi 23; Bonneau 91, n. 3; Malaise I, 96, no. 4. A Hadrianic date, because of Hadrian's interest in Egypt, has been assumed by Marucchi 1904, 258 f., 268; 1910, 115, 167 f. (Marucchi connected the Nile Mosaic to the animal descriptions of Aelian whom he dated too early, cf. Vaglieri *l.c.* below, and for the connection with Aelian *NA*, below n. 67); by Magoffin (*o.c.* in n. 23) 49 f.; Schmidt 56; Von Heintze 537; Dorigo 56; and L.B. Dal Maso, R. Vighi, *Archeological Latium* (1979) 203. Vaglieri 1909, 238 f., corrected Marucchi's date for Aelian and dated the mosaics to the end of the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D., comparing them to the large mosaics with animal- and fish scenes, which were popular at that time (cf. e.g. Dunbabin, figs. 20, 57, 60, 68, 119, 120). This late date was accepted by Rumpf 193; and Castiglione 1957, 218.

[59] It has been suggested that the rounded sigma and epsilon are typical of the Imperial period and especially of the time of Hadrian (see Marucchi 1885, 78; Schmidt 78). However, these and other typical forms of lettering like that of the A and Ξ can be found as early as the end of the 3rd century B.C., e.g. in the Marissa frieze (see Phillips 10, n. 17; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* I (1967) 371 ff. 380, 382; and for the Marissa frieze below Ch. IV, pp. 44 ff. Guarducci, III (1974) 443 f., states that the lettering style of the inscriptions in the Nile Mosaic is characteristic of the Sullan period. Such precise dating seems somewhat far-fetched and may be conditioned by a preconceived opinion on the date of the mosaic. But Quarducci's view would be consonant with a dating in the later Hellenistic period.

[60] Cf. Whitehouse 4 f., and the various dates given in n. 58.

[61] See Whitehouse 4 f., and further below Ch. V.

[62] See n. 58 for dates in the 1st cent. B.C. Compare the Hellenistic armour of the soldiers in sections 13 and 17, and architectural details of the buildings in sections 13 and 16 (see e.g. Ch. III, nn. 93, 148, 150, 162, 163, 178, 196). For the inscriptions see n. 59.

[63] See above pp. 9, 15 f., and nn. 16, 55, 56.

[64] See for the Fish Mosaic above n. 7.

[65] See for *opus vermiculatum* n. 56 and Ch. III, n.1. The materials of the tesserae were studied by Gullini, who was able to compare some fragments of the Nile Mosaic with the Fish Mosaic when the former was returned to Palestrina after the Second World War. Gullini concluded that the tesserae of both mosaics consisted of the same materials, i.e. various kinds of limestone, showed the same range of colours and were fixed in the mortar in the same way (see Gullini 1953, 315 f.; 1956, 6). It has been stated that the tesserae of the Fish Mosaic are smaller than those of the Nile Mosaic and that this would suggest an earlier date (cf. Riemann 1986, 376, quoting earlier observers); but this observation is incorrect. In both mosaics the tesserae vary in the same way from a minute size and irregular shape to a larger size and more regular shape, according to the character of the scene. Larger tesserae are used especially in plain watery parts. In addition, many

parts of the Nile Mosaic have been restored for which have been used even larger square tesserae, which may have created the false impression that the original tesserae were somewhat larger than in the Fish Mosaic (cf. Ch. I, n. 12; Ch. III, n. 1; e.g. fig. 25).

[66] See Meyboom 1977, 70f., and below Ch. VII, n. 12.

[67] It is usually assumed that the two mosaics are contemporary: see among the authors mentioned in n. 58, especially Pernice 154; Gullini 1953, 312; 1956, 6; Phillips 47, n. 100, 59; Steinmayer 123; Meyboom 1977, 76 f. But Beyen, Rumpf and Riemann believe that the Nile Mosaic is later (see above n. 58). Beyen observed a stylistic similarity between the Nile Mosaic and the Nilotic frieze in the atrium of the Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii (c. 70 B.C.). In spite of the difference in shape between the two scenes, i.e. a large panel and a long frieze, there are indeed strong similarities in the rendering of the landscape, islands, buildings and people. However, the really characteristic details of Egyptian life, fauna and flora, are missing in the frieze of the Villa dei Misteri, at least in the preserved parts. So this frieze seems to show a more generic approach and may be dated somewhat later than the Nile Mosaic (see for it below Ch. V, n. 10). Riemann's supposition that the Nile Mosaic must be connected with the presence of partisans of Mark Antony at Praeneste does not take into account other early examples of Nilotic scenes, like the Nilotic friezes from the Casa del Fauno and the Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii (see for the frieze from the Casa del Fauno nn.70, 71, fig. 28, and for other early examples Ch. V). Rumpf believed, like Vaglieri, that large 'didactic' mosaics showing numbers of animals etc. were typical of the 3rd century A.D. This genre was indeed popular at that time, yet the Fish Mosaic, which shows the same characteristics, was dated by Rumpf in the time of Sulla (see n. 58). The connection between the Nile Mosaic and Aelian 's zoological writings, though perfectly valid, does not necessarily imply that Aelian provides a *terminus post quem.* On the contrary, Aelian, who was a priest at Praeneste, may have been inspired by the Nile Mosaic, or alternatively the Nile Mosaic and the corresponding parts of Aelian's text may have been based on the same source (cf. Whitehouse 5; Rostovtzeff 1941, 318, and below Ch. III, n. 12; see further Ch. III, n. 13 and Ch. IV, n. 36). ·

[68] See for the Fish Mosaic n. 7; for the following discussion see extensively Meyboom 1977, 50 ff.; figs. 1–4; for the stylistic and iconographic similarities *ibid.* 56 ff.; for the reconstruction of the Fish Mosaic *ibid.* 63 ff.; and for a summary Appendix 18.

[69] See for the Casa del Fauno in general Pernice 90 ff.; Laidlaw 173 ff.; below Ch. VI, n. 2. For the date of the Casa del Fauno mosaics see Meyboom 1977, 55, n. 71, with earlier literature, and below Ch. VI, n. 4. All the mosaics seem to belong to a phase of reconstruction and decoration of the Casa del Fauno which took place between the later part of the second century and the Roman colonisation of Pompeii in 80 B.C., see the preliminary reports of the research by A. Hofmann in *AA*, 1982, 748; *AA* 1986, 493 f.; De Vos 1979a, 165 ff.; Laidlaw 174; Lauter-Bufe 40 ff., esp. 42; below Ch. VI, n.4.

[70] See for this mosaic n. 71, and Ch. V, n. 9.

[71] See Meyboom 1977, 72. The outline of the hippopotamus head is strongly reminiscent of that in the Nile Mosaic, see fig. 19. It would seem that the artist adapted the design to the situation in the frieze, where there are no hunters. Compare also the position of the mongoose's tail, Ch. III, n.74. We may also compare the lotuses and the mimosa with those in the lower part of sections 15, 17 and 19 of the Nile Mosaic (figs. 20, 21, 27). For the realistic rendering of the lotus see Whitehouse 81, n. 26; below Ch. III, n. 137; and

for the mimosa n. 124; for the glossy ibises see Houlihan 26 ff.; and Ch. III, n. 122; for the ducks see Ch. III, n. 117.

[72] See also figs. 19, 20 and 27. The original section 19, which is reproduced in fig. 21, was larger at the bottom than it is now in the restored mosaic, cf. fig. 20 and the Dal Pozzo copy, Whitehouse, fig. 19a.

[73] See for these below Ch. V., n. 16 bis. Both show pygmies, feasting in a cabin boat and other boats on the flooded Nile, surrounded by hippopotami and crocodiles, and with a villa in the background. The cabin boat and the hippopotamus head in the second mosaic are reminiscent of the hippopotamus hunt scene in the Nile Mosaic (cf. Ch. III, n. 112, fig. 19).

[74] The Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno is more detailed and more accurate than the Nile Mosaic in the rendering of the cobra and the mongoose, the glossy ibises and the other birds, cf. n. 71. The artist cannot, therefore, have been influenced by the Nile Mosaic, but must have used a model which was more detailed. The same observation has been made with regard to some Pompeian fish mosaics, see Meyboom 1977, 53; and Appendix 18.

[75] Cf. Meyboom 1977, 72 ff. Smaller mosaic *emblemata* were made on an under-layer of terracotta or stone and could be transported anywhere according to the wishes of the customer (cf. *EAA* III, 324 ff. s.v. Emblema). Large mosaics such as the Palestrina mosaics, which are also irregular in shape, and probably the Alexander mosaic, were laid on the spot (cf. Ch. VI, n. 10). There is no under-layer or any sign of the joining of panels, and the tesserae were placed directly in the mortar covering the floor (cf. Gullini 1953, 315 f.; Aurigemma 97 f.; below Ch. III, n. 1). For the technique of laying mosaics, albeit in relation to more simple works, see C. Robotti, Una sinopia musiva negli scavi nuovi di Pompei, *Mosaïque, Recueil d'hommage à Henri Stern* (1983) 311 ff.

[76] Cf. Ch. III, n. 1. This similarity is stressed by Gullini 1956, 19, who refers especially to the varieties of brown and green and the translucent and reflecting white. Fuhrmann noticed that the materials of the pavements of the Casa del Fauno were similar to those of the figural mosaics. He had some samples analysed and these appeared to be volcanic limestones from the neighbourhood of the Vesuvius (see Fuhrmann 110 ff., 277 f.).

[77] See Meyboom 1977, 72 ff.; Gullini 1956, 19. See for the workshop further below Ch. VI.

[78] Cf. Meyboom 1977, 76, n. 335. For the floors at Palestrina see above n. 56. For the mosaic pavements in the Casa del Fauno, see Pernice 94, 129 f., pls. 15, 5, 6, and further references given above in n. 29. The Alexander exedra had a strip of plain white mosaic pavement around the Alexander mosaic. Soon afterwards the white pavements in the Casa del Fauno were enlivened by narrow black borders (Pernice 129 f.). The Casa del Fauno also has *opus sectile* pavements, which do not yet appear at Praeneste (cf. n. 55). The long and narrow dentils of the dentil cornice running along the podium in the apsidal hall (see n. 47), which are characteristic of the late Hellenistic period, have a fine parallel in the mosaic dentils in the border of the Alexander mosaic (Pernice, pl. 43,3) and in examples of First Style wall decorations, see M. de Vos, Primo stile figurato e maturo quarto stile negli scarichi provenienti dalle macerie del terremoto del 62 d. C. a Pompei, *MededRome* 39 (1977) 30 f., pls. 26–31; Laidlaw, pls. 4–9.

[79] See above p. 15.

[80] Cf. above n. 62.

[81] The Antro delle Sorti existed before the construction of the lower complex (see n. 2). The grotto with the Nile Mosaic may originally have been only a shallow niche, which was enlarged into a nymphaeum at the time of

the construction of the lower complex (see n. 2). The Fish Mosaic in the Antro delle Sorti and the mosaic pavement of the space in front of it were laid on an identical under-layer consisting of two layers of pozzolana mortar containing splinters of limestone and powdered terracotta (see Delbrück I, 59 and 65). Even if differences between mortar were usually small, the interference is that the pavement and the mosaic were laid more or less at the same time. It follows that the mosaic decorations with their similar technique and similar contents should have been executed at the same time as the construction of the lower complex and the two nymphaea. It is possible that the attention of the town council shifted from the lower complex to the construction of the sanctuary above it. The completion of the lower complex may have been delayed, and the decoration of the nymphaea may have been undertaken in connection with the decoration of the sanctuary after the completion of the construction of the latter. Steinmayer 121 f., suggests that both mosaics may have decorated the grottoes already before the construction of the lower complex. She further suggests that the Nile Mosaic was originally surrounded by a wide border which reached the wall of the Nile grotto and that this space was filled in with *opus incertum* walls when the nymphaeum was built. However, the construction of walls which necessitates the erection of scaffolding and wooden framework, would have been extremely complicated in a grotto around an existing mosaic. Such a procedure both seems highly improbable and would have been fatal for the mosaic. On the other hand Mingazzini 299 f., suggested that there was originally an apse, which served official purposes and which was transformed into a grotto nymphaeum after the apsidal hall had lost its official character, when Praeneste became a municipium in 90, or a colony in 82 B.C. Riemann 1986, 400 f. too assumes that the original apse was later converted into a nymphaeum, i.e. at the time when the old cult statue was removed to the new sanctuary above, and that the Nile Mosaic was not laid until the time of Mark Antony (cf. nn. 34, 58 and 67). There is, however, not the slightest evidence that the nymphaeum and the hall were constructed at different periods. The walls form a unity, there is no trace of a join, and the *opus incertum* and the corner blocks are exactly alike in the hall and in the apse (see our figs. 3, 4; and e.g. Gullini 1953, figs. 67 and 63).

[82] If we accept for the moment that the Varro Lucullus inscription refers to some restoration work in the lower complex executed in the time of Sulla after 82, it is interesting to consider the possibility that the mosaics, although not Sulla's *lithostroton*, were nevertheless made at that time (see above nn. 18, 53, 54, 55). Varro Lucullus was a brother of the better known Lucullus, who led a delegation to Alexandria in 86 during the Mithradatic War (see n. 18 and Appendix 16 at the end). His brother may have accompanied him and they may have brought back Alexandrian artists and models. It has also been suggested that the architecture of Lucullus' villa on the Pincio at Rome was inspired by that of the upper complex at Praeneste (see F. Coarelli, Architettura sacra e architettura privata nella tarda repubblica, in *Architecture et Société*, 191 ff., esp. 203 ff.). So the Luculli may have had connections with Praeneste and the younger one may have been responsible for restoration works there. The mosaics could have been made at the same time. It would, however, be difficult to reconcile this assumption with the chronology of the Casa del Fauno mosaics (cf. above n. 69). It is unlikely that the workshop in question – which was at its peak in Pompeii around 100 B.C., i.e. before the Roman colonisation, and then declined – had a revival at Praeneste after the Roman colonisation in 82 B.C. (see for the workshop further below Ch. VI, and Appendix 18).

Notes to chapter III

[1] For the measurements see Aurigemma 97. For the tesserae see Ch. II, n. 65; Gullini 1953, 312 ff.; 1956, 6 f.; Aurigemma 50 ff.; Kriseleit (*o.c.* in n. 127) 40. Measurements range from 1 to 7 mm and shapes vary markedly. Very small and irregularly shaped tesserae are to be found in detailed scenes, while in plainer parts they become larger and squarer. The modern tesserae are generally larger and squarer with sharp edges (see Ch. I, n. 12, e.g. fig. 24). The materials consist of various kinds of limestone but no marble or glass; the colours show many tones of grey, pink, reddish brown, brown and green. It has never been tried to identify the materials. This would be difficult because of the immense number, large variety and small size of the tesserae. Moreover. it is not always easy to decide whether they are original or more recent. Gullini 1956, 19, states that the tesserae are made of the same materials as those of the Casa del Fauno mosaics which, at least partly, are limestone varieties from the neighbourhood of the Vesuvius (see Ch. II, n. 76). The tesserae were laid in layers of mortar which rested directly on the rock, so the mosaics must have been made on the spot, cf. Gullini 1953, 315 f.; Aurigemma 97. Delbrück I, 59, states that the Fish Mosaic was laid on two layers of identical mortar, and the same will have been true of the Nile Mosaic because this was the usual technique. For the technique of laying a floor mosaic see Robotti, *o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 75. The refined way in which the tesserae have been arranged to produce pictorial and plastic effects is striking. As an example we take the back of the hippopotamus in the foreground. A thin row of dark tesserae indicates the outline. A second row follows this outline with a different shade of colour. So it goes on with rows of tesserae varying in width and colour untill a spot of light tesserae which represent the bump on the animal's hind leg. This pictorial style is characteristic of *opus vermiculatum* (see Ch. II, n. 56).

[2] For the outline of each section see fig. 7. For this section see Whitehouse 11 f., no. 1, figs. 1 a–c, Windsor drawing no. 19201; Gullini 1965, pls. XXIII, XXVI; Aurigemma 81 f., no. 15, figs. 35–37, p. 89, no. 21, figs. 49, 50; Romanelli, col. pls. XXXI, XXXII; Charbonneaux fig. 185. When proposing identifications for the animals and trees I shall refrain from attempting to give consistently the modern scientific names because in antiquity the various subvarieties of a species were often not distinguished.

[3] Cf. Whitehouse 11 f., 89 n. 7; Phillips 72, 169. Pliny *NH* VIII 14, 36, and Aelian *NA* II 21, relate this story about snakes in Pontus. The bush which appears on the left hand side of the *onokentaura* can also be seen to the left of the snake, confirming that the two pieces originally joined together, cf. Whitehouse 12. The section probably broke in two in 1640 and was incorrectly restored, see Ch. I, n. 8.

[4] Note especially the horizontal strata of sandstone and the flat tops of the hills, and the sandy plains with which they alternate: see K.W. Butzer, C.L. Hansen, *Desert and River in Nubia. Geomorphology and Prehistoric Environment at the Aswan Reservoir* (1968) 17, 196 ff., 218 f., figs. 5.5, 5.6. Schmidt 27, identified the oval stones as stone-borers which had drifted ashore. One can also think of fossilised shells, which abound in Egypt (cf. Keller II, 569 f.; Herodotus II 12; Lloyd I, 67). But the colours of the stones seem too radiant for shells and rather suggest semi-precious stones. The rock desert of upper Egypt and Nubia was rich in semi-precious stones as we know from the existence of emerald and beryllis mines mentioned by Diodorus II 52. Phillips compared them to topaz which were found on the islands near the Red Sea coast (Phillips 195; Agatharchides, Woelk 66, fr. 82; Diodorus III 39, 5–9;

Strabo XVI 4, 6; Pfister 61 ff.; Fraser II, 296, n. 338 and 783, n. 203). A Pythagoras, prefect of Ptolemy II, was responsible for the extraction of topaz; see for him and his description of the Red Sea coast Fraser II, 306, n. 365; and below n. 6. W. Belardo, Un motivo del Mosaico del Nilo e il ruolo dell' etimologia nel metodo dei lapidari, in *Antiquitates Indogermanicae, Gedenkschrift H. Güntert* (*Innsbrücker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 12)(1974) 339 f., identified them as turqoise, linking them with Pliny *NH* XXXVII 33, 110, who states that turqoise looks like eye-shaped swellings in the rocks. This description is, however, equally valid for topaz, of which Agatharchides states that it grows on the rock (Woelk, fr. 82; Diod. III 39, 8–9). Turqoise was occasionally found in the Sinai but was mostly imported from the East (see J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (1961) 106 ff.). Moreover, it has a very characteristic bluish-greenish colour. The colours of the stones in the original parts of the Nile Mosaic are reddish brown and greenish, cf. Gullini 1956, pls. XVI, XVIII, XXI. It is interesting that among the offerings brought by Nubians to Egypt in Egyptian wall-paintings baskets with red and green stones are represented, see *LÄ* VI, s.v. Tribut, 763; Drenkhahn 132 f.; e.g. in the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, see Davies 26, pls. XVI, XIX, XX. At Philae Ptolemy VI and his wife Cleopatra are represented offering various semi-precious stones from Nubia, along with exotic animals such as a panther and a giraffe, to Osiris, Lord of the Abaton, and Isis, Lady of the South, Mistress of Philae, Bigeh and the Abaton, see Junker 1958, 267 ff., 273 ff., fig. 159; Dunand 1973, I, 205 f. It seems probable therefore that the shiny stones in the rocks in the Nile Mosaic are the same semi-precious stones which were brought as tribute from Nubia. The reddish stones are probably either garnets, the colour of which may vary from red to brown and green and which are easily found among the rocks of Nubia, or jaspers. The green stones, if not garnets, may also be malachite, although this was only rarely exploited (see for garnets Drenkhahn 132; Harris 118 f.; for jasper Drenkhahn 133; Harris 107, 150 ff.; for malachite Drenkhahn 133; Harris 132). For other kinds of semi-precious stones see *LÄ* II, 932, s.v. Halbedelstein.

[5] The position on top of a rock is adapted by other animals in the Nile Mosaic such as the rhinoceros in section 9 (see fig. 16). In nature these animals would not take such an exposed position. Moreover, the rocks are much too small in relation to the animals. Marucchi 1895, 33 ff., tried to explain the unnatural position by reference to Aelian *NA* V 52, who states that at the time of the flood animals which cannot swim seek refuge in higher places (cf. Diod. I 36, 9, below n. 123). Such an explanation would, however, suit only the lower part of the Nile Mosaic, where Egypt is represented at the time of the flood, cf. the cattle standing on an island in section 15 (fig. 20) and not the rock-desert of Nubia where the Nile did not flood. The artist must have chosen the position in order to display the animals more prominently (cf. Whitehouse 89, n. 9).

[6] For Pythagoras see Pfister 60, 64; Peremans 448 f.; Fraser II, 306, n. 365; Desanges 79 f.; and below n. 13. He is probably to be identified with the prefect of Ptolemy II who was responsible for the extraction of topaz in the Red Sea area (see n. 4). He led an expedition along the Red Sea coast and wrote an account of it, the *Peri tes eruthras thalasses.* This work has not been preserved but descriptions of the onocentaur and the *cephus* monkey have been preserved in Aelian *NA* XVII 9 and 8 (see resp. nn. 7 and 49) and information on the musical instruments of the Trogodytes, the inhabitants of the Red Sea coast, has been preserved in Athenaeus IV 183 F, XIV 634 A. For the Trogodytes see further below n. 16. Both the onocentaur and the

cephus monkey figure in the Nile Mosaic (see nn. 7 and 49). The *cephus* monkey is also mentioned by other authors like Agatharchides, Diodorus and Strabo (see n. 49). Pythagoras' description of this animal is more comprehensive than that of the later authors so his work may have shown a closer interest in animals and may have been the ultimate source of the later descriptions. Admittedly his descriptions of both animals also contain inaccurate observations and fantastic elements, but it is difficult to decide how much of this is due to Aelian. Nevertheless the descriptions of the carnivorous buffalo and the ant-lion by Agatharchides already show the same somewhat fantastic character (cf. below n. 23 and Ch. IV, n. 35).

[7] See Appendix 1. The *onokentaura.*

[8] For Aethiopia, or Nubia as it was later called, see *RE* I,1, 1095 ff., s.v. Aithiopia; *EAA* V, 570 ff., s.v. Nubia; *LÄ* III, 888, s.v. Kusch; *LÄ* IV, 526 ff., s.v. Nubien; Scholz, with lengthy bibliography. In order to avoid ambiguity with modern Ethiopia I shall use the ancient spelling Aethiopia. See also below n. 16 and Ch. IV, pp. 43 ff.

[9] For monkeys in antiquity in general, see Keller I, 3 ff.; McDermott; *LÄ* I, 83 ff., s.v. Affe; and especially below n. 19. In Nubia there are only two kinds of monkeys, i.e. guenons and baboons (see Haltenorth, Diller, resp. 252 ff., pls. 52,1, 53,2 and 240 ff., pl. 49,5–6, pl. 50,2–4). Because of its slender build the monkey under discussion is clearly not a baboon (cf. the baboons depicted in section 6 and 7, figs.13, 14), so it must be some kind of guenon, like the monkey sitting in the tree in section 2 (see n. 19). For guenons see further below nn. 20, 24. Monkeys were brought to Egypt by the Nubians as tribute, see Drenkhahn 115 ff.; *LÄ* VI, 762 ff., s.v. Tribut; and below nn. 20, 24, 49, 62.

[10] Schmidt 28, identifies it as *salvadora persica,* the tooth-brush tree. It is uncertain whether the white spots are highlights, as they undoubtedly are elsewhere in the mosaic e.g. in the fruits on the trees in sections 6 and 13 (figs. 13, 22), or as flowers, as is the case in the sections 9, 10 and 16 (figs. 16, 17, 25). For the use of highlights in paintings of shrubs and flowers, see M.M. Gabriel, *Livia's Garden Room at Primaporta* (1955) 21 ff. If, however, we assume that the spots are here flowers, the bush may well be *salvadora persica,* which has candle-like white blossoms and is now wide-spread in Egypt and the Sudan, though not listed among the ancient Egyptian plants by Germer (see Täckholm 341 f.; F.W. Andrews, *The flowering Plants of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* I–III (1950–1956) II, 287 f.

[11] Herons, rather than cranes as Schmidt 27, calls them; cf. Phillips 168 f. Although the birds look like herons their flying position is more like that of the cranes. Both kinds of birds are frequent in Egypt, and both are hunted by pygmies in Greek and Roman art (see below n. 17), so the birds may easily have become confused. See also L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, Les vases en argent à échassiers conservés à Istanbul, *Mélanges Mansel* (1974) 335 ff.; and *eadem,* Un bol en argent à Malibu, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 5 (1977) 79 ff., esp. n. 6, where the same failure to distinguish between herons and cranes is noticed. The way in which the birds seem to fall is unnatural and must be due to the artist's desire to illustrate the story mentioned in n. 4. Various kinds of cranes and herons existed in Africa, such as the common grey heron and the purple heron, see Keller II, 202 ff.; Houlihan 13 ff.; *LÄ* III, 756 f., s.v. Kranich; VI, 9 f., s.v. Stelzvogel; see also section 3, n. 34.

[12] See in general *LÄ* V, 664 f.; Keller II, 292 f, s.v. Schlange. Rock pythons may grow to 6 meters in length (see Steinmayer 68, fig. 33; Grzimek, 379 and 369, fig. 3). They live on small animals and birds. This

fact may be the origin of the story about how they catch birds, which is mentioned in n. 4 and depicted in the Nile Mosaic. The python gulping down birds reproduced in Steinmayer fig. 33 (after *Brehm's Tierleben* (1920–22) V, 286) shows a striking similarity to the snake in the Nile Mosaic. Large snakes were so characteristic of Nubia that they found a place in the Meroitic pantheon, see Scholz 102, fig. 142. They were the origin of the ancient *draco* (see L. Keimer, Histoires des serpents dans l'Egypte ancienne et moderne, *MIE* 50 (1947) 32 ff.; Aelian *NA* II, 21). Noteworthy is the capture of a giant snake in the reign of Ptolemy II, recorded by Agatharchides of Cnidos (see for him n. 13); Woelk fr. 78, 186 ff.; Diodorus III 36–37; Keller II, 293; Fraser II, 782, n. 200. In order to tame it, it was starved and it offered the most remarkable spectacle to the foreigners who visited Alexandria (Diod. III 37, 8; Agatharchides *l.c.*). The size of Aethiopian snakes could be so large they were believed to be capable of fighting elephants (Agatharchides, Woelk fr. 78; Diodorus III 37; Strabo XVI 4, 16). This belief went back as far as the prehistoric period (see Keimer *o.c.*; I. Hofmann, Zur Kombination von Elefant und Riesenschlange im Altertum, *Anthropos* 65 (1970) 619 ff.). In a variant of this mythical combat the snakes wait in trees to attack elephants from above (see Aelian *NA* II 21; Pliny *NH* VIII II 32, transfers the story to India; for the confusion of India with Aethiopia see n. 33). This story is illustrated in a wall-painting depicting African animals in the Casa di Romolo e Remo at Pompeii, dating from the 3rd quarter of the 1st century A.D. (see fig. 29; Hofmann *o.c.*, 627; Zanker, fig. 39; Mielsch 1986, 755 f.; cf. a mosaic at Carthage, Dunbabin, pl. XIII, see for the painting in the Casa di Romolo e Remo further nn. 52, 53; Ch. IV, nn. 9, 12, 13, Appendix 1). It seems that the literary passages and the painting all go back to the same source, i.e. a description or picture of Aethiopian animals (see further Ch. VII, n. 26). Besides pythons Aelian *NA* XVIII 3, quoting Nymphis, mentions the existence of very large vipers in the Trogodyte country. Nymphis, who also mentions the existence of large turtles along the Red Sea coast area (see n. 28) wrote a history of the Ptolemies in the reign of Ptolemy III (see *RE* XVII, 1608 ff.; Fraser I, 628; II, 887, n. 83). For the Trogodyte country, the coastal area of the Red Sea, see n. 16.

[13] For the capture of the giant snake see n. 12. For Agatharchides of Cnidos, who wrote his work c. 150–145 BC, see Peremans; Woelk, Einl. III (references); Fraser I, 173 f., 539 ff. Parts of his work have been preserved in Diodorus III (cf. III, 11, 1–3); Strabo XVI (who used Artemidorus of Ephesus, who in turn used Agatharchides, cf. Fraser I, 549 f.; II, 789, n. 247) and in Photius' *Bibliotheca* (III, 123 ff., cod. 213; VII, 147 ff., cod. 250). For quotations by Pliny and Aelian see e.g. above nn. 6,7; below n. 49 and Ch. IV, n. 36. Agatharchides used records, *hypomnemata*, which were preserved in the royal archives at Alexandria, i.e. exploration accounts and eyewitness accounts by merchants and the like (see Woelk fr. 79, pp. 255 ff.; Diod. III 38, 1; Peremans 432 ff.; Fraser I, 174, 549 f., and below Ch. VII, n. 27). As an example of an exploration account Agatharchides mentions that by Simmias, a friend of Ptolemy III, who mounted an expedition to the elephant country (Woelk fr. 41, pp. 264 ff.; Diod. III 18, 4; Peremans, 448; Fraser I, 178, 549; II, 306, n. 366, and 786, n. 245). He may also have used the work by Pythagoras (see n. 6). We also know of an account of an expedition over land as far as Meroe by a certain Dalion, presumably in the time of Ptolemy II (see Pliny *NH* VI 29, 183; Fraser I, 176; II, 297, n. 340, and below n. 14). His account of the *crocottas*, the spotted hyena, still survives (see below n. 38; App. 2). For the history of the Ptolemies written by Nymphis, see nn. 12 and 28).

For other accounts of Aethiopian expeditions, either by land or by sea, see Peremans; Fraser I, 176.

[14] See Appendix 2. The *thoantes.*

[15] For this section see Whitehouse 12 f.; no. 2, figs. 2a–b, Windsor drawing no. 19202; Gullini 1956, pls. 21, 23; Aurigemma 77 ff., no. 14, p. 82, no. 17, figs. 33–34; Romanelli, col. pl. XXXI; Charbonneaux fig. 185.

[16] These hunters fit the description by Agatharchides and his followers of the inhabitants of the land lying between the Nile and the Red Sea. These people were called Troglodytes, or more correctly Trogodytes, cave-dwellers (Woelk frs. 61–63, pp. 159 ff; Diodorus III 8 and 32–33; Strabo XVI 4, 17; Phillips 186 f.; Fraser I, 543 ff. ; *RE* VII, A2, 2497 ff., s.v. Trogodytai; *LÄ* IV, 385 s.v. Neger, *LÄ* VI, 767 s.v. Trogodyten; Scholz 80 f.; G.W. Murray, Trogodytica: The Red Sea Littoral in Ptolemaic Times, *Geographical Journal* 133 (1967) 24 ff.). According to the ancient sources they dressed in sheepskins or hair girdles, or went naked, and were armed with short spears, javelins, long bows and rawhide shields. Steinmayer 73 ff., identifies the hunters in the Nile Mosaic specifically with the Kynamolgoi, a primitive tribe mentioned in the same sources, who lived in the southern part of the Red Sea coast area (Agatharchides, Woelk fr. 60; Diod. III 31; Strabo XVI 4, 10). This supposition is based mainly on the presence of the large hound with the hunters in section 3 (see fig. 12, n. 31). The use of hounds for hunting was, however, common with the Aethiopians (see n. 31, and e.g. the Marissa frieze, fig. 57; Ch. IV n. 7). Trogodyte elephant-hunters armed with bows and with dogs, and Trogodyte guides and interpreters assisted in the Ptolemaic hunting expeditions in Aethiopia (see Desanges 297; Scullard 139; Fraser II, 301, n. 351; cf. the *kunegoi* in Diod. III 36, 4; Rice 93, n. 170; the negro armed with an axe in the Marissa frieze fig. 61, see further below Ch. IV, n. 16). The negro hunters in the Nile Mosaic look less primitive since they are all dressed in a kind of chiton (for the sleeved chiton see M. Bieber in *AJA* 60 (1956) 171; and below n. 30). In section 6 a fragmentary inscription may have read *agelarchos* and indicated perhaps the leader of the hunters (see n. 57). To conclude, it seems more probable that the hunters are Trogodytes who had contacts with, and worked in the service of, the Greeks. They may be identified with the Blemmyes of late antiquity and the Beja of modern times (see Woelk 159 ff.; Scholz 127, n. 303; *LÄ* I, 676, s.v. Beja). For negro hunters see also n. 17 and further Ch. IV, n. 16.

[17] It is not clear what the hunters are aiming at. Aurigemma 77, assumes that they are aiming at the guenons which sit in the desert rose. However, the tree with the guenons is positioned more towards the foreground than the hunters, who appear on the horizon. The hunters in section 3 who, it seems, were originally positioned more or less on the same level, are apparently aiming at herons, because one of these is plunging to the ground and a hound is trying to catch it (cf. n. 30). The hunters in section 2 could alternatively be chasing the fleeing elephant-like animal in section 3 (if that really was an animal: see n. 35, fig. 12). There were also traces of other elephants in section 3 and section 6 (see nn. 36, 51). But the hunters in section 11 seem to be hunting animals in general. In the Marissa frieze all kinds of Aethiopian animals are hunted (see figs. 56–65). While hunting elephants was the original aim of the Aethiopian hunting expeditions of the Ptolemies, this led on to the hunting of exotic animals in general (see further Ch. IV, pp. 49 ff.). On the other hand the hunting of herons and cranes by negroes, usually represented as pygmies, was an old and popular motif, see for this motif in literature and art Keller I, 188 ff.; *RE* XXIII, 2, 2064 ff. s.v. Pygmaioi; *EAA* VI, 167 f., s.v. Pigmei; J. Leclant, Un

aspect des influences alexandrines en Gaule: les scènes nilotiques exhumées en France, *Alessandria* III, 440 ff., esp. 443, n. 26; J. Lancha in A. Daviault, J. Lancha, L.A. Lopez-Palomo, *Un mosaico con inscripciones* (1987) 17 ff. It was already known to Homer (cf. Ilias III 2–6) and appears in archaic Greek art, e.g. on the foot of the Francois vase (*EAA* VI, figs. 181, 182; E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1981) 76, fig. 3, pls. 52,53). In Italy it appears also at an early date, see S. Stopponi, La tomba dei pigmei, *DArch* (1983) 85 ff.; M. Martelli, Note di ceramica volterrana, *Mélanges offerts à J. Heurgon* (1976) I, 215 ff.; M. Montagna Pasquinucci, *Le kelebai volterrane* (1968) figs. 5, 6, 83, 84. A pigmy fighting a heron appears even as a mint control-mark in 64 B.C. (see Crawford pl. LXVIII, 69: coin of L. Roscius Fabatus) and the motif became very popular in Roman art (see the literature mentioned above). In all these cases the value of the motif is that of an exotic scene and the negroes are represented as pygmies or dwarfs. The motif is explained by Aristotle *HA* VIII 12 (597a) who states that pygmies living in holes (cf. the Trogodytes in n. 16) near the marshes where the Nile has its origin, were attacked by herons. The origin of this story seems to be that the inhabitants of East Africa tried to deter the birds, which were accustomed to overwinter in the region, from ravaging their crops (see *Lex d. Antike* II, 236 s.v. Zwerge). In the Nile Mosaic the subject is rendered in a realistic way as part of a hunting scene in Aethiopia. So the artist seems to have combined various aspects of hunting in Aethiopia, i.e. all kinds of wild animals, including elephants and wading birds.

[18] Schmidt 28, compared it to an agave but the thick stems with small flowers at the end are characteristic of the desert rose, a shrub or tree which grows in the Sudan (see Andrews (*o.c.* in n. 10) II, 389 f., fig. 145, cf. especially the tree-like variety mentioned *ibid.* p. 390; *Botanical Magazine*, pl. 5418).

[19] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 c; it probably is the plural form of *sphingion*, a diminutive of *sphinx*, rather than an incorrect female form. The *sphinx* was one of the six kinds of African monkeys which were more generally distinguished in antiquity, i.e. *cercopitheci, sphinges, cynocephali, cephi, satyri* and *callitriches* (see in general Keller 1 ff.; McDermott 35 ff., 65 ff.; Phillips 142 f., 162 f., 164 f.; *LA* I, 83 ff., s.v. Affe; George, Yapp, 91 ff.). The use of these names is very confused and identifications diverge. Therefore I restrict myself here to identifying the monkeys which are depicted in the Nile Mosaic. In general only two kinds of monkeys live in Aethiopia, i.e. guenons and baboons. The Abyssinian black and white colobus with its conspicuous black and white colours, perhaps to be identified with the *callitrix* , may occasionely have been found in the south, but it is clearly not depicted in the Nile Mosaic (see Haltenorth, Diller 270, pl. 55,2; George, Yapp 92 f.).The Aethiopian guenons occur in two varieties, the red monkey and the green or callitrix monkey (see Haltenorth, Diller pl. 52,1 and pl. 53,2; Keller I, 6 ff.). The baboons are divided into the proper baboon and the Hamadryas baboon (Hallenorth, Diller pl. 50 and pl. 49, 5–6). In the Nile Mosaic six monkeys are depicted but only in three cases names have been added: *sphingia* in this section, *kepion* in section 6 (see n. 49) and *satyrus* in section 7 (see n. 62). For the possibility of a *cynocephalus* in section 6 see n. 55. In general the *sphinx* and the *satyrus* may be identified as guenons and the *cephus* and *cynocephalus* as baboons. Agatharchides states that *sphinges, cynocephali* and *cephi* lived in the Trogodyte country and in Aethiopia and were imported to Alexandria (Woelk frs. 73, 75, pp. 180, 279, n. 290; Diod. III 35, 4–6; Strabo XVI 4, 16). Apparently he refers respectively to guenons, Hamadryas baboons and baboons. For that reason, and because of the

Egyptian character of the name sphinx, the identification with the Indian rhesus macaque suggested by George, Yapp, 91 f. is improbable. The monkey here represented with its yellowish skin, white belly and conspicuous white whiskers must be a red monkey (cf. Haltenorth, Diller pl. 52,1; McDermott 284; Keller I, 6; Steinmayer 63, fig. 18). The identification with the Diana guenon by Keller I, 10 (followed by Woelk fr. 73, p. 178 f.) is improbable because that variety of guenon lives in West Africa (see Haltenorth, Diller p. 264). Guenons and baboons had long been sent as tribute to Egypt by the Nubians, together with other Aethiopian animals like giraffes and leopards, etc., see *LÄ* VI, 762 s.v. Tribut; Drenkhahn 115 ff.; e.g. the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, see Davies pls. XVIII, XIX, XX. In the Nile Mosaic are represented a red monkey with the name *sphinx* (see this note and n. 20), a green monkey without a name which should be named *satyrus* (see nn. 24 and 62), a common baboon with the name *cephus* (see n. 49), and an Anubis baboon with the incorrect name *satyrus* (see n. 62). For the possibility of a *cynocephalus* see n. 55.

[20] McDermott 284, thinks it is a guenon. It has the same shape of snout as the *sphingia,* but no whiskers, and is browner in colour. Since it is not a green monkey (the other kind of guenon which lives in Nubia and which is probably represented below in this section, see below n. 24, Haltenorth, Diller 252 ff., pl. 53,2), it would seem to be another red monkey, the colour of which may vary from yellow to dark brown (see n. 19, Haltenorth, Diller, 252). Furthermore it may be a female, which does not have whiskers.

[21] The rounded dark reddish and greenish granite rocks in sections 2, 6, and 9, are characteristic of the area of the first cataract, where they close in on the river (see Butzer, Hansen, *o.c.* in n. 4, p. 17, 196 ff., 218 f., figs. 5.5, 5.6; Jaritz, pls. 1–3; Steinmayer 87; *LÄ* II, 892, s.v. Granit). For that reason Pliny calls granite Syenites, stone of Assuan (e.g. *NH* XXXVI 13, 63).

[22] The inscription is reconstructed ΞΙΦΟϹ in *IG* XIV, 1302 e. Phillips 67, suggests that *xiphos* was a 17th century scholarly addition intended as a pun on the long sharp snout, analogous to Aristotle's reference to the swordfish and to the sword-like bone of the cuttle fish (*HA* II, 13 (505a 18) and *HA* IV, 1 (524b 25)). On the Dal Pozzo copy there is indeed no trace of an inscription. But one wonders why the restorer should have added an inscription – moreover, one that was incomprehensible – here and not elsewhere, as e.g. in the case of the onager in section 6 (see n. 53). Perhaps there were traces of an inscription which were overlooked by the copyist, just as he overlooked details elsewhere, e.g. the highlights on the columns in section 16 (see n. 187) and the *simpulum* in section 13 (see n. 159), but which were reconstructed in this incomprehensible form by the restorer. In that case one might consider the alternative restoration *sarkophagos,* with ΞΙΟΙΓ being the remaining part of ΚΟΦΑΓ. Agatharchides mentions a *sarkophagos tauros,* a carnivorous buffalo, among the animals of Aethiopia (Woelk fr. 76, p. 180 ff.; Diod. III 35, 7–9). See further n. 23.

[23] The animal is usually described as a hippopotamus with a mouth resembling that of a crocodile (Schmidt 73; Gullini 1956, 43; Aurigemma 79; Whitehouse 89, n. 9). Pieralisi 26, thought the animal was a boar and Steinmayer 65 f., fig. 22, identifies it as a wart-hog. However, two fine wart-hogs appear in section 10 and these are clearly different (see n. 66, fig. 17). Other Nilotic scenes occasionally contain hippopotami which strongly resemble the animal in the Nile Mosaic, see e.g. the unpublished Nilotic frieze in the Insula Occidentalis in Pompeii, fig. 31. The first time that live hippopotami appeared in Rome was in the games of Scaurus in 59 B.C. (Pliny *NH* VIII 40,

96; Toynbee 128 ff.). In the case of fig. 31 one could attribute the peculiar appearance of the animal to the artist's unfamiliarity with the animal. In the case of the Nile Mosaic, however, the animal's snout is very different from these of the hippopotami in the lower part, which are depicted correctly (see fig. 19, and cf. Haltenorth, Diller pl. 2,4). So it seems that the difference is intentional. The animal under discussion has the heavy build of a hippopotamus or a rhinoceros. Phillips 160 ff. identifies it with the *sarcophagus tauros*, the carnivorous buffalo, which Agatharchides describes among the animals of Aethiopia (Woelk fr. 76, p. 180 ff.; Diod. III 35, 7–9). This identification may perhaps be confirmed by the inscription, see n. 22. Pfister 64, actually identified Agatharchides' carnivorous buffalo as a hippopotamus but the latter was well known in Egypt and is not carnivorous. Pausanias V 12, 1; IX 21, 2, calls the rhinoceros an Aethiopian buffalo and indeed these animals are not unlike in build. Both the dreadful mouth of the hippopotamus and the savage character of the rhinoceros may have suggested the adjective carnivorous. However, Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 71) mentions the rhinoceros shortly before the carnivorous buffalo. Furthermore he clearly describes an extremely swift animal and, although its mobile horns are a fantastic feature, can only be speaking about the African buffalo. The adjective carnivorous therefore must be understood in a wider sense, meaning extremely savage; cf. the buffalo fighting with a snake which is represented in the Marissa frieze (Ch. IV, n. 9, fig. 59). The mysterious *eale*, the yale, described by Pliny *NH* VIII 30, 73, as having the build of a hippopotamus, a tawny or black colour, jaws of a boar and the same mobile horns, is also inspired by a buffalo, i.e. the Indian waterbuffalo, which had been imported in Africa at an early date (see George, Yapp, 111f.; Haltenorth, Diller 96, pl. 63,3). Perhaps the artist was confused about the nature of the carnivorous buffalo. Believing that a very heavy build like that of a hippopotamus was one of its characteristic features, he depicted it like a hippopotamus with a fearfull snout to illustrate its name.

There may have been yet another reason for representing a hippopotamus in this way. Egyptian religion knew a creature that combined the backpart of a hippopotamus with the forepart of a lion and the head of a crocodile, i.e. the Eater of the Dead, which devoured the unlucky souls that failed the judgement of the dead. Though there were variations in its appearance the combination of the body of the hippopotamus with the beak of a crocodile is characteristic (*LÄ* II, 328 s.v. Fresserin; C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Altem Ägypten* (1976) 171 ff., e.g. fig. 78, pl. 29). Perhaps popular belief held that this monster lived in the mysterious Nubian desert and the artist connected the Eater of the Dead with the carnivorous buffalo. Be that as it may, the fantastic kind of hippopotamus depicted in the Nile Mosaic represents perhaps the carnivorous bull. For the hippopotamus in general see below n. 114. For the African buffalo see further Ch. IV, n. 9.

[24] It has a long tail, sharp snout and short whiskers, so it must be another guenon (cf. above n. 19; McDermott 284; and Keller I, figs. 1, 2). Since it has a greyish-greenish colour which clearly distinguish it from the other guenons it seems to be a green monkey (Haltenorth, Diller 268 f., pl. 53,2; Keller I, 7). Green monkeys appear among the items of tributes brought by the Nubians, see Drenkhahn 115, e.g. the tomb of Rekhmire, Davies pls. XVII, XX; *L'image du noir*, pl. 14 (col.). The animal may perhaps be identified with the ancient satyr monkey, see below section 7, n. 62.

[25] For crabs see Keller II, 485 ff., *LÄ* III, 765, s.v. Krebs. Phillips 167, notices that they are especially common in the Red Sea (cf. Aelian *NA*

XVII,1) and they are also represented in the Punt relief at Deir el- Bahari. However, river crabs also existed and the presence nearby (in section 4) of otters – which are fresh-water animals – suggests that our crabs are riverine (cf. nn. 27 and 28). It is, however, equally possible that the artist was not too accurate about the habitat of the creatures he depicted.

[26] For this section see Whitehouse 13 f., no. 4, figs. 4a–b; Windsor drawing no. 19204; Gullini 1956, pl. XXII; Aurigemma 82, no. 16, fig. 20; Romanelli, col. pl. XXXII.

[27] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 h. They are clearly otters (see Phillips 192 f.; Steinmayer 66, fig. 27), although the name may also be applied to other water-animals, such as the Nile monitor in section 11 (see below n. 70; George, Yapp, 100 f.) and the mongoose in section 21 (see Loyd I, 314, and below n. 74). For otters in the Nile see *LÄ* II, 244, s.v. Fischotter; Lloyd *l.c.* The common otter is not now native to Egypt but may have been so in antiquity. On the other hand the Aethiopian spotted-necked otter did occur in Egypt in antiquity, and the two kinds may not have been distinguished (cf. Boessneck 51, pl. 72; Haltenorth-Diller, pl. 31, 8 and 7).

[28] Tortoises and turtles were common in the Nile as well as in the Red Sea, cf. *LÄ* V, 627 f., s.v. Schildkröte; Boessneck, figs. 184, 185. Phillips 176 f. connects them to the large turtles described as living in the Red Sea by Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 47) and by Nymphis, as preserved in Aelian *NA* XVII 3 (for Nymphis see n. 12). In the case of the Nile Mosaic, however, the proximity of the otters (see n. 27), fresh-water animals, perhaps suggests that they are actually tortoises, cf. n. 25.

[29] For this section see Whitehouse 13, no. 3, figs. 3a–b.; Windsor drawing no. 19203; Gullini 1956, pl. XXV; Aurigemma 77, no. 13, p. 86, no. 20, fig. 48; col. pl. in *L'image du noir*, fig. 234. For the original position see Ch. I, n. 30 and Ch. III, n. 17. The upper part of this section was heavily damaged. There may have been some herons standing on top of the rock (see n. 32). A green shrub of which a small part is authentic grew to the right of the fleeing heron. On the right-hand side of the rock there may originally have been an elephant (see n. 36).

[30] The *exomis* was the dress of simple people, peasants and fishermen, since it left the right arm free for work, see nn. 16, 17; Bieber 1967, 32, 36, pl. 37; *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 205 f.

[31] It could be a greyhound, see Epstein 66 f. For Egyptian and Nubian hounds, see Keller I, 100 f., 90 figs. 32, 33, p. 155, fig. 53; Epstein 80; 181 ff.; *LÄ* III, 77 ff. s.v. Hunde; Drenkhahn 118 f.; and e.g. Davies pl. XX. See also below nn. 75, 167, figs. 15, 22, and Ch. IV, n. 7, fig. 57.

[32] In the Dal Pozzo copy of this section the legs of two herons are visible on top of the rock, see Whitehouse 13, fig. 3a.

[33] The peacock was originally an exotic bird from India. It was known to the Greeks of the classical period and was introduced to Italy in the 2nd century B.C.; see Keller II, 148 ff.; *RE* XIX, 2, 1414 ff. s.v. Pfau; Toynbee 250. Peacocks were carried together with Aethiopian birds in the Procession of Ptolemy II (see Athenaeus V 201b; Rice 94) and were represented with lions and cheetahs in the form of statues in the Dionysiac procession of the Serapeum at Memphis (Lauer, Picard 194 ff.; for its early Ptolemaic date, cf. Fraser II, 404, n. 512). The presence of a peacock in an Aethiopian animal scene may in the first place be explained by the fact that these birds and animals appeared together in the Procession which represented Dionysus' Indian triumph and in which many other Aethiopian animals appeared. In general Indian and Aethiopian animals were interchangeable because it was widely believed that India and Aethiopia were ultimately geographi-

cally united (cf. Woelk 158, Rice 98 f.; Arrian VIII 6,5 ff., Strabo XV I, 25). The confusion between India and Aethiopia may have been increased by the fact that after the Syrian War the trade route between Ptolemaic Egypt and India went through the Red Sea and so Indian products were imported through Aethiopian ports (see I. Hofmann, *Wege und Möglichkeiten eines indischen Einflusses auf die meroitischen Kultur* (1975) 56 ff., 129 ff.; Desanges 302 ff.; Scholz 8; Sidebotham 2, 7 ff.).

[34] For heron varieties such as the grey and purple heron see n.11.

[35] This part is not original but it appears exactly in the same form in the Dal Pozzo copy (see Whitehouse 13, n. 11). The hind-leg is perhaps a reconstruction by the copyist who was not sure, as with the elephant on the right-hand side of the copy (see n. 36), if what he saw was rocks or an animal. If the legs were part of the original mosaic this would be the only example of an animal, not being represented in full, leaving aside the animals which are partly in the water. A possible explanation would be that the hind-leg belonged to an elephant fleeing behind a rock; this animal together with other elephants may have formed part of a hunting scene (cf. nn. 17, 36).

[36] See Whitehouse 13, fig. 3a. For the elephant in section 6 see n. 51. For elephant hunting in general see nn. 17, 51, and Ch. IV, pp. 49 ff.

[37] Cf. nn. 29, 35, 36; Whitehouse 13. It is interesting to note that the granite rocks of Assuan and Elephantine, which have been rounded by the waters of the Nile, are actually compared to elephants in the local popular tradition (see n. 21; cf. Jaritz, pls. 1–3). The name Elephantine is the Greek translation of the Egyptian name for Elephant Island and in an early period was also written with the hieroglyph of an elephant. In reality elephants will hardly ever have reached Egypt along the difficult Nile route (see n. 51 and Ch. IV, n. 44) and the name may refer either to the import of ivory or to the peculiar shapes of the granite rocks (see Burton 87; *LÄ* I, 1217 ff., s.v. Elephantine).

[38] For the inscription see *IG* XIV 1302 b. For the name *krokottas* see App. 2, n. 11. It is described as an Aethiopian animal by various authors, including Dalion who explored Aethiopia in the time of Ptolemy II, and by Agatharchides. Since they describe a strong aggressive animal, they seem to refer to the spotted hyena, which is represented in section 1 with the inscription *thoantes*. *Krokottas* seems to have been the Aethiopian name for the animal. However, a specimen of the striped hyena is depicted, albeit with horizontal rather than the correct vertical stripes (see Haltenorth, Diller pl. 38,3). In contrast to the spotted hyena the smaller and more cowardly striped hyena was common in North Africa and was generally known in antiquity (see Keller I, 152 ff., *LÄ* III, 91 ff., s.v. Hyäne). Representations of it from the Ptolemaic period may be found in the Marissa frieze (fig. 64, see below Ch. IV, n. 23) and in a mosaic from Shatby (Daszewski pl. 10b). Hyenas appeared in the games in Rome but there are no surviving representations from Italy other than those in the Nile Mosaic (Keller I, 152; Toynbee 16, 18). On the rare occasions that *crocottae* are mentioned in the games in Rome the reference is probably to spotted hyenas (see above n. 14; Jennison 84 f.; Toynbee 92).

[39] See appendix 3. The *nabous*.

[40] For this section see Whitehouse 14, no. 5, figs. 5a–5b, Windsor drawing no. 19205; Gullini 1956, pls. XXI, XXIV; Aurigemma 82, no. 17, fig. 44; Romanelli, pl. 31.

[41] Since the background in the top left-hand corner of the Dal Pozzo copy seems to be sky, and not water as in the present mosaic, it would appear that the piece properly belongs in the sky-line register of the mosaic (see

Whitehouse 14). There may also have been a tree standing against the sky since the giraffe on the left is craning up to eat some foliage indicated by shattered green tesserae, cf. Whitehouse, fig. 5a. In the Dal Pozzo copy of this section, above the head of the giraffe on the right, there is foliage which looks similar to that of the large persea tree in section 6 (see n. 48). The original position of the section may therefore have been roughly as it is now. Nevertheless the reconstruction is not entirely successful because it makes the right-hand giraffe appear to be feeding on the foliage of the persea tree, which actually stands at a much lower level. In the Dal Pozzo copy the right-hand giraffe is more logically feeding on a shrub which has quite different foliage from that of the persea tree (see Whitehouse, fig. 5a).

[42] For the inscription see IG XIV, 1302 l. For the giraffe in general see Haltenorth, Diller 30 f., pl. 3, 2–4; Keller I, 284 f.; Phillips 133 ff.; *LÄ* II, 600 f., s.v. Giraffe; Rice 97; Scholz 89. For the supposed relation to and the confusion with the dromedary, see App. 3. The giraffe had already withdrawn to the southern Sudan in the prehistoric period (cf. Trigger, pl. I, and fig. 40). It is depicted in the Punt relief at Deir el-Bahari (our fig. 32; Smith, pl. opp. p. 60; Herzog pl. 2) and in an exceptional case it appears in an Egyptian desert hunting scene (A.M. Blackmann, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* II (1915), pls. VIII, XXXII). The Nubians brought it as tribute to Egypt together with other Aethiopian animals (see Drenkhahn 120 ff.; *LÄ* VI, 763 s.v. Tribut) as represented, for example, in the tombs of Rekhmire and Huy at Thebes (Davies pl. XX; *L'image du noir,* pl. 14). To the Greeks the giraffe, which they named spotted camel, became known only in the Hellenistic period. The first time it is mentioned is in the description of the Procession of Ptolemy II (Athenaeus V 201c; Rice 97; see for the Procession n. 43). A relief on the great pylon at Philae shows Ptolemy VI and his wife Cleopatra bringing offerings from Nubia to Isis which include precious stones and exotic animals such as a panther and a giraffe, see above n. 4; Junker 1958, 269. It is described as an Aethiopian animal by Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 72, p. 177 f.; Diod. II 51; Strabo XVI 4, 16). See further below n. 44, 45.

[43] For the grand Dionysiac Procession of Ptolemy II, which took place presumably between 279 and 270, and of which a description by Kallixeinos of Rhodes has been preserved in Athenaeus V 196a–203b., see extensively Rice (for the date *ibid.* 184 ff.). See also below Ch. IV, n. 46.

[44] For Marissa and the Marissa frieze see extensively Ch. IV, pp. 44 ff., figs. 56–65. The area of Marissa was under Ptolemaic control till the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. The tomb in question is a princely tomb dating from the end of the 3rd century B.C. The representation of the giraffe in the Marissa frieze is far from natural. It can be recognized only by its long neck, spotted skin and the presence of the inscription (see Ch. IV, n. 10, fig. 59). The artist apparently had never seen a real specimen. The picture of the giraffes in the Nile Mosaic, the earliest one which exists on European soil, is much more true to life. Although the spots of the skin are not rendered accurately it seems that specimens of Rothschild's giraffe are depicted (cf. Haltenorth, Diller pl. 3,4). The picture also shows two poses characteristic of the feeding of the animal, i.e. from a tree and from a low shrub. This betrays an accurate observation of the live animal.

[45] In the Roman world the giraffe remained a rarety (see besides n. 42, Toynbee 141 f.). The first time it appeared in the circus in Rome was in the games of Caesar in 46 B.C. (Pliny *NH* VIII 27, 69). There are a couple of surviving pictures of giraffes from Rome: a wall-painting in the Columbarium of the Villa Pamphili (late 1st century B.C.; see Keller I, fig. 96; Bendinelli, tav. agg. 4b) and a wall-painting from beneath Sta Prisca (first

half 1st cent. A.D., see M.J. Vermaseren, Il domatore magico, *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* (de Madrid) XVIII, no. 118 (1979) 9ff., figs. 1–2). Together with other African animals and dromedaries, giraffes sometimes appear in the triumph of Dionysus (see Matz, pls. 116, 118; Donderer (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 41) 709, fig. 3). For some fine specimens in a late antique mosaic at Gaza, see Mielsch 1986, 759 f., fig. 14.

[46] Its back is brownish and its belly yellow. It is not certain whether it had a tail or not. On Gullini's pl. XXI, where this part is indicated as original, there is no tail. Aurigemma, fig. 44, shows a restored patch just at the place where the tail should be, and probably the beginning of a tail. The Dal Pozzo copy shows a long tail, see Whitehouse, fig. 5. So, although nothing remains, there may originally have been some kind of tail. The unusual position of the animal, shown upside down, is striking. Although at first sight it might seem to be hanging from a branch (cf. Phillips 175) the branch in reality is a ground line for the giraffes (cf. Whitehouse, fig. 5a). The only African animal which can hang in this way from a branch is the pangoline, which lives in Central Africa and has a very large tail (see Haltenorth, Diller pl. 25, 1–2). The position may perhaps indicate that the animal is taking a sand bath. But there is in fact no animal of this appearance which is of a comparable size in relation to the giraffes. As elsewhere in the mosaic, the relative size of the various animals is unrealistic and the real animal must have been smaller. The animal has been compared *inter alia* to a mole and to an ant-eater, neither of which lives in Africa, and to a baby giraffe and a porcupine, neither of which is even remotely similar in appearance (see Schmidt 74; Whitehouse, 90 n. 16; Phillips 175; and for the porcupine see below Ch. IV, n. 21, fig. 63). Recently it has been suggested to identify it as a chameleon (see K.M. Coleman, The upside-down animal at Palestrina, *AA* 1994, 255 f.). It may more appropriately be compared to a brown animal resembling a large mouse which appears in a wall-painting with African animals from the Iseum at Pompeii and which possibly represents a shrew (Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 8533; Elia 22; *Alla ricerca di Iside* 58 ff., no. 1,73, with figure; Helbig 5, calling it a mouse-like animal; Keller I, 24, calling it a mole, which is not found in Africa though; Schmidt 74). The shrew-mouse, which has a sharp snout and long tail, and exists in many varieties, is indeed a typical Egyptian animal and appears in Egyptian desert scenes (see *LÄ* V, 1160, s.v. Spitzmaus; Keller I, 14 ff. and 200; Herodotus IV 192; Boessneck, figs. 43, 44; cf. Haltenorth, Diller pl. 59,3: the elephant shrew; B. Rosen, Reidentified Animals in the 'Orpheus Mosaic' from Jerusalem, *IEJ* 34 (1984) 182 f., pl. 22 D). Another possibility would be a hedgehog. This animal, which again has a rounded back, a sharp snout and slender legs but lacks a long tail, appears frequently in Egyptian desert scenes (see Keller I, 20, fig. 7; 155, fig. 53; *LÄ* III, 124 s.v. Igel; Boessneck figs. 44, 45; Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 59, 10). There is also a third possibility: Agatharchides and his followers mention among the Aethiopian animals the *myrmecoleon*, or ant-lion, (Woelk fr. 69, p. 172; Photius VII, 174, fr. 69). The identification of this animal is uncertain but, as we shall see below, it is probably the dassie (see App. 6). The dassie looks like a small bear, has a yellowish-brown colour, and lives in holes in rocky hills in the East-Egyptian and Nubian deserts and in Abyssinia. In antiquity it was sometimes confused with the hedgehog (cf. Keller I, 19). It is not unlike the animal on the Nile Mosaic (Haltenorth, Diller 109 f., pl. 60,1–2; Keller I, 209, fig. 66). Moreover, it has two protruding incisors, a feature which may possibly be indicated in the Dal Pozzo copy (Whitehouse, fig. 5a). Its legs when stretched are longer than they seem when it is sitting

and it has a short tail. That it is lying on its back may be because it is taking a sand bath, a common practice with these animals. But any final decision on the identity of our creature is impossible. All three of the considered animals (shrew, hedgehog and dassie) live in the Sudan and are attested in ancient sources. If we assume that the tail in the Dal Pozzo copy is authentic and not a thoughtless restoration by the copyist, the identification with the shrew is perhaps the most probable. If it had no tail, or a short tail, it could be one of the other two animals.

[47] For this section see Whitehouse 14 f., no. 6, figs. 6a–b; Windsor drawing no. 19206; Gullini 1956, pls. XXIV and XVIII; Aurigemma 86, 89 no. 20, fig. 48 and 84, 86, no. 18, fig. 46.

[48] Schmidt 28, called it a persea and this tree fits the main requirements: it is a large tree and carries bunches of yellow fruit. The light and dark spots on the fruits must be highlights like those of the dates in section 13, because the fruits of the persea are evenly coloured (cf. n. 10). The persea was originally an Aethiopian tree but it was cultivated in Pharaonic Egypt for its fruits. It became rare again in the Ptolemaic period and now grows only in Abyssinia. Although it is often mentioned in ancient sources no representations of it are known to exist, usually only the fruits were depicted. A similar tree to that in the Nile Mosaic, again with a lion standing beneath it, is depicted in the Marissa frieze and perhaps also represents a persea (see Ch. IV, n. 18, fig. 62). For the persea see in general *LÄ* IV, 942 s.v. Persea; *RE* XIX, 1, 940 ff.; Germer 148 f.; Bonneau 49, n. 5.; Diodorus I 34, 7; Strabo XVI 4, 14; Theophrastus IV 2, 5; Baum 87 ff.; I. Friis, F, Hepper, P. Gasson, The botanical identity of the Mimosups in Ancient Egyptian tombs, *JEA* 72 (1986) 201 ff., cf. e.g E. Chiovenda, *Flora Somala* (1929) pls. XL, 1, 2; XLIV, 1, 2.

[49] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 b. For the mis-spelling cf. n. 54. For the monkey and its name see Phillips 142 ff.; Steinmayer 62. *Kepos* is the form used for *kebos* or *kephos* by Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 73, 75) and Aelian *NA* XVII 8. The name has always been connected to the *cephus* monkey which, together with *sphinges* and *cynokephali*, was brought from Aethiopia (see n. 19). For the *cephus* see *RE* I, 706 ff.; Keller I, 9; Phillips *l.c.* However, it has been doubted whether the animal depicted in the Nile Mosaic represents a monkey at all. McDermott 284, thinks it is a feline animal, and according to Schmidt 73, it looks like a hyena with a mane. Nevertheless, its general appearance, its position on a branch, and the inscription, are reasons enough to identify it with the *cephus* monkey (Phillips *l.c.*; Steinmayer *l.c.*). The earliest description of the *cephus* is by Pythagoras (for whom see n. 6) who is followed by Aelian *NA* XVII, 8, and who describes a highly coloured monkey with a mane, as does Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 75). The *cephus* has been identified with a guenon (McDermott 68 f.: Nisnas guenon = red monkey, cf. n. 19) and with a baboon (Keller I, 6, 9; Woelk 180: Gelada baboon; Steinmayer 62: Anubis baboon or common baboon). Since the monkey represented in the Nile Mosaic clearly has a mane the second interpretation must be the correct one. But the conspicuous and ugly Hamadryas and Gelada baboons do not come into question (see respectively Keller I, 7; Woelk fr. 74, p. 179 f.; Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 49, 5–6 and pl. 49, 4). The monkey strongly resembles the common baboon which has a yellowish-brown colour and was common in Nubia (see Haltenorth, Diller 241, pl. 50, 2–3). In fact there are two kinds of common baboons which were probably not distinguished in antiquity (see Haltenorth, Diller *l.c.*). The diminutive form *kepion* could refer to the first kind, which is somewhat smaller with a larger mane and is very similar to the representation

in the Nile Mosaic (Haltenorth, Diller pl. 50,2). Another Aethiopian baboon, the Anubis baboon, is larger, has little mane and is darker in colour (cf. Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 50,4; see for it section 7, n. 62). The description of the *cephus* given by Pythagoras, Agatharchides, and their followers seems to combine the rich colouring of a guenon with the mane of a baboon. This conflation must be the source of the confusion in the interpretation of the animal. The description by Strabo XVII 1, 40, is more neutral and may well refer to a baboon. In the Nile Mosaic the name *cephus* is clearly attached to a baboon. Baboons were common in the southern Sudan (cf. the Punt relief at Deir el-Bahari, our fig. 32) and were brought as tribute to Egypt (see n. 19, e.g. Davies pl. XVII, XIX). *Cephi* from Aethiopia were exhibited together with a spotted hyena and a rhinoceros in the games of Pompey in 55 B.C. (see nn. 14, 65; Pliny *NH* VIII, 28, 70; Toynbee 55 ff.). These too must have been baboons and not the gentle guenons.

[50] It has a reddish colour, a long curved neck, a crest and a fine tail. No such bird exists in nature. The long curved neck is associated safely with wading birds, but these do not have the fine tail. The bird may be compared to an unusual bird with a long tail and a conspicuous crest which figures in a relief depicting the botanical garden of Thutmosis III at Karnak, and which has been identified as a great spotted cuckoo or as a go-away bird (see resp. Houlihan 107 f., fig. 155 and N. Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis* III (1990) 248 ff.). However, both kinds of birds have a short neck and are greyish in colour so they do not fit the bird in the Nile Mosaic. Perhaps the latter simply stands for exotic birds in general. But the only exotic bird in the Sudan area which comes to mind is the parrot which has a short neck, and is distinctly green in colour. Parrots were usually imported from India but the East African parrot was spotted by Nero's Aethiopian expedition near the island of Meroe (see Pliny *NH* VI, 35, 184; Toynbee 247 f.). The long curved neck and reddish colour of the bird in the Nile Mosaic would fit the purple heron though this has a long bill and lacks the fine tail (see above nn. 11, 34). The purple heron was the origin of the Egyptian *benu* bird, the mythical Phoenix (see *LÄ* IV, 1030 ff., s.v. Phönix; Van den Broek 14 ff., 238 ff.). The *benu* was a symbol of revival and was associated with the Nile flood, which originates in Aethiopia, see Ch. IV, nn. 53, 82, 83 and our fig. 80, where the *benu*, represented as a stylised purple heron, sits in the sacred tree beside the tomb of Osiris (see Ch. IV, n. 112). In the classical world the Phoenix was depicted in various fantastic forms (see Van den Broek *ll.cc.*, e.g. the Phoenix in the allegorical picture of Africa in the great hunt mosaic at Piazza Armerina, Dorigo, col. pl. VIII, cf. below Ch. IV, n. 148). It is possible then that the fantasy bird in the persea tree in the Nile Mosaic was in some way suggestive of the Aethiopian Phoenix, see also App. 7.

[51] See Whitehouse 14, no. 6, fig. 6a. An elephant would conveniently fill the space between the bird in the persea tree and the bear in section 7, which is now occupied by a pool of water. It appears from Cesi's description that elephants originally appeared in the Nile Mosaic (see Ch. I, n. 3). For the possible presence of another elephant in section 3 see nn. 36, 37. For the elephant in general see *LÄ* I, 1214 ff., s.v. Elefant; Keller I, 72 ff.; Scullard, esp. 126 f., figs. 11, 12; Rice 91 ff.; Scholz 88f., figs. 109–110. Just like the rhinoceros and the giraffe the elephant had retreated from Egypt to the southern Sudan in the early historic period. Its existence remained vaguely known in Egypt chiefly because of the import of ivory through Elephantine (see n. 37; Burton 87; Scholz 105). But the sole example of an Egyptian picture with an elephant from the Pharaonic period seems to show a Syrian

elephant (*LÄ* I, 1215, n. 15; Davies pl. XXIII). The Aethiopian elephant was the savanna or bush elephant (see Haltenorth, Diller 112 ff., pl. 23,2). A somewhat smaller variety of this creature, which is now extinct, lived in north-west Africa in antiquity and was made famous by Hannibal (see Scullard 23 f., 60 f., 147 ff., 215, 250 ff; Toynbee 33 ff.). Knowledge of the existence of the Aethiopian elephant led to the elephant hunt expeditions along the Red Sea coast mounted by Ptolemy II from c. 270 B.C. onwards (Rice 91; Fraser 521 ff., 535 ff., see further below Ch. IV, pp. 49 ff.; nn. 44, 46, 47), expeditions which are described by Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 78; Diod. III 36, 3). A tame African elephant wearing a saddle cloth is depicted, together with a negro mahout, in the Marissa frieze (see Ch. IV, n. 15, fig. 61). For the legendary fight of the Aethiopian elephant with giant snakes, see above n. 12. For elephant hunting , see further below Ch. IV, pp. 49 ff., nn. 44, 46, 47. In Italy elephants were known from the times of Pyrrhus and Hannibal and they appeared in the games as early as 169 B.C. (Livy XLIV 18, 8; Scullard 250 ff.; Toynbee 17, 48).

[52] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 m. For the lion in general see *LÄ* III, 1080 f. s.v. Löwe; *RE* XIII, 968 ff,; Keller I, 24 ff.; Haltenorth Diller 104, pl. 39. The lion was common in North Africa. The hunting of lions was a royal privilege and became a popular motif in Egyptian art. In an exceptional case a lion is shown among items of tribute brought by the Nubians (Drenkhahn 117; H. Ricke, G. R. Hughes, E.F. Wente, *The Beit-el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (1967) pls. 7, 9; W. MacQuitty, *Island of Philae.Temple of the Nile* (1976) fig. on p. 22). In Nubia the lion became a divinity (see Scholz 97 ff.). Agatharchides mentions the lion as an Aethiopian animal (Woelk fr. 68, p. 172; Photius VII, 173, fr. 68; Strabo XVII 2, 3); and lions are also depicted in the Marissa frieze (see Ch. IV, nn. 8, 18, figs. 58, 62), in the Shatby mosaic (Daszewski pls. 10, 11) and in the wall-painting depicting Aethiopian animals in the Casa di Romolo e Remo at Pompeii (see n. 12, fig. 29). Lions appeared in the Procession of Ptolemy II (see Rice 112 f.) and statues of lions from a Dionysiac procession have been preserved at the Serapeum of Memphis (Lauer, Picard 227 ff.). Lions appeared as early as 186 B.C. in the games in Rome (Toynbee 17, 82 ff.; Livy XLIV 18, 8). An Aethiopian lion hunt is depicted in the Venice Oppian ms. (Kádár pl. 182). In regard to the lioness in the Nile Mosaic it must be noted that a number of details are inaccurate. She is shown with a mane, whereas she should hardly have one (see Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 38,2). Her position on a rock, repeated by other animals in the mosaic such as the rhinoceros, conflicts with her natural behaviour (see n. 7). Finally the way in which she suckles her young is incorrect because feline animals do this lying; it is deer, cows and the like that do it standing. However, this unnatural position is also found in other representations, such as a mosaic at Gaza (see *La mosaïque gréco-romaine II* (1975) pl. CLXXIX,3), and is paralleled in representations of the Roman she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus (see e.g. Crawford pl. I,8).

[53] This is one of the few cases in the upper half of the mosaic where a conspicuous animal has no inscription. Aurigemma 84 f., connects the lynx inscription with it, but this is an obvious error (cf. n. 56). The animal is usually identified as a wild ass (Phillips 152 f., Steinmayer 68), different varieties of which existed In Aethiopia (see Haltenorth, Diller 97 f., pl. 20, 1, 2). A wild Somali ass with the inscription *onagrios* is depicted in the Marissa frieze (see Ch. IV n. 24, fig. 64) and various wild asses figured in the Procession of Ptolemy II (Rice 88). The animal in the Nile Mosaic, however, has a fine white pelt, whereas the skin of wild asses is greyish or brownish. Moreover, the animal has a clear dark dorsal stripe. These

features clearly characterise it as an onager, a kind of wild ass which is more reminiscent of a wild horse (see Epstein 396 f., fig. 452). It was an Asiatic animal but, when tamed, may occasionally have been imported into Egypt (see Epstein, fig. 451; Keller I, 270, fig. 84, although in this case mules may also be depicted, see Boessneck 82, figs. 132, 137). Instead of a Nubian wild ass the artist depicted an Asian onager. This confusion persists even today because the name onager is derived from *onagrios* which the Greeks used for the African wild ass, while they called the onager *hemionus*. It is noteworthy that the same onager, clearly recognizable by its white skin, dark dorsal stripe and small ears, may also be found in other African animal scenes, such as those in the Casa di Romolo e Remo, the Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto and the Casa delle Quadrighe at Pompei (see resp. our fig. 29; Schefold 1962, pl. 151, 2; and Schefold pl. 151,1; Peters 1993, fig. 250; and Andreae 77, fig. 44. See also below Ch. VI, n. 20).

[54] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 o. This interpretation, the only one which makes sense, was already suggested by Winckelmann (*o.c.* in Ch. IV, n. 57; cf. Phillips 91 and 163 f., also for the following). Since the inscription is original, the mis-spelling can only be due to an illiterate workman copying lines mechanically, cf. the *kepion* inscription above (see n. 49). *Pechuaios,* meaning one cubit long (one foot and a half), is used elsewhere to decribe reptiles, cf. Strabo XVII 3, 11: lizards two cubits long; Herodotus IV 192: land crocodiles three cubits long (cf. below section 7, n. 63); and Pliny *NH* VIII 60, 141: lizards one cubit long, referring apparently to a lizard similar to the one in the Nile Mosaic. It may perhaps be identified as a rock lizard (Smith's plated rock lizard), cf. Steinmayer 66 f., fig. 29; Grzimek 273 and 268, fig. 8. For lizards in general see Keller II, 270 ff.; *RE* XI, 1957 ff.; *LÄ* I, 1204 f. s.v. Eidechse.

[55] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 t. It should probably be read *ephalos.* Attempts have been made to connect the word with the *sauros* inscription (see n. 54) without convincing results (see Phillips 91 f.). Phillips *l.c.* suggested that the inscription is a corruption of elephas, and should be connected with an elephant now missing, which was mentioned in early descriptions of the mosaic (see Ch. I, n. 3). However, the inscription already appears in the Dal Pozzo copy. Moreover, there would be little place here for an elephant and we have seen that elephants probably appeared elsewhere in the upper part of the mosaic (see n. 51). Aurigemma 84, n. 19, suggests that it is a mis-spelling of *elaphos* and, pointing at the presence of the boars nearby in section 9 and 10 reconstructs it as another boar, the *choirelaphos,* deer-boar or horned boar, which is mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes (E.O. Winstedt, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* (1909) 351; W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustes Topographie Chrétienne* III (1973) 330, 387 f.). The *choirelaphos* has been identified as the babirussa (see Keller I, 405 f.). The babirussa, however, lives in East India and it seems very doubtful that it was ever known to the classical world. Whitehouse too suggests that there may have been more letters at the beginning of the inscription, since it seems to run right up to the left-hand edge of the copy, and that it may perhaps have belonged to another animal (Whitehouse 90, n. 21, fig. 6 a). She proposes reconstructing the name as *kephalos* and specifically as *kynokephalos,* the Hamadryas baboon. That would indeed be the only Aethiopian monkey missing (cf. nn. 19, 46, 62) and a comparatively small animal like a monkey could fit in the available space. For the Hamadryas baboon see Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 49, 5–6; *LÄ* I, 83 f., s.v. Affe; Keller I, 7. It was one of the animals brought as a tribute from Nubia, see Drenkhahn 116; e.g. Davies pls. XVII, XIX. In a late antique mosaic from Rimini a *cynocephalus*

appears among the African animals, but there the artist has literally depicted a man with a dog's head (Mielsch 1986, 749, fig.1). However, I am inclined to prefer Aurigemma's reconstruction *choirelaphos.* In the original mosaic the inscription would have appeared immediately above the wart-hogs in section 10 (see Ch. I, n. 27, fig. 8). The identification of the *choirelaphus* with the babirussa is very doubtful. Jennison 36, n. 1, made the more probable suggestion that the name *choirelaphus* refers to the wart-hog, with its huge tusks (see Haltenorth, Diller pl. I, 3; Steinmayer, fig. 22). If he is right it is tempting to connect the name *choirelaphus* with the wart-hogs of section 10 (see n. 68). The similarity in name with and the presence of the *choiropithekos,* the river-hog, nearby in section 9, would support this interpretation (see n. 66). Agatharchides mentions as an Aethiopian animal a boar with horns, which cannot be a babirussa but can only be a wart-hog (Woelk, fr.79a, p. 185; Aelian *NA* V 27). The illustrator of Cosmas Indicopleustes actually depicted a wart-hog for the *choirelaphus* (Winstedt *o.c.*, pl. XIII; Wolska Conus *o.c.*, 387 f., figs. 4–5). Other *elaphos* names would be the *taurelaphos,* which is also mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes, and which may be the Indian zebu or the Cape eland, which looks not unlike the Indian zebu (see Haltenorth, Diller pl. 10, 6–8); the *hippelaphos* (Aristotle HA II 1, 498 b32) which may refer to some large antelope such as the roan antelope (see Haltenorth, Diller pl. 14,2); or the *onelaphos* which figured in the Procession of Ptolemy II and which may perhaps be identified with the oryx. An oryx is also represented in the Marissa frieze (see Ch. IV, n. 13, fig. 60). Finally it must not be forgotten that the inscription could perhaps simply read *elaphos,* horned deer or antelope (cf. Raïos-Chouliara 67). All these suggestions, however, imply the presence of another animal for which there is hardly room. The more likely solution therefore seems to be that the *ephalos* inscription referred to the wart-hogs which appeared immediately below it in section 10 (see n. 68).

[56] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 p. The unusual spelling *lynx* instead of *lygx* also appears in the Marissa frieze (see Ch. IV, n. 20). The animal, which is heavily restored, has been identified both with the lynx and with the lynx-monkey, another kind of monkey known in antiquity (see Phillips 150 f.; McDermott 72, 95 and 105). Keller I, 84, thought it looked more like a monkey but McDermott considered it to be a feline animal. Aurigemma 84 f. (following Pieralisi 30 f.) makes the situation even more confused by assigning the lynx inscription to the onager above it and connecting the lynx animal with the inscription ΑΓΕΛΑΡΧ on the right hand side, which perhaps stands for *agelarchos* – leader (see n. 57). Believing the animal to be a monkey he assumes it was the leader of the monkeys represented in the mosaic. It is obvious that the combination of the onager with the lynx inscription does not make sense. The Dal Pozzo copy offers little help towards identifying the animal. But a small part of the animal in the mosaic is original and this clearly shows a yellowish skin with dark spots, a feature alien to monkeys. The European lynx may have a spotted skin depending on the season, but the African lynx, the caracal, always has a plain brownish skin. Furthermore, the lynx is characterised by its pointed and tufted ears and is so represented in the Marissa frieze, along with the inscription lynx (see Haltenorth, Diller pl. 43, 1 and below Ch. IV n. 20, fig. 62. For the lynx see further Keller I, 81 ff.; *RE* XIII,2, 2474 ff. s.v. Lynx; *LA* III, 327 s.v. Karakal; L. Keimer, Le caracal dans l'égypte ancienne, *ASAE* 48 (1948) 373 ff.). The yellowish spotted skin may be due to the artist's knowledge of the European lynx but this animal seems to have been relatively unknown in Italy. In general there was much confusion in

antiquity between different feline animals, see Jennison 183 ff. It would seem that the animal represented in the Nile Mosaic was a feline which reminded the Greeks of a lynx. It could have been a kind of wild cat, a number of varieties of which exist in Egypt, with striped or spotted greyish skins and in some cases with slightly tufted ears (see Haltenorth, Diller 210 f., pl. 42,3; Keller I, figs. 21, 22, 27, 28a; *LÄ* III, 367 ff., s.v. Katze). The animal represented in the Nile Mosaic, however, clearly has a brownish-yellow skin with dark spots. Steinmayer 59, fig. 8, proposes therefore to identify it with the serval, an East African animal which has a spotted skin and pointed ears, which was not unknown in Egypt and which the Greeks may also have confused with the lynx (see Boessneck 52, n. 3; Haltenorth, Diller 208, pl. 41, 1–2). Four lynxes, presumably caracals, are mentioned in the Procession (Atheaeus V 201 c; Rice 97). As early as 169 B.C., sixtythree *africanae bestiae* were shown in the games in Rome, and these may have included wild cats, lynxes etc. (Toynbee 17; Livy XLIV 18, 8).

[57] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 u. In the Dal Pozzo copy the inscription runs right up to the edge of the paper, so it may have been longer (see Whitehouse, fig. 6a). Pieralisi 30 f. and Aurigemma 84 f. restore it as *agelarchos* and, connecting it with the supposed lynx monkey on the left, consider it to indicate the leader of the monkeys (see however n. 56). Phillips 82 f., 186 f., accepted their reconstruction but assumed that the inscription should belong to the figure of another hunter, now lost, at the left of section 11, in the position where we now see only water and rocks (see n. 71). He would then be the leader of the group of hunters represented in that section. In the Marissa frieze inscriptions are attached in a similar way to the hunters, indicating 'cavalry-commander' and 'trumpeter' (see Ch. IV, n. 6).

[58] For this section see Whitehouse 14, no. 7, figs. 7a–b; Windsor drawing no. 19207; Gullini 1956, pls. XX, XXVI; Aurigemma 86, no. 19, fig. 47, p. 89 ff., no. 28, fig. 50.

[59] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 i. The unusual spelling *arkos* for *arktos* is occasionally found (see C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection* (1931) no. 86, pp. 164 f., l. 5; Phillips 118 ff.; Rice 96; and *SEG* IX, no. 72,1, 97 ff., *ibid.* no. 13, e, 12 (Cyrenaica). In spite of Keller I, 180, bears are and were not indigenous to Africa, see *LÄ* I, 600, s.v. Bär. Representations of bears may, however, be found in Egypt. These depict Syrian bears which were brought to Egypt, see L. Keimer. Altägyptische, griechisch-römische und byzantinische Darstellungen des syrischen Bären, *AOF* 17 (1954–56) 336 ff.; *idem* in *BIE* 36 (1955) 455 n. 2; *LÄ* VI, 762 ff., s.v. Tribut; see e.g. Davies 29, n. 60, pl. XXIII. Syrian bears could easily have been imported into Egypt when southern Syria was under Ptolemaic rule, as it was till 198 B.C. A large white (Syrian) bear is mentioned in the Procession (Athenaeus V 201; Rice 96). Such bears could be domesticated (cf. Keller I, 178; Edgar *o.c.*, no. 86, pp. 146 f.; cf. Herodotus II 67; LLoyd II, 305), and any that had escaped could have been wandering through the countryside (cf. Raïos-Chouliara 60, where a bear is mentioned as an animal to be hunted). The bear in the Nile Mosaic is a common brown bear. The reason for its appearance among the Aethiopian animals could be simply that its association with the other outlandish animals, which appeared in the Procession and in the Alexandrian zoo, led to the same misconception which affected the peacock, the dromedary and the onager (see nn. 34, 39, 53). In Pompeian wall-paintings too the bear may be found together with African animals, though here the explanation may lie in their combined presence in the amphitheatre (see e.g. Schefold 1962, fig. 150; Andreae 77, fig. 44:

Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto and Casa della Caccia Antica); bears appeared in the games at Rome as early as 169 B.C. (Toynbee 17).

[60] See Appendix 4. The *tigris*.

[61] For pythons see above section 1, n. 12. Schmidt 28 correctly identifies the palm with the doum palm, which is the only palm whose trunks fork naturally into several branches and which grows more frequently in the south. See further *LÄ* IV, 658 f., s.v. Palme; Germer 234; Täckholm 763, no. 125,2. It is mentioned as an Egyptian tree and described by Theophrastus IV ii, 7. It is also represented in the Marissa frieze (see below Ch. IV, n. 7 , fig. 57).

[62] The inscription appears in this form in the Dal Pozzo copy, but has not been included in the restoration (see Whitehouse 15, fig. 7 b). Barthélemy 533 f., was the first to recognise it as a mis-spelling for *satyros*. The satyr monkey was one of the kinds of monkeys or apes which were distinguished in antiquity (see above n. 19); it is first mentioned by Pliny *NH* VIII 58, 216; see for it in general Keller I, 10; Phillips 162 f. Because of the semi-human character which the name suggests it is usually identified with the chimpanzee (Keller I, 10; McDermott 284; Steinmayer 63). The chimpanzee, however, lives in Central and West Africa and not in Aethiopia; moreover, since it is an ape it has no tail (cf. Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 57), whereas the animal represented in the Nile Mosaic has a long tail, is rather heavily built and has a brownish grey colour. This appearance could be suggestive of another kind of baboon which may have lived as far north as Aethiopia, i.e. the Anubis baboon, which may be olive green or brownish in colour (see Haltenorth, Diller 241, pl. 50,4). Still, there are strong arguments against identifying the satyr monkey with a baboon. Pliny, *ll.cc.* speaks about the family of sphinxes (*i.e.* a kind of guenon, see above n. 19) and satyrs, and stresses their gentleness in comparison with the *cynocephalus*. The satyr monkey, therefore, must have been very similar to the guenon. Since only guenons and baboons exist in Aethiopia it must actually have been a variety of the guenon (see above nn. 9, 19, 20, 24). Guenons were imported from Nubia to Egypt, where they were popular as household pets and were trained in all kinds of human activities, including dancing, making music and drinking wine (Drenkhahn 115; *LÄ* I, 83 ff., s.v. Affe, cf. Diod. III 35, 4). Trained guenons will have been distributed throughout the ancient world (cf. H.A.G. Brijder, Apish Performances in the 6th cent. B.C. in (J. Christianse, T. Melander, eds.) *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen 1987* (1988) 62 ff.), and it is this ability of the guenon to imitate human behaviour which will have given the satyr monkey its name (cf. Diod. I 18,4). It is not certain if Pliny's distinction between sphinxes and satyrs corresponds with the two Aethiopian guenon varieties, viz. the red and the green monkey, which are both represented in the Nile Mosaic, see nn. 19, 24. The red monkey shows a large variety of colour-tones, so any distinction in antiquity would have been rather arbitrary (see above n. 24). So it seems that the inscription which originally appeared in the Nile Mosaic has been displaced. It would fit better the green monkey in section 2 (see n. 24), which has a similar greenish colour (contrasting with the yellowish colour of the other monkeys); and there may thus have been a confusion between the green monkey and the greenish Anubis baboon.

[63] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 n. In spite of the somewhat fantastic appearance of the animal, due primarely to its strange head, the authenticity of which is confirmed by the Dal Pozzo copy, the inscription 'land-crocodile' clearly identifies it with the desert monitor (cf. Herodotus

IV 192, who refers to land-crocodiles three cubits long; *RE* XI, 1957, no. 6; Steinmayer 66, fig. 24; Grzimek 329; Boessneck fig. 194; and in general *LÄ* I, 1204 s.v. Eidechse. It must not be confused with the much smaller skink, as it was and sometimes still is (cf. Phillips 145; Keller II, 277 f.; Pliny *NH* VIII 38; XXVIII, 30 ; Grzimek 251 ff.).

[64] For this section see Whitehouse 16, no. 9, figs. 9a–b; Windsor drawing no. 19209; Gullini 1956, pl. XXI; Aurigemma 82, 17, fig. 44; Charbonneaux, fig. 184. For the connection with section 10 see Ch. I, n. 27. For the description of the lower part. see p. 26.

[65] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 r. See for the African rhinoceros in general L. Störk, *Die Nashörner* (1977), and idem in *LÄ* IV, 351 f., s.v. Nashorn; Keller I, 383 ff; *RE* XVI, 1785 ff.; L. Keimer, Note sur le rhinocéros de l'égypte ancienne, *ASAE* 48 (1948) 47 f; W, Gowers, The Classical Rhinoceros, *Antiquity* 24 (1950) 65 ff.; 25 (1951) 155; Phillips 157 ff., 208 ff.; Toynbee 125 ff. Two kinds of the rhinoceros exist in Africa, the white and the black rhinoceros (see Haltenorth, Diller, 103 ff., pl. 22, 2 and 3). The white rhinoceros is larger, it has one large horn and a small one, or just a stub, behind it, and a large bump behind its head. It eats grass and consequently holds its head low. Nowadays it is found only in Central Africa to the west of the Nile. The black rhinoceros has two horns which differ less in size, and lacks the bump behind its head. It feeds on leaves and branches of shrubs and trees and thus holds its head higher. It lives in East Africa. The rhinoceros in the Nile Mosaic seems to be a white rhinoceros as indicated by the low position of the head (Gowers 68). There is no evidence that these two kinds were distinguished in antiquity, nor were they distinguished from the Indian rhinoceros. Any author or artist who wanted to describe or depict a rhinoceros simply took a specimen which he happened to have in mind, regardless of its origin (cf. Gowers 66 ff., thus an Indian rhinoceros appears in the great hunt mosaic at Piazza Armerina, see Toynbee 127; Mielsch 1987, 462). In antiquity the rhinoceros lived in the southern Sudan and Abyssinia (cf. e.g. Scholz 88, fig. 104) and its existence was only vaguely known in Egypt (see *LÄ* IV, 351 f.). The rare representations of it are rather unrealistic, but mostly seem to show a white rhinoceros, indicated by the one conspicuous horn and the low position of the head (see Boessneck 52, fig. 74; Gowers, *o.c.*, 1950, 70 f.; the rhinoceros reproduced in R. Mond, O.H. Myers, *Temples of Armand* (1940) 26 pl. IX, is perhaps a badly depicted black rhinoceros, see Störk 286 ff.; Boessneck 53). The rhinoceros depicted in the Punt relief, our fig. 32, is perhaps also a black rhinoceros (Störk, *o.c.*, 1977, 221 ff.). The existence of the African rhinoceros became known to the Greeks only in the Ptolemaic period. An Aethiopian rhinoceros figured in the Procession (Athenaeus V 201 c; Rice 98). Agatharchides mentions the rhinoceros among the Aethiopian animals and seems to describe a specimen of the white rhinoceros (Woelk fr. 71; Diod. III 35,2). The rhinoceros in the Marissa frieze, the earliest classical attempt to depict the animal, also seems to represent a white rhinoceros, in spite of its fantastic appearance; the low position of its bulky head confirms the identification (see fig. 61; Ch. IV, n. 14). In the same frieze there is another animal which has one large horn on its nose and thus must also represent a rhinoceros. Its build is much lighter than that of the white rhinoceros and it holds its head higher, so it seems to be a rare if inaccurate attempt to depict a black rhinoceros (see fig. 63; Ch. IV, n. 22). For the rest most pictures of rhinoceroses from antiquity seem to represent the white rhinoceros. This is understandable because the white rhinoceros is more placid than the black one, so could be caught more easily and imported to Europe

(see Gowers 1950, 69 f.). It has been assumed that the modern distribution of the white and black rhinoceros, found respectively to the west and east of the Nile, in Central and East Africa, applied also in antiquity (Gowers 63 f., 66). This would imply that all white rhinoceroses brought to Europe in antiquity were caught to the west of the Nile and were transported to Egypt either along the difficult Nile route (as certainly seems to have happened occasionally, cf. the rhinoceroses at Armand and in the Procession, which presumably took place before the exploration of the Red Sea, see n. 43 and Ch. IV, n. 44) or along a long route through the eastern Sudan to the Red Sea coast, where they were shipped, which was the more common practice for Sudanese animals (cf. Störk 374 f.; our Ch. IV, n. 44). In both cases a long journey over land was involved. This problem would be solved if in antiquity the white rhinoceros still lived in East Africa as it had done in the prehistoric period (cf. Störk 66 f., 93 ff.). In the Marissa frieze we find a white and what seems to be a black rhinoceros beside each other, which examples may indeed suggest that they lived in the same area (see Ch. IV, nn. 14, 22). We should perhaps not put too much trust in the artist's accuracy in matters of distribution of the white rhinoceros, but it seems not impossible that in antiquity the white rhinoceros still lived in East Africa, otherwise their comparatively large number imported into Europe would be difficult to explain (cf. Störk 66 f., 373). In Italy the Aethiopian rhinoceros must have become known rather early because Lucilius already refers to it, comparing someone's nose to that of an Aethiopian rhinoceros (*Sat.* III 109 f.; IV 184; 2nd half 2nd century B.C.). The first time a live rhinoceros was shown in Rome was in the games of Pompey in 55 B.C. (Pliny *NH* VIII 29, 71). Although it has been assumed that it was an Indian one (Jennison 34; Toynbee 126 ff.) it seems more probable that it was Aethiopian because it was shown together with other Aethiopian animals, such as a spotted hyena and baboons (see Gowers 67, and above n. 49, App. 2, n. 16).

[66] See Appendix 5. The *choiropithekos.*

[67] For this section see Whitehouse 16 f., no. 10, figs. 10 a–b., Windsor drawing no.19210; Gullini 1956, pl. XVIII; Aurigemma 84, 86, no. 18, fig. 46. For the connection with sections 6 and 9 see Ch. I, n. 27. For the lower part see p. 27.

[68] Because of their large size and fearful tusks they are clearly wart-hogs, which live in the Sudan (see Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 1,3; Steinmayer fig. 22). Above (n. 55) we have suggested that the inscription *ephalos* may be reconstructed as *choirelaphos*, horned boar, and connected to the wart-hog and that it is identical with the horned boar which Agatharchides mentions among the Aethiopian animals (Woelk fr. 79, Aelian *NA* V 27). A large boar in a position similar to that of the right-hand wart-hog is represented in the Marissa frieze (see Ch. IV, n. 11, fig. 60). For a boar-hunt in Mitrahineh faience, see Parlasca 141, fig. 6; Lunsingh Scheurleer 102, n. 41; for the hunter see nn. 57 and 71.

[69] For this section see Whitehouse 17 f., no. 11, figs. 11 a–b, Windsor drawing no.19211; Gullini 1956, pl. XX; Aurigemma 86, no. 19, fig. 47. For the lower part see p. 27.

[70] For the inscription see *IG* XIV, 1302 q. This name is known only from the Nile Mosaic but it clearly fits the appearance of the Nile monitor, which has a spotted skin (cf. *RE* XI, 1957, no. 7; Phillips 144; Steinmayer 66, fig. 25; Grzimek 329 and 318 fig. 2; Boessneck fig. 194, and in general Keller II, 275 f.; RE *l.c.*; *LÄ* I, 1204 f., s.v. Eidechse.

[71] For the hunters, their dress and arms see above nn. 16, 30, 57.

[72] For this section see Gullini 1956, pl. XIV; Aurigemma 57, no. 3, fig. 10; Romanelli col. pl. 30; and below n. 73.

[73] It was not copied by the Dal Pozzo copyist, perhaps because it had remained at Palestrina or because it was only a very small isolated piece (cf. Ch. I, n. 10). Gullini 1956, pl. XIV, shows the fragment as joining directly with section 8, but Aurigemma fig. 10, indicates a narrow gap between them. There is indeed one row of modern tesserae between the two scenes but nevertheless the two parts seem to fit at this point. In Whitehouse's reconstruction there was no place for its present position. She therefore shifted it somewhat to the right (Whitehouse 74, fig. 20). However, this is not necessary in our reconstruction and I have preserved its actual position (see Ch. I, n. 34, fig. 8). The animals depicted in it are typical of Nilotic scenes (see nn. 74, 75). There are no inscriptions and the animals are smaller in size than the Aethiopian animals in the upper part. So the fragment indeed seems to have belonged to the lower part. However, because it contains only animals, we will describe it here.

[74] For the mongoose see Keller I, 158 f., *LÄ* III, 122 ff., s.v. Ichneumon; Boessneck 30, figs. 67–69; Haltenorth, Diller 185 ff., pl. 35,7. For the snake, which seems to be a cobra, i.e. the famous *uraeus* (and not a horned viper as is supposed by Schmidt 30) see Keller II, 295 ff.; *LÄ* V, 644 ff.; Grzimek 431 ff.; 430, fig. 2. The mongoose was a typical Egyptian animal and its habit of fighting snakes was a popular theme, see J. Aymard, La querelle du cobra et de la mangouste dans l'antiquité, *MEFRA* 71 (1959) 227 ff.; Phillips 171 ff., 203 ff.; figs. 25–28; J. Balty, Le cobra et la mangouste dans les mosaïques tardives de Proche-Orient, *JbÖByz* 25 (1976) 223 ff.; Kádár 105, 115, pl. VII; Lancha 256, figs. 1, 2, 9; Rosen (*o.c.* in n. 46) 182 f., pls. 22 D, 23 A; H.E. Hinton, A.M.S. Dunn, *Mongooses* (1967) pl. VI; Spatharakis (*o.c.* in Appendix 2, n. 19) 37 ff.; for an example from the Iseum of Pompeii, see De Vos 1980, 61, n. 139, pl. XXXIX, 2; *Alla ricerca di Iside* 55, no. 1, 65. Mielsch 1986, 752, points out that in early representations the mongoose is correctly represented with its tail held low (cf. the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno with a very fine cobra, Ch. II, n. 71; our fig. 28), whereas from the Augustan period onwards its tail is usually turned upwards and forwards, seemingly in order to protect its nose, a fairy tale which has been preserved in Pliny *NH* VIII 36, 88, and later authors like the Ps. Oppian (see Spatharakis *o.c.* 37). This posture is, however, found already in the mongooses which appear as a control-mark on Roman coins in 79 B.C. and 64 B.C. (see Crawford, pls. LXVII, 122, LXIX, 141; below Ch. V, n. 23). De Vos 1984, 133, suggests that the fight between a mongoose and a snake symbolised the victory of Horus over Apophis, of good over bad, according to an Egyptian story which is reported by Bolos of Mendes c. 200 B.C. (see E. Brunner-Traut, Altägyptische Mythen in Physiologus, *Antaios* 10 (1969) 184 ff.). Such a symbolic meaning may have existed but the motif was also a realistic aspect of life along the Nile and is very common in Nilotic scenes. One may ask, therefore, if and in how far a symbolic meaning was generally understood (compare the motif of the killing of hippopotami and crocodiles, which may refer to the victory of Horus over Seth, see Ch. IV, nn. 169, 170).

[75] A dog appears also in a Nilotic frieze at Naples which among other things depicts a similar mongoose and cobra group, and a crocodile (see Lancha, figs. 2, 8). The way the dog looks around in the Nile Mosaic seems to be a fine illustration of Aelian*VH* I, 3, who tells us that dogs drink from the Nile while running alongside it and regularly raising their head to look out for animals which might attack them (see Marucchi 1895, 33 ff.; 1910, 149; Aymard (*o.c.* in n. 74) n. 32; Lancha 271 f. For dogs in Egypt in

general see Epstein 181 ff.; *LÄ* III, 77 ff., s.v. Hunde; Haltenorth, Diller pl. 29,6.

[76] For this section see Whitehouse 15 f., no. 8, figs. 8a–b; Windsor drawing no. 19208; Gullini 1956, pl. XIV; Aurigemma 57, no. 3, fig. 10, p. 59, no. 4, fig. 11; Romanelli, pls. XXIX, XXX; Charbonneaux, fig. 182.

[77] The well is usually interpreted as a Nilometer. Only Witt 164, believes it to be a kind of baptismal font, while Bonneau 91, identifies it as a common well, referring to the Roman wells of Tuna el-Gebel (Hermoupolis; see for these *CdE* 31 (1956) 257 ff.). She suggests that the figures who rise from behind rocks above the Egyptian temple in section 11 are coming from a corridor-shaped Nilometer and announce the rising of the Nile (see fig. 18). However, these figures clearly belong to the group of negro hunters emerging from behind the rocks of Nubia (see above n. 71). The artist has taken care to show the interior of the well so that we should not misunderstand its character. He even depicted the water splashing against the well's wall which can only suggest the speed with which the water rises. Furthermore, considering the general emphasis on the inundation which the Nile Mosaic shows, it seems highly improbable that the well depicts just a common well and not a Nilometer. At Edfu the Nilometer is simply named 'well' (see *LÄ* IV, 497, n. 1). For Nilometers see in general *LÄ* IV, 496 ff., s.v. Nilmesser; Bonneau 1971 and 1976; Wild 25 ff. Their function is aptly summarised by Strabo XVII 1, 48, with reference to the Nilometer of Elephantine. During the summer drought the yearly flood of the Nile was eagerly awaited and the rising of the Nile was observed with the help of a scale on the wall of the Nilometer. When the flood had reached such a level that a succesful crop could reasonably be expected, a festive period began. Apparently, this situation is depicted in the Nile Mosaic (see further below Ch. IV, pp. 72 ff.). Since the Nile flood was essential for the existence of Egypt it was an important ritual event and Nilometers were connected with all major temples. Originally the scale was simply inscribed on a quay wall. Eventually the scale became a covered stairway leading from the temple platform to the Nile. Presumably in the Ptolemaic period a new type was introduced which consisted of a well with a spiral staircase in or around it like the Nilometers of the temples of Kom Ombo and Edfu (for the Nilometer of Kom Ombo see *LÄ* IV, 496 n. 12; L. Borchardt, Nilmesser und Nilstandsmarken, *APAW* (1906) Anh. 4 ff., 23; A. Badawi, *Kom Ombo, Sanctuaires* (n.d.) fig. 2; Bonneau 1976, 5, n. 28; our fig. 33); for the Nilometer of Edfu see *LÄ* IV, 496, n. 10; Borchardt *o.c.* 25 f., figs. 16 f.; *Edfou* IX, pl. 1; Bonneau 1976, 5, n. 29). Since the early Imperial period we find a type of Nilometer which consisted of a rectangular basin with stairs leading into it, as may be illustrated by the fine example of the Khnum temple at Elephantine, described by Strabo *l.c.* (see Jaritz 7, n. 4; figs. 1, 25; pls. 4 c, 44). Later in the Imperial period the scales could be moved from the wall to a column which was placed in the centre of the well or basin, like the famous Nilometer of Roda island at Cairo (see *LÄ* IV, 496, n. 14). All these types remained in use and existed side by side. Besides the well depicted in the Nile Mosaic representations of Nilometers have only been preserved from the Imperial period and all these show the last type, i.e. a well with a column rising from it, or simply the column. A well with a column rising from it may be found with e.g.: a statue of Neilus (Adriani 1972, 191, pl. LXII,3; Bonneau 1976, 5, n. 28); on a silver plate from Perm (Adriani 1972, 190, fig. 5, pl. LXII,1; Bonneau 1976, fig. 14); on a coptic tissue (Bonneau, pl. X b; Bonneau 1976, fig. 15). On a mosaic from Beth Shean, which represents a Nilometer at Alexandria, it is not clear whether the column stands

on a base, or rises from a well (Balty, pl. CXXXI,2). On a mosaic from Sepphoris which also represents a Nilometer at Alexandria, the column stands on a rectangular base which has an arched opening to the river Nile (see Netzer, Weiss, fig. opp. p. 37, cf. Ch. IV, n. 61). In the case of a mosaic from Leptis Magna the Nilometer stands on a masonry elevation, the meaning of which is not clear (see Bonneau, pl. VI; S. Aurigemma, *The mosaics, Monuments of decorative art I; Tripolitania I; Italy in Africa* (1960), pls. 83–86 (col.). A sole column appears on a mosaic from Tabgha (Bonneau 1976, fig. 13; Balty, pl. CXXXI,1) and on some gems amd coins (Bonneau 1976, figs. 10–12; Bowman, fig. 2). In these cases it seems as if the base is a simple representation of the well. The representations with Nilometer columns are symbolical in so far that in reality the Nilometer column was not visible from the outside, because it stood in the well (see Netzer, Weiss 38). The representation of the Nilometer in the Nile Mosaic simply as a well differs from other representations, but this is only natural, given the early date of the Nile Mosaic. Paralells may be found in the Nilometers of Edfu and Kom Ombo. The fact that no stairs are depicted may be explained by assuming that it circled around the well, as is the case at Edfu, and so was not visible. The possible location of the Nilometer shall be discussed in Ch. IV, pp. 51 ff.

[78] The pillar seems to be rectangular in cross-section. It has been called a Nilometer column by Steinmayer 85. However, Nilometer columns stood in the well and not beside it (see the examples given in n. 77). Steinmayer's suggestion is based on the assumption that the levels of each new flood were inscribed on the Nilometer column. This seems to be suggested in a scene on a silver plate from Perm and in the mosaic from Sepphoris, where in both cases putti are inscribing the height of the flood on a Nilometer column (see for these n. 77, and cf. A. Hermann, Der Nil und die Christen, *JAC* 2 (1959) 30 ff.). However, although the flood levels of certain years occasionally may have been inscribed on a Nilometer this was not done regularly (see Bonneau 1976, 8). The Nilometers served to measure the rise of the Nile and not to record it and the height of each flood will have been recorded in the temple archives (see *LÄ* IV, 507 ff, s.v. Nilstandsmarken; *LÄ* I, 279 s.v. Annalen; *LÄ* IV, 651 f., s.v. Palermostein). The scene on the plate from Perm and the Sepphoris mosaic are presumably symbolic representations of the Nile reaching the necessary height (cf. the example in Bowman, fig. 2). Furthermore, nearly all the representations of Nilometer columns which have been preserved seem to show a round column which is usually pointed at the top (see the examples given in n. 77). Only in the case of the Nilometer on the Leptis Magna mosaic (see n. 77) could one get the impression that it was rectangular in section because it shows a light strip on the right hand side. However, the light strip continues upto the point and it is no more than light shining on a round column. In some smaller representations the Nilometer column looks rather like an obelisk. This may be due to some confusion by the artists (cf. the gems mentioned in n. 77 and n. 80). Anyhow they are not rectangular in cross-section. The only function one can imagine for the rectangular pillar in the Nile Mosaic is that of a statue base. Examples of similar high pedestals for statues may be found near shrines, while the rectangular cross-section may be explained by the supposition that it supported a statue of an animal (see e.g. figs. 48, 50, 87, cf. nn. 120, 122, 123; Maiuri 1938, pl. IV; *Philae*, pl. 83).

[79] For the greater part the shrub has been restored, which resulted in an improbable shape. Schmidt 33, identified it with a tamarisk, which grows frequently near the river and has long clusters of white or pinkish flowers

which are visible in the small original part of the shrub (see *LÄ* VI, 193 f., s.v. Tamarisk; Täckholm 366, no. 68, 1; Germer 124 f.). See for the date palm *LÄ* IV, 658 f., s.v. Palme; Täckholm 763, no. 125,1; Germer 232 f.; Theophrastus IV 2,7; and cf. the fruitbearing specimen in section 13, below n. 143.

[80] See for obelisks *LÄ* IV, 542 ff., s.v. Obelisk. Originally belonging to the cult of the sun god they could in the course of time be combined with the temples of other gods, like e.g. the temple of Osiris at Abydos, and with tombs (see K. Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens, Untersuchung zur Ursprung und Geschichte der altägyptischen Obelisken bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (1977) esp. 175 ff.; B.H. Stricker, Osiris en de obelisk, *OudheidMeded* 34 (1953) 32 ff. In the Roman period they may often be found with sanctuaries of Egyptian gods in general and with Isis in particular (see *LÄ* IV, 543; e.g. H.W. Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent und Katalog der Skulpturen aus den ägyptischen Heiligtümern im Museo del Sannio zu Benevent* (1969) (*MÄS* 16) 10 f., pls. I–III; T. Zawadski, Un nouveau *praefectus castrorum* en Égypte et deux obelisques érigés par un centurion, *CdE* 44 (1969) 106 ff.). The connection with Isis goes back to the Ptolemaic period as may be seen from the pair of obelisks which was erected in front of the temple of Isis at Philae by Ptolemy VIII and his wife Cleopatra III, shortly before 116 B.C. (one of these has been preserved at Kingston Lacey in Great Britain, see P. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile* II (1972) 62 ff., 69). On the terrace in front of the temple of Khnum at Elephantine there were several pairs of obelisks dating from the early Roman period (see Jaritz 30 ff., fig. 17, pls. 21, 22, 27, 46, 47; *LÄ* I, 1222, s.v. Elephantine, nn. 30, 58). So the combination of a temple with obelisks and a Nilometer (be it of different types) may be found both with the Khnum temple of Elephantine and with the Isis temple of Philae and may also have existed with other temples (cf. the private donation of two obelisks at Assuan discussed by Zawadski *o.c.*). In both cases the god of the temple was also the god of the Nile flood and the obelisks may have served as a symbol of revival (see further Ch. IV, n. 63). The obelisks in the Nile Mosaic have pedestals which are of a late Ptolemaic and Roman type (cf. Iversen *o.c.* 65, and *idem* I (1968) 21). Steinmayer 86 f. suggests that the obelisks are the gnomons which Strabo XVII 148, mentions in Assuan. This, however, seems doubtful because the function of an obelisk as a gnomon is not attested before the time of Augustus, see E. Buchner, Solarium Augusti und Ara Pacis, *RM* 83 (1976) 319 ff., n. 3). The obelisks of the Khnum temple at Elephantine certainly did not have such a function. Egyptian obelisks had been brought to Rome since the time of Augustus, see Roullet 43 ff. In spite of their typical Egyptian character obelisks appear only rarely in Nilotic scenes (see e.g. the Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges at Pompeii, Maiuri 1938, pls. III,1; VI,1; our fig. 86, where it stands beside an Isis sanctuary (see below Ch. IV, n. 119); a painting from the Iseum at Pompeii, Elia pl. V; *Alla ricerca di Iside* , pl. V; and a mosaic in the Vatican, Nogara pl. V; De Vos 1980, 29. In the last case the obelisk rises from the water and may have been confused with a Nilometer column, cf. n. 78).

[81] Chitons and mantles were the usual woman's dress in the Hellenistic period, see in general Bieber 35 f.; Thompson 1973, 29 f. The chitons have a low hanging overfold and a girdle below the breasts. Compare for these chitons e.g. R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistische Plastik* (1931) pls. 32, 1–2; 33, 2; 34, 1–2; Lefebvre, pl. XX, 82. Horn mistakenly calls the dress in these examples a peplos. However, the peplos was no longer worn in the Hellenistic period. On the other hand the Ionic chiton had been worn like a peplos, with an overfold, since the early classical period. This mixed type, a kind of Doric or Attic chiton, later became quite

common. The difference between the peplos and the Doric chiton may be seen in the widely falling cloth and the many fine folds (see for this E. Abrahams, *Greek Dress* (1908) reprinted in (M. Johnson ed.) *Ancient Greek Dress* (1964) esp. 63 ff., 87 ff., e.g. figs. 25, 29). The narrow shoulder-straps, which also derive from the peplos (see Abrahams 62) could easily slip down and leave a shoulder bare (cf. Horn, pl. 30,2; below section 19, n. 131, fig. 21). For the girdle immediately below the breasts, which became fashionable in the Hellenistic period, see Abrahams 70; Bieber *l.c.*, pl. 39; below section 19, n. 131, fig. 21. The long mantle, the Doric *himation*, could be worn in various ways. It could be wrapped around the body and cover head and shoulders, as here (see Abrahams 52; Thompson 29; Horn, pls. 12,3; 13,1; 24, 2–3; Lefebvre, pl. XIX; Rostovtzeff 1941, pl. XXIII; Adriani 1972, pl. XXXV, 1; below section 16, n. 189). It could also hang from the left shoulder only and be wrapped around the hips, cf. section 19, n. 131, and section 13, n. 157. For the wreath, which is also worn in sections 13 and 16, as a token of festivity and of participation in a rite, see M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (1982) 48 ff., 302 ff.; Dunand 1973, I, 197 ff. For the raised hand, a sign of salutation and allocution, see G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (1965) 41 ff.; *EAA* I, 265 f, s.v. Allocuzione; *LÄ* II, 575 ff., s.v. Gesten, 3b. It is noteworthy that the heads of the figures in the mosaic, which seems original in this part, are small and do not show details, except for the individual in the centre which wears a wreath, whereas in the Dal Pozzo copy the heads are more elaborated. Apparently they have been improved on by the copyist. Presumably because of their presence near the temple and their indistinct faces Schmidt 33, and Steinmayer 85, call these figures priests (Steinmayer even refers to a beard of the second figure on the right, which in fact is only shadow). However, the dresses are typical for women (cf. sections 19, n. 131; 13, n. 157; 16, n. 189). Actually the Doric chiton was sometimes worn by gods and priests when they were very ornately dressed. However, for a priest one would expect a *himation* (cf. Abrahams 69). Also the elegant position of some of the figures rather suggests women and they are usually recognised as such. So it seems that beside the fishermen there are mainly women near the temple. In the Ptolemaic period women could also be priests, or in other ways fulfil religious tasks, especially for the cults of female deities like Isis and Hathor (see Fraser I, 221 ff., 244; Dunand 1973, I, 177 ff.; S.P. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (1984) 55 ff.; J. Eingartner, *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1991). Therefore these women could be priestesses of Isis or could be connected to the temple and its cult in some other way.

[82] The *pilos*, a felt or leather cap, was the head-dress of the common people in the classical world (see Bieber 376). It is also worn by other fishermen and peasants in the Nile Mosaic, like those in section 15. In Egypt it was also made of woven paille or papyrus (see Lefebvre 33, pl. XIV, our fig. 36). See for the *exomis* n. 30. However, we must distinguish between the *exomis* and felt *pilos* of the common manual labourer and the ragged *exomis* and woven *pilos* of the very poor people, to which the fisherman apparently belonged. These were the marshdwellers which appear in various places in the mosaic e.g. in section 15, see further below n. 125. For the trident as a fisherman's harpoon see *DS* V, 440 ff., s.v. Tridens. For the harpooning of fish in Egypt see *LÄ* II, 1014 ff, s.v. Harpunieren. For the salutary gesture see n. 81. The possible interpretation of this scene shall be discussed in Ch. IV, n. 68.

[83] The odd number of columns in the front seems, in this late period, to be a mistake by the artist. In general such small temples were the common

temple type in the Hellenistic period (see Lauter 1986, 186 ff.). Good examples are the temples of Isis and Sarapis in the Serapeum C at Delos (Lauter 1986, pl. 15; Wild, fig. 16). For plain Doric columns, pillars and pilasters see Lauter 1986, 189 ff.; Adriani 1972, pls. IX, X,3. For parapet walls see Engemann 146 ff.; Tybout 231 ff. The plain architrave and frieze look similar to those of the pavilion and propylon in sections 13 and 16 (see nn. 149, 178, figs. 22, 25). The curved roof and the segmental pediment also appear with the pavilion in section 13 and the propylon in section 16 (see nn. 149, 178). They belong to an old tradition in Egyptian architecture deriving from wood and reed architecture, cf. the cabin of the boat in section 18, see n. 118, fig. 19 (see *LÄ* II, 589, s.v. Gewölbe; e.g. J. PH. Lauter, *Saqqara* (1976) 93 f., figs. 93, 110, 111, pl. 13, cf. also fig. 102). In Ptolemaic Egypt it was introduced in classical architecture (Lauter 1971, 171, n. 103; Tybout 257; McKenzie 88 f., pl. 216; P. Pensabene, Lastre di chiusura di loculi con naiskoi egizie e stele funerarie con ritratto del Museo di Alessandria, *Alessandria* I, 91 ff., esp. 107 ff.). Fine examples, presumably dating from the 2nd century B.C., may be found in Tomb 2 at Anfushi (see Adriani 1972, pls. V, VII, 1,2; XI,3; L,1; Von Hesberg 1980, 69; McKenzie 67 ff.). See further M. Lyttelton, Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity (1974) 45 ff., 67 f.; Weber 1910, 10 ff. See for some examples of similar temples n. 85.

[84] For the lotus acroterium of the temple in section 9 see n. 93. The corner acroteria are both original. The one on the right looks similar to those of the temples in section 9 and 11, and may have consisted of one long leaf between two small ones (see nn. 93, 107). The one on the left may have been executed somewhat carelessly. It may, however, also be compared with the horn-shaped acroterium of the propylon in section 16 (see n. 178). For the antefixes compare some examples in wall-painting from Boscoreale (see Ph. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1953) pls. XIV, XV, XIX, XXXI, without commentary; Tybout, pls. 30,31). Lehmann 202, calls some other not unsimilar examples, which show two small balls at the bottom, phallic antefixes (Lehmann, pl. XIX; Tybout, pl. 29). Even in the last case one may wonder if they are not a stylised floral ornaments.

[85] A fine example, be it from the 2nd century A.D., is the small Isis temple with annex buildings at Ras el-Soda between Alexandria and Canopus (Adriani 1966, I, 100 ff, no. 56; II, pl. 32, figs. 113–115; Fraser I, 253, 262; for another shrine of Isis at Luxor, see Bowman 169, fig. 100 f). Compare also the temple for the cult of Augustus in Philae, see L. Borchardt, Der Augustustempel auf Philae, *JdI* 18 (1903) 73 ff., figs. 1, 3; Pensabene, figs 74, 75. For similar temples of Isis and Sarapis from the Hellenistic and Imperial periods see e.g. Wild (besides figs. 1, Ras el-Soda, and 16, Delos (cf. n. 83) figs. 7, Ampurias; 9, Priene; 10, Cyrene). For other examples in Nilotic landscapes see Rostovtzeff 1911, 19 f., and e.g. our figs. 34, 35 from the Casa dei Pigmei at Pompeii, see *Pompei 1748–1980. I tempi della documentazione* (1981) 164 f.; *Italienische Reise. Pompejanische Bilder in den deutschen archäologischen Sammlungen* (1989) pls. 74a, 76 (col.); G. Spano, Passagio nilotico con pigmei difendentisi magicamente dai coccodrili, *MemLinc* (serie 8) 6 (1955) 335 ff., figs. 1, 11).

[86] See Nowicka 38 ff., figs. 4, 5; A.J. Spencer, *Brickarchitecture in Ancient Egypt* (1979), Index s.v. Wood reinforcements of brickwork, pls. 50 B, 51 A–B. All the towerhouses in the Nile Mosaic show rows of small windows. It is not clear whether these really represent rows of windows or a typical Egyptian kind of window, which has been misunderstood by the artist. This type consisted of a rectangular wooden frame with vertical wooden trellis

and was characteristic for Egyptian houses of the Roman period (see Nowicka 100, fig. 60; our figs 34, 35).

[87] This tower probably did not belong to the temple but was originally connected to the crenellated wall, which has been preserved in section 13. This may have been another temple enclosure, see Ch. I, n. 32, fig. 8).

[88] For such towerhouses see Herodotus II 95; Lloyd II, 382; Rostovtzeff 1911, 67 ff., esp. 71; Nowicka 20 f., esp. n. 5; 38 ff.; 108 ff., 131 ff; figs. 64, 67, 86, 87; Adriani 1972, pl. LX,2; F. Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites gréco-romaines d'Egypte* (Louvre) (1990) no. 1009; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 211, 215, pl. 18; pl. 21, fig. 31, pl. 22, figs. 37, 39; pl. 26, figs. 66, 67. Cf. the splendid example in section 13, and the model of a towerhouse at Cairo reproduced in fig. 37, see below n. 144. Actually towerhouses were not exclusively Egyptian and could be found throughout the Hellenistic world (see P. Grimal, Les maisons à tours hellenistiques et romaines, *MEFRA* 56 (1939) 28 ff.; M. Nowicka, *Les maisons à tours dans le monde grec* (1975); Ling 8, n. 34). Nevertheless Herodotus *l.c.* describes them especially for Egypt and numerous examples may be found in Roman Nilotic scenes, all showing the characteristic construction (see n. 86, e.g. figs. 34, 35; Rostovtzeff 1911, *passim*, e.g. pl. I c, detail from the Yellow Frieze in the Casa di Livia, showing a towerhouse and a dromedary (Rizzo, pl. VII); and the examples on Alexandrian bone tesserae reproduced by Alföldi-Rosenbaum *ll.cc.*.

[89] For cormorants see Houlihan 7 ff., *LÄ* III, 741 f., s.v. Kormoran. For herons see above n. 11.

[90] For this section see Whitehouse 16, no. 9, figs. 9a–b; Windsor drawing no. 19209; Gullini 1956, pl. XVI; Aurigemma 63, no. 6, fig. 17, p. 71, no. 9, fig. 25; Romanelli, pl. XXVI; Charbonneaux, fig. 184.

[91] For the date palm see n. 79.

[92] Precincts are often to be found with temples and their annexes, see n. 85 and figs. 42c, 87. For similarly shaped merlons see Badawy 1938, 450 ff., e.g. pl. 67 and our fig. 87). The dark vertical lines may be the shadows of buttresses, see Nowicka 40, fig. 5; Michalowski, fig. 891. For towerhouses see n. 88, and for entrance towers Nowicka 132.

[93] For the column, parapet wall and pilaster see n. 83. The shape of the pediment is apparently that of a volute pediment, although it is not clear whether the volutes are C or S shaped, see Tybout 268, pls. 9, 16, 23, 41; 42,1; 44; 45; 47; 48,1; Rostovtzeff 1941, pl. XXII; M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1961) fig. 324; G. Sauron, Les modèles funéraires classiques de l'art décoratif néo-attique au Ier siècle av. J.-C., *MEFRA* 91 (1979) 183 ff., esp. 190 f. The example on the Nile Mosaic is the only case where a volute pediment appears not only as an ornamental pediment, e.g. above a doorway, but as a real pediment. The lotus acroterium is a rare feature, still it may be distinguished from the more complicated crowns of Isis (cf. Ch. V, n. 23). Another example may be found, also together with a volute pediment, in a wall-painting from Boscoreale, Tybout 272, n. 983, pl. 23; Schefold 1962, pl. I (col.); *Collezioni Napoli*, col. pl. on p. 38; yet another example may be found on the Osiris shrine in a wall-painting from the Iseum at Pompeii, see our fig. 76; for other examples from the Iseum see *Alla ricerca di Iside* (pl. on p. 80, and pl. IX). A good parallel for the shape of the lotus may be found in a control-mark on a Roman coin of 64 B.C. (see Crawford, pl. LXVIII, no. 51). For the meaning of the lotus see below n. 105. It was a symbol of the regenerative power of the Nile flood and an attribute of the gods connected with the Nile flood, such as Isis, Osiris, Hapy, and since the Hellenistic period Sarapis and Neilus as well. Here, and in section 8, they probably indicate that the temples are connected with the cult and the gods

of the Nile flood. Although the corner acroteria are also tripartite they look rather like simple palmettes, like those on the Egyptian temple in section 11 (cf. nn. 84 and 107). The garlands indicate a festive occasion (see Fraser I, 233; Blech (*o.c.* in n. 81) 269 ff.; cf. our fig. 87; Ch. IV, n. 123). See for other similar temples besides the plates referred to in the text, nn. 85, 92.

[94] The Dal Pozzo copy of this part seems more accurate than the restored mosaic, especially with regard to the doors of which there should be just one, cf. Whitehouse 16; Gullini 1956, pl. XVI. For reed huts, the dwellings of the poor, see in general Diod. I 43,4; Phillips 190 f.; Nowicka 129 ff., e.g. fig. 83. All kinds of reed huts, dwellings or stables, may be found in Nilotic scenes, either separate or as a part of a farm. See our fig. 35, and fig. 38, reproducing a Campana relief at Leiden, see for it and its kind J.H.C. Kern, A Roman Campana relief with Nile landscape (Pygmy Village), *Oudheid-Meded* 39 (1958) 11 ff. and below n. 136; Ch. V, n. 43. For other examples of reed huts see section 15, fig. 20. Bendinelli, pl. VIII,2; pl. IX; pl. A; Peters, fig. 48; Maiuri 1938, pl. III, 1; Foucher, figs. 13, 14. The hut of section 9 seems to be connected with the farm in section 10 (see n. 97 and Ch. I, n. 27).

[95] Schmidt 39, suggested an Egyptian mimosa (*Acacia nilotica*). This seems quite probable if we assume that the mass of creamy white spots are the blossom of the mimosa, and not highlights (cf. n. 10). The shape of the tree is not typical of the mimosa, but it is greatly restored (see Gullini 1956, pl. XVI). The Egyptian mimosa is a very common tree in Egypt, see Theophrastus IV 2, 8; *LÄ* I, 113; s.v. Akazie; Täckholm 286, no. 41; Germer 90 f. For the connection between sections 9 and 10 see Ch. I, n. 27; Gullini 1956, pls. XVI and XVIII.

[96] For this section see Whitehouse 16 f., no. 10, figs. 10a–b, Windsor drawing no. 19210; Gullini 1956, pl. XVIII; Aurigemma 71, no. 9, fig. 25; Romanelli, pl. XXVI. For the connection with section 9 see Ch. I, n. 27.

[97] For farms of this kind in Nilotic scenes see Rostovtzeff 1911, 67 ff., figs. 31, 32; Schmidt, pl. VII, figs. 10,11; Elia, pl. V; Picard, pl. LVI. The round structure could be a hut (cf. Nowicka, 132; Schmidt, fig. 10). Rostovtzeff 1911, 61, calls it an ibis house which could be found with temples and in *idem* 1941, 318, he even calls it an ibis shrine or Ibion (see for these *LÄ* III, 118, nn. 54, 55; Alföldi- Rosenbaum 237, pl. 22). Ibises may, however, frequently be found sitting on all kinds of dwellings (cf. the hut in section 15) and Schmidt 41, probably rightly suggests that it is a granary. These usually have a round form (see Badawy 1966, 21, fig. 6, 31 ff., figs. 10 ff.; 1968, 128 f., figs. 81 ff.; Spinazzola II, 794, fig. 778). Actually a granary usually has no door but an opening higher up in the wall but this may be a mistake by the artist. For the reed hut cf. n. 94. For tower houses see n. 88. Two tower houses connected by a bridge instead of a wall may be found in our fig. 35 (see n. 85). For other examples see Elia, pl. V; *Alla ricerca di Iside*, pl. IV; Peters, fig. 151 (Iseum of Pompeii); and Maiuri 1938, pl. III, 2 (Casa di P. Cornelius Teges). In general such farms, which have no surrounding wall, are a small kind of farm. For a large farm or estate, surrounded by a wall, see section 17, n. 200, fig. 27.

[98] For ibises see in general *LÄ* III, 115 ff. s.v. Ibis; Houlihan 26 ff.; Keller II, 198 ff.; Herodotus II 76; LLoyd I, 328 ff. In this case they belong to the variety of the famous sacred ibis, as may be seen by their black necks and wing- and tailtops, see Houlihan 28 f.; for the glossy ibis see above Ch. II, n. 71 and below n. 122. See for the doum palm n. 61.

[99] The type of the boat with the long truncated prow is that of the common Egyptian cargo or passenger boat, see *LÄ* V, 601 ff., s.v. Schiff; Herodotus

II 36 and 96; Lloyd II, 384 f.; Phillips 188; Casson 341, w.n. 64, figs. 16, 19, who identified it with the *baris* of ancient sources; Landström 40 ff., 98 ff., 114 ff., 134 ff.; figs. 104 ff. 313 ff., 389 ff.; Göttlicher, nos. 293 –295. Usually the stern has the same shape as the prow, but it may also curve over and be embellished by a papyriform end-piece (see Landström 110 f., 123 f., figs. 324, 343). For the peculiar shape of the end-piece of the boat in the Nile Mosaic see n. 112.

[100] See Whitehouse 17, figs. 10a and 11a.

[101] For this section see Whitehouse 17 f., no. 11, figs. 11a–b, Windsor drawing no. 19211; Gullini 1956, pl. XX; 69, 71, no. 8, fig. 23, pp. 75 f., no. 12, fig. 32. For the connection of this section with section 10 see n. 100.

[102] For Egyptian temple architecture in general see Badawy 1968, 165 ff. When near the riverside, Egyptian temples usually stood on a platform because of the changing level of the Nile, cf. also the platform of the sanctuary in the Nilotic frieze in the Villa dei Misteri at Pompeii, Peters 71 ff., Ling, pl. II,2; Tybout 340, pl. 22,1. For pylons see Badawy 1968, 177 f. Actually the situation in the Nile Mosaic is somewhat confused because the gateway seems to include a tower which rises behind the eagle. In reality the gateway could be placed between two pylon towers if it was the entrance to the actual temple, or it could be placed between two fortification towers if it was the entrance to the temple precinct, see e.g. Badawy 1968, 462 ff., figs. 247–249, pls. 66–67; and our fig. 42c, cf. Ch. IV, n. 84. Perhaps the artist was confused and combined the two entrances. It is also possible that the artist misunderstood his model and combined the door with the eagle with a common tower standing at the back of the compound. The cornices of the towers probably represent the typical Egyptian cavetto cornices. However, they also show rows of dentils or modillions along the cornice like the naos of the temple. This is not Egyptian but derives from Hellenistic architecture just like the corner acroteria of the naos. See for rows of dentils and modillions sections 13, 16 (nn.149, 179) and for the corner acroteria n. 107. For the gradual appearence of Greek architectural elements in Egyptian architecture in the Ptolemaic period see Pensabene 35 ff. For the openings which were used to fix flagstaffs see Naster 183; Handler, pl. 11, fig. 4; Badawy 1986, 170 f., figs. 103, 104. The artist does not seem to have understood these and represented them as the windows which appear elsewhere in towers in the temple complex. Nor did he represent the shafts in the bases of the pylon towers in which the flagstaffs were placed, but that would have been difficult because of the statues standing there (cf. our fig. 42a).

[103] The eagle above the door of our Egyptian temple is an exceptionial feature. The only other representations of an eagle on an Egyptian temple may be found on some Alexandrian bone tesserae from the end of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D., and on Alexandrian coins from the 2nd century A.D. (see resp. our figs. 41, 42). The Alexandrian bone tesserae which show characteristic parts of Alexandria with the names inscribed presumably were game counters and range in date between the middle of the 1st century B.C., and the middle of the 1st century A.D. See for these Alföldi-Rosenbaum 218, 233, nos. 50–52 pl. 24. All these have on the reverse the inscription *Canopus*. Another example without eagle or inscription is perhaps Alföldi-Rosenbaum 237, no. 84, pl. 28. See for other examples of bone tesserae below nn. 109, 122; Ch. IV, n. 78; Ch. V, n. 15 and Ch. VII, n. 35. For the coins see Naster, figs. 1,2; Handler 63 f., pl. 11, figs. 8,9., and further below Ch. IV, n. 78. Since the Egyptians did not clearly distinguish between the various kinds of falcons and the rarer eagle (see *LÄ* I, 64, s.v. Adler) it has been assumed that the bird depicted here is a

naturalistic representation of the falcon instead of the traditional Egyptian stylised representation (Schmidt 43; Bonneau 92, Steinmayer 94 f.). However on similar coins which also show Egyptian temple pylons the falcon also appears in the Egyptian stylised way; see our fig. 42d; Handler pl. 11,4; Naster pl. I, 8; Alföldi-Rosenbaum, fig. E. So the eagle and falcon were distinguished and the bird in the Nile Mosaic must also represent an eagle. The naturalistic image of the eagle was introduced in Egypt by the Ptolemies who had adopted the bird of Zeus as their dynasty's device and displayed it on their coins (see Ch. IV, n. 76). See for the eagle further Ch. IV, pp. 53 f., and Appendix 7. One could also compare a relief in the temple of Khonsou at Thebes, depicting what originally was the first pylon (now the second one) of the great temple of Amon at Thebes, where a vulture appears in a similar position above the doorway (see G. Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* (1929) 127, figs. 76, 77). However, the vulture is clearly characterised as such and undoubtedly represents the vulture of Nekhbet, the tutelary goddess of the Pharaohs, which may frequently be found in Egyptian temples (see *LÄ* II, 514, s.v. Geier; IV, 166 f. s.v. Nechbet). One may wonder if this relief should be taken literally because the vulture usually appears in relief on lintels; compare the inscription which on the relief also rises above the pylon, but which in reality will have been placed on the pylon wall.

[104] Statues were usually placed before the towers of a temple pylon. These may represent the lord of the temple – a god or a deified Pharaoh –, gods associated with these, the Pharaoh who built the temple, and members of his family, see Badawy 1968, 478 ff. For the mummy-form image of Osiris, see *LÄ* IV, 623 ff., s.v. Osiris, esp. 627. Colossal statues of Osiris and Osiride pillars, which represent the Pharaoh assimilated with Osiris, may be found with many classical Egyptian temples (see Badawy *l.c.*; *LÄ* IV, 633 f., s.v. Osirispfeiler; C. Leblanc, Piliers et colosses de type "Osiriaque" dans le contexte des temples de culte royal, *BIFAO* 80 (1980) 69 ff., esp. 71; *idem*, Le culte rendu aux colosses "osiriaques" durant le nouvel empire, *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 295 ff. The statues in the Nile Mosaic have been recognised as Osiris statues of Pharaohs by Maspero 79, Aurigemma 77 and Bonneau 92. See for our fig. 39, representing the north side of the seventh pylon at Karnak, with Osiris statues of Tuthmosis III, PM II, 48, 53 f.; P. Barquet,*Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (1962) 272, pl. XXXIX B–C. The dark greenish-black colour of basalt was associated especially with Isis and Osiris, because it resembled the water of the Nile and consequently symbolised fertility (see *RÄRG* 575 f.; *LÄ* II, 123 ff., s.v. Farb-symbolik; Witkowski 40, n. 23; Beinlich 281; with earlier literature; cf. e.g. Dunand 1973, I, pls. IX, XV, XXXII; our fig. 72. The meaning of the Osiris statues in the Nile Mosaic shall be discussed further in Ch. IV, pp. 53, 55 f., nn. 72, 73, 80.

[105] Steinmayer 95, identifies the head-dress as the crown of Khnum which is, however, much more elaborate (cf. her fig. 32). Nor is it the traditional White Crown of Osiris (see fig. 39). The head-dresses in the Nile Mosaic can only represent a lotus bud between two leaves which have just unfolded, cf. above n. 93 and Bonneau 92, 328, who compares them to the lotus flower on a head of Neilus on a coin from 186/5 B.C. (see *BMC The Ptolemies*, pl. XVIII, 3). This example is not very clear but we may also compare the lotus on the head of the sphinx in our fig. 48, see n. 147. Actually these lotuses are depicted in a very realistic way, i.e. at the moment when the leaves begin to unfold. When the inundation began the lotus germinated in the mud of the river. When the flood reached its height the lotus blossomed and it therefore was the first sign of the rebirth of the

vegetation. When the flood receded the lotus slowly died (see *LÄ* III, 1091 ff., s.v. Lotos, esp. 1095 n. 2, and below nn. 137, 138). Because of this close connection with the Nile flood the lotus became a symbol for the rebirth of the vegetation (see *LÄ* III, 1094 f., n. 5). As such it had become an attribute of the Nile God Hapy in ancient Egypt and became an attribute of gods connected with the flood like Neilus, Isis and Osiris, see Bonneau 92, 328; Elia, fig. 2; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 71 f., 154, no. 74, pl. XVIII, 1; Dunand 1973, I , pls. XII, 1; XV; Malaise I,107, no. 11, pl. 11 (Osiris Canopus); our figs. 72, 75, 93, see below Ch. IV, n. 97, 201 (Nile-Gods); Elia, fig. 27; Tran tam Tinh 143, no. 46, pl. XVIII, 2 ; *Alla ricerca di Iside* 55, nos. 1, 57–60 (priestesses). Compare also the lotus acroteria in section 9, n. 93, fig. 16; and in fig. 76.

[106] The wall on the left of the pylon is lower than the one on the right which, moreover, is crenellated. The same irregular walls may be found with the precinct on the plaster mould in Berlin, see below Ch. IV, n. 123, fig. 87. For rounded merlons cf. Badawy 1968, figs. 247–249, pls. 66–67. For towerhouses see n. 88. The jars on top of the roofs are probably waterjars because in this position water may be cooled by the wind. This practise excisted in Egypt until recently. According to Whitehouse 81, n. 22, the two towers on the left-hand side are wrongly restored. However, the actual situation is partly original and more logical than in the Dal Pozzo copy. Moreover, the jar on top of the right-hand tower at the front has been omitted by the copyist, so he was not very accurate in copying this part.

[107] The position of the central building is indicated by the wall which runs obliquely upwards to the right from the right pylon tower, and which will have had a counterpart hidden by the pylon. For the cornice with the rows of dentils or modillions see n. 102. There were four corner-acroteria of which those at the back of the temple have not been preserved, but are still visible in the Dal Pozzo copy. The acroteria seem to be of the same kind as those of the temples in sections 8 and 9. Although they exist of only three leaves their shape is very reminiscent of some kinds of palmette acroteria, see Tybout, pls. 18, 19 (Villa dei Misteri) and cf. our nn. 84 and 93. The presence of these classical acroteria on a building in the Egyptian style is rather unusual. Therefore the copyist will not have invented these himself while the restorer may have overlooked the remnants (cf. n. 105).

[108] See for such large temple complexes Badawy 1968, 470, figs. 247, 251. The living, administrative and storage quarters have usually disappeared because they were built of light materials like mudbrick and wood. Whereas large Egyptian temples consisted of a maze of rooms extending behind the pylon, there existed another type consisting of a rectangular naos with one doorway and containing only a few rooms, which could be used for smaller temples (see e.g. Badawy 1968, 268 ff, figs. 144, 145, pl. 34). In the Ptolemaic period this type could also be used for larger temples like the temple of Sobek at Soknopaiou Nesos in the Fayum and the temple of nearby Karanis (see G. Caton-Thompson, E.W.Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (1934) 153 ff., pl. CI, 6, Bowman, pl. 103; Pensabene 37, figs. 8, 9). See furthermore the Isis temple at Assuan built by Ptolemy III (see P. Bresciani, *Il tempio tolemaico di Isi in Assuan* (1970) esp. p. 17) and the shrine of Hathor at Deir el-Medinah (see B. Bruyère. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1948), pl. VII). A fine parallel for the temple in the Nile Mosaic is also offered by the temple of Musawwarat es Sufra in Nubia (see *Kush* XV (1967–68), 291 fig. VI). See for the eagle n. 103. The late date for the temple in the Nile Mosaic is also evident from the classical architectural details like the rows of dentils or modillions and the acroteria (see n. 107, and for this phenomenon in

general Pensabene 35). The possible identification of the temple shall be discussed in Ch. IV, pp. 53 ff.

[109] See for the Alexandrian bone tesserae and coins n. 103. It is striking that this characteristic Egyptian type of temple may not be found in other Nilotic scenes. This may perhaps be explained partly by coincidence. On the other hand the number of smaller sanctuaries of the Hellenistic type, like we have found in section 8 and 9, is overwhelming in Nilotic scenes (see n. 85, figs. 34, 50, 51, cf. Ch. IV, n. 189). Only in the case of the Nilotic frieze in the Villa dei Misteri a large compound on a platform may be found, but the upper part has not been preserved and it may just have been a somewhat larger precinct than usual (see n. 102, and Ch. IV, n. 124). Compare also the sanctuary on the plaster mould at Berlin, see below Ch. IV, n. 123, fig. 84. Such representations are reminiscent of the beautiful shrine of Hathor at Deir el-Medinah, which was hidden from view by a large mud brick wall (see Bruyère (*o.c.* in n. 108), pls. III, IV, VI).

[110] According to the Dal Pozzo copy of this section the walking man originally carried a bundle on a stick instead of what now seems to be a billowing cloak (see Whitehouse 17, fig. 14a). A rider accompanied by a man on foot carrying luggage, presumably a servant, is a regular feature in Nilotic scenes; see e.g. the Yellow Frieze in the Casa di Livia (Rostovtzeff 1911, pl. Ia, III b.; Rizzo pl. V (col.), IX,1; X,1a; Peters figs. 26, 29, 30; and a scene from the Villa della Farnesina, Rostovtzeff 1911, pl. IV, 2; Peters fig. 45; *EAA* VI, col. pl. opp. 214). During the inundation donkeys and mules going along the dikes were the usual means of land transport (Bonneau 97). The donkey may be a mule because of its large size (see resp. *LÄ* II, 27 ff., s.v. Esel; III, 1248 f., s.v. Maultier-Maulesel; Boessneck 78, 81 f, figs. 129–131, 137, 138). Compare a donkey near a sanctuary in our fig. 54, and Alföldi-Rosenbaum pl. 27, fig. 72. For the popular motif of a donkey attacked by a crocodile see Ch. VII, nn. 18,19.

[111] For this section see Whitehouse 18, no. 12, figs. 12 a–b , and 22 f., no. 18, figs. 18 a–b, Windsor drawings nos. 19212, 19218; Gullini 1956, pls. XIII; Aurigemma 56 f., no. 2, fig. 7; p. 54, no. 1, fig. 5; Romanelli, pls. XXIV, XXV; Charbonneaux, fig. 183. The position and connection of these sections is clearly shown by the rocks and cormorants in the upper part of section 12, which are the same as in the lower part of section 8, and from the reflection of the prow and of the rudders of the boat in section 12 into the water of section 18.

[112] Essentially it is of the same type as the boat in section 11 (see n. 99), but it has a more luxurious pavilion-like cabin, and the prow is decorated with an animal's head. A fine parallel for this boat may be found in the terracotta boat in fig. 44, Athens National Museum MP 1140; Adriani 1972, pl. LIX,3; cf. also the terracotta boat in P.Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites d'Egypt de la Collection Fouquet* (1921) pl. XXXII. A terracotta relief vase in the Benaki Museum in Athens from Memphis, 1st cent. B.C. shows a similar kind of boat (see *BCH* 98 (1974) 587, 590 f., figs. 42–43; U. Mandel-Elzinga, Ptolemäische Reliefkeramik, *JdI* 103 (1988) 247 ff., esp. 257 f., figs. 5, 6). All these examples have a long high prow. Probably the terracotta boat in fig. 44, also had an animal's head at the end of the prow which has been broken off. The boat on the relief vase is a sacred boat with a canopy for a divine image, which is taking part in a procession. In Egypt heads of animals originally decorated the prows of sacred boats (see Landström 141; our figs. 70, 75) but they may also be found with warships and occasionally they may even be found with a travelling boat (Landström 110 ff., resp. figs. 344–348 and 343). In the Hellenistic period representations become more general (cf. fig. 38;

Pernice, pl. 41,1, mosaic at Pompeii; Maiuri 1938, pl. III,2, wall-painting in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges). It is not clear what kind of animal the head represents (cf. Phillips 188, Anubis head; Aurigemma 56, giraffe). One could also consider the head of a hound (cf. Keller I, 90, figs. 32, 33) but perhaps Schmidt's suggestion, a gazelle, is the most probable (Schmidt 47). The strongly curved stern may be found with Egyptian boats and with Greek and Roman galleys (see resp. Landström figs. 342, 343, and section 17, n. 195; and in general D. Wachsmuth, *Pompimos o daimon, Untersuchungen zu den antiken Sakralhandlungen bei Seereisen* (1967), 83 ff., n. 79). The end-piece of the stern, which is decorated with a ribbon, is reminiscent of the end-piece with a papyrus umbel reproduced in Landström, figs. 342 (also with ribbons) and 343. However, it is clearly not a papyrus umbel but has the shape of a horn. The same kind of end-piece appears with the boat in section 10 and furthermore in two Pompeian mosaics with papyrus boats (see Ch. V, n. 16 bis). For the ribbon at the stern see *DS* V, 957 s.v. Vitta navalis and Wachsmuth 90 f., n. 84. For cabin boats, *thalamegoi*, which were used for official purposes and pleasure sailing see Casson, 341, n. 66; Landström 140 f., figs. 358, 369, 371, 411; Adriani 1972, pl. LIX, 404; Caspari 14 ff. Examples may be found in Roman Nilotic scenes, e.g. in the two Pompeian mosaics just mentioned, and furthermore in mosaics in the Vatican Museum (Nogara, pl. 36,2; Caspari, fig. 8) and the Villa Albani at Rome (Meyboom 1979, 64, n. 41, pl. 29, fig. 16). Along the back of the cabin in the Nile Mosaic there is a row of long white spikes. Such a feature may be found elsewhere as a protection on the top of gates (cf. e.g. Tybout pl. 30; Adriani 1972, pl. LIII,1). The meaning of their presence here is not clear. If they were meant as a decoration they should be placed further apart (cf. Tybout, pls. 29–31, also Meyboom 1979, 64, n. 41, pl. 29, fig. 16).

[113] Because of their beards and the *piloi* they wear the hunters would seem to be marshdwellers, as the helmsman certainly is (see for these n. 125). However, they wear tunics and mantles and carry armour. Moreover, they have the luxury of a cabin boat whereas the marshdwellers who worked for landowners only did the most humble jobs (see e.g. Lefebvre, pl. XIII). So, these hunters seem to have some sort of position. Because of their hairy faces and their un-Egyptian dress they can not be native Egyptians. Even the small peasants who were in the service of the temples and great landowners were shaven and dressed in the Egyptian way. Foreigners like Syrians and Persians had also settled in Egypt but in a Ptolemaic situation it seems most probable that these people are cleruchs, Greek soldiers who had been given a piece of land to sustain themselves. In the course of time their status could vary strongly between wealth and poverty and as a class they generally became poorer in the 2nd and 1st century B.C. (see W. Peremans, *Vreemdelingen en Egyptenaren in het vroeg-Ptolemaeische Egypte* (1937) 86 ff., 112 ff.; C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (1939) 387 ff., 463 ff. and index s.v. ; Rostovtzeff 1941, II, 891. *The Cambridge Ancient History* VII, 1(1984) 118 ff. esp. 124 f., 157 f. and 366 ff.

[114] The hippopotamus and the crocodile (see n. 116) were the two most characteristic Egyptian animals. See for the hippopotamus *LÄ* IV, 501 ff., s.v. Nilpferd; Raïos-Chouliara 81 ff.; Keller I, 406; Haltenorth, Diller pl. 2,3. It ravaged the crops, was dangerous to fishermen and since its body also offered useful products it was frequently hunted , usually with a harpoon (*LÄ* IV 501 f.; Diod. I 35, 10–11). As a harmful animal it was also associated with Seth and it was ritually killed, especially at the time of the inundation (see *LÄ* IV, 501, 504; *LÄ* V, 275, s.v. Rituale 7; cf. below Ch. IV, nn. 168, 170, 180). Hippopotamus hunts appear in many Egyptiam representations (see Vandier

IV, 773 ff., pls. XXXIV, XXXV; Michalowski pl. 76 (col.); e.g. our fig. 43; P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* I (1938) pls. 10–13, pl. 12 is our fig. 43). For the harpooning of hippopotami see *LÄ* II, 1012 ff., s.v. Harpune, and 1014 f., s.v. Harpunieren. In the late period they did not live all along the Nile but only in special areas such as Sais in the Delta and the Fayum (*LÄ* IV, 503). The hippopotami which were shown in the circus at Rome are said to come from the area of Sais (Pliny *NH* XXVIII 36 121). The first live hippopotamus appeared at Rome, together with five crocodiles, in the games of Scaurus in 58 B.C. (Pliny *NH* VIII 40, 96; Toynbee 128 ff.). Their existence must have been known before, cf. the hippopotamus and crocodile in the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii (see Ch. II, n. 71; Ch. V, n. 9, fig. 28), and a hippopotamus and a crocodile are used as control-marks on a coin by L. Papius in 79 B.C. (Crawford pl. LXVI, 29; below Ch. V, n. 23). Confrontations between Egyptians or pygmies and hippopotami were a popular motif in Roman Nilotic scenes, see e.g. our fig. 38. Schmidt, pl. VII, fig. 9; Pernice, pl. 41,1; Spinazzola I, fig. 335; Schefold 1962, fig. 144; Peters, fig. 178; McDaniel, pl. IX; Picard, pl. LVI; *Collezioni Napoli*, pl. on p. 69; Foucher, figs. 4, 20. A very similar hunting scene, said to come from the Baths of Constantine, is reproduced in P.S. Bartoli, G. P. Bellori, F. Bartoli, M.A. de la Chausse, *Picturae antiquae cryptarum romanorum at sepulcri nasonum* (1750). *Appendix veterum musivorum et picturarum*, 93 f., pl. X. Instead of being a late antique copy after the Nile Mosaic (as it is assumed by Montagna 243 ff, fig. 3), it is an 18th century fake based on the Nile Mosaic (see Meyboom 1979, 59 ff.; cf. for a similar case below n. 123). See for the hippopotamus hunt in the Nile Mosaic further Ch. IV, nn. 169, 170, 180).

[115] *Arundo donax L.*, as Schmidt 28, has already suggested, and not the millet as Phillips 185, assumed. See for giant reed *LÄ* V, 286 f., s.v. Rohr; Germer 203 f.; Täckholm 696, no. 19.

[116] The hunters seem to be aiming especially at the hippopotami, while the crocodiles, which are a regular feature in ancient Egyptian pictures of hippopotamus hunting, could just be fleeing from the uproar (cf. our fig. 43 and other examples given in n. 114). The crocodile and the hippopotamus were the two outstandingly Egyptian animals (see for it Keller II, 261 ff.; *LÄ* III, 791 ff., s.v. Krokodil; Grzimek 128 ff.). Since it was dangerous to man it could be hunted, see *LÄ l.c.*, esp. 793; Herodotus II 70; LLoyd II, 310; Strabo XVII 1, 44; Pliny *NH* VIII 38; Aelian *NA* X 21; Raïos-Chouliara 83 ff. Crocodiles may frequently be found in ancient Egyptian hunting scenes (see fig. 43) as well as in Roman Nilotic scenes, see Whitehouse 1977, 65 ff., pls. XVIII–XX; Peters, fig. 178; McDaniel, pl. IX; Picard, pl. LVI; Pernice, pl. 41,1; Spinazzola I, fig. 355; Foucher, fig. 4. As a dangerous animal it was connected with Seth and ritually hunted and killed , see *LÄ* III, 801 f., s.v. Krokodilskulte. It was first shown in Rome in the games of Scaurus in 59 B.C., but its existence must have been known much longer (see n. 114, and also *L'image du noir*, figs. 213, 214, representing an Apulian rhyton from the 4th century B.C. decorated with negroes being attacked by a crocodile). See for the crocodile hunting scene in the Nile Mosaic further Ch. IV, nn. 169, 170, 180.

[117] The one on the right is a drake and the one on the left a drake in change, see S. Cramp, *Handbook of the Birds of Europe and the Middle East and North Africa* (1977) 505 ff., pl. 68; and for ducks in Egypt in general Houlihan 66 ff.

[118] The reappearence of fish in the Nile was an important issue of the Nile flood (see *LÄ* II, 228 f., s.v. Fische, religiös, esp. 231 f.; Herodotus II 93; Lloyd II, 383; and our Ch. IV, pp. 52 f. For fishing see section 17, n. 194. The

fish in question looks rather indistinct. Among the various kind of Nile fish, however, it looks most like a Nile perch (*lates niloticus*) as regards the shape of the body and mouth and the colours; the back-fins are flattened because it is swimming; see Gamer, Wallert 39 ff., 88 ff., pl. VIII, 4; D.J. Brewer, R. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* (1989) 74 ff.; Boessneck 119 f. The Nile perch was a popular fish to eat.

[119] See the examples given respectively in nn. 114 and 116. For the possible meaning of these hunts in an inundation scene see Ch. IV, pp. 70 f.

[120] For this section see Whitehouse 20 f., no. 15, figs. 15 a–c, Windsor drawings nos.19215 and 11484; Gullini 1956, pl. XVI; Aurigemma 63, no. 6, fig. 17; Romanelli, pl. XXVI; Charbonneaux, fig. 184.

[121] See Ch. I, n. 36.

[122] The hut has been called an osier-barn where calves were reared for ritual purposes (Rostovtzeff 1941, 318). This, however, seems improbable given the simple character and small size of the hut and the fact that similar huts with herdsmen, cattle etc. frequently appear in Nilotic scenes. Reed huts were the usual dwellings for herdsmen and fishermen (see sections 9 and 10, nn. 94, 99). This hut is identified as a *calyba* by R.E.H. Westendorp-Boerma, The Copa illustrated by Archaeology, in *Festoen, Opgedragen aan A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta* (1976) 653 ff., esp. 655 f., but it must have existed in Egypt of old. Several white ribbons are attached to the roof of the hut. Perhaps they are *vittae* and indicate that it is the time of a religious feast (see *DS* V, 949 ff. s.v. Vitta, esp. 953 f., cf. section 13, n. 152). The stone wall beside the hut seems to form a small enclosure for cattle (cf. Whitehouse, fig. 15c). A very similar structure appears on some of the Alexandrian bone tesserae with the inscription Eurylochos (see Alföldi-Rosenbaum 215 f., pl. 21, nos. 33–36; no. 33 happens to come from Pompeii). This was the name of a village to the south of Alexandria on the lake side. Apparently it was inhabited by poor fishermen to such an extent that their simple dwellings became its distinguishing mark on the bone tesserae (see for these further the references given in n. 103). In the door opening of the hut on the bone tesserae a figure is visible which is difficult to recognise (Alföldi-Rosenbaum suggests a Canopus but it seems to have arms). So the structure may be a simple shrine in the local style or just a hut with a private cult statue (cf. the towerhouse in section 13, nn. 145, 146) or simply a hut with an occupant. The birds are clearly ibises because of their curved necks and beaks, and not storks, as Schmidt 50, called them, although storks may also be found in Nilotic scenes (see fig. 38). On top of the hut are sacred ibises and a glossy ibis is sitting on the wall (cf. section 10, n. 98; Ch. II, n. 71). One could consider the possibility of a shrine for an ibis cult (cf. n. 97). However, the simple character of the hut and the presence of the peasants strongly suggest a peasant's hut.

[123] For the peasants see n. 125. The scene in the mosaic seems to illustrate Diod. I 36, 9, where it is stated that during the flood the cattle are kept high and dry near the farm houses. The cow does not belong to the typical Egyptian long horned race but is of a general type with short horns (cf. Keller I, 340 ff., 360, fig. 125; Boessneck 70, fig. 116). A very similar drinking cow may be found in a wall-painting from the Iseum in Pompeii (Elia, pl. III, fig. 1). Another very similar scene, published by Schmidt 52, pl. II, fig. 16, and said to come from the Baths of Constantine, is an 18th century fake based on the Nile Mosaic (see Meyboom 1979, 59 ff., and for a similar case above n. 114). For herdsmen and cattle in Nilotic scenes see Bendinelli, fig. 2; Adriani 1959, pl. XLVI, fig. 134, pl. LVIII, fig. 159; Peters, figs. 44, 48.

[124] For the papyrus canoe see section 17, n. 194. For the man in it see n. 125. The lotus flowers are of the family of the Indian lotus and shall be discussed below, section 19, n. 137. The forked bush on the left-hand side of the papyrus canoe also appears in section 17 (see n. 203) and the Nile frieze of the Casa del Fauno (fig. 28). It could be any kind of plant such as a young tamarisc which, however, grows at the river's border and not in it (see section 8, n. 79). Perhaps it is a young specimen of the Egyptian mimosa which looks like a forked bush when young and later grows into a large tree like the one we have already seen in sections 9 and 10 (see section 9, n. 95). It is very common in Egypt and can grow in water (see G. Karsten, H. Schenk. *Vegetationsbilder*, 19. Reihe, Heft 3/4: M. Rikli, E. Rübel, Das Niltal in Ägypten (1928–29), pl. 18). The leaf on which the frog is sitting is floating on the water and so it does not belong to the Indian lotus but to the Egyptian waterlily, see section 19 n. 137. For the frog see *LÄ* II, 335, s.v. Frosch. Though a very small animal it is nevertheless represented in Nilotic scenes, see e.g. De Vos 1980, 81, figs. 38, 85, and in the Nilotic mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno, our fig. 28, above. Like the lotus the frog comes with the Nile flood and so is a symbol of fertility and rebirth, see besides *LÄ l.c.*; Junker 61, fig. 22; Bonneau 297 f.; Wild 92 ff., n. 94; Beinlich 279, n. 55; J. Leclant, La grenouille d'éternité des pays du Nil au monde méditerrané, in *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren* II (1978) (*EPRO* 68) 561 ff.

[125] Similar herdsmen and fishermen with hairy faces and ragged simple clothes, or even naked, appear elsewhere in the mosaic (see sections 8, 13, 17, 19). Other examples may be found in the tomb of Petorisis which dates from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period (see Lefebvre, pls. XII–XV, and e.g. our fig. 36, which shows a striking resemblance to the man on the left of the door of the hut in section 15). Their uncouth appearance is very different from the civilised Egyptians with their shaven heads and linen clothes, and even from the craftsmen and peasants, which were in the service of the temples and the great land-owners and were still better off. These people were dressed in linen skirts or loincloth and had their heads shaven. See for the latter *LÄ* I, 637. s.v. Bauer; e.g. Lefebvre, pls. VII, VIII, X, XI; Adriani 1972, pls. XXV,3. See also D.B. Thompson, *A Faience Fellah, Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology, A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (1979) 175 ff., pls. XLIX, L. They were the marshdwellers which formed the poorest class of the Egyptian population and lived a life of their own in the marshes, sustaining themselves by herding and fishing and working as day labourers. Their poverty and misery is stressed by their poor clothing, hairyness, leanness and bodily defects which may lead to caricatural representations, see *LÄ* II, 234 ff., s.v. Fischer; *ib.* 1221 s.v. Hirt; Herodotus II 92; Lloyd II, 370, 383; Heliodorus I v–vi; Whitehouse 82, n. 27; Himmelmann 54, pl. 43b. For fishing cf. section 12, n. 118 and 17, n. 194.

[126] See Ch. I, n. 36; Whitehouse 21, fig. 15c. So this scene seems to have been considerably larger on the left hand side, cf. section 16, n. 190. For another coracle boat see section 17, n. 202.

[127] See for this section Whitehouse 23 f., no. 19, figs. 19a–c; Windsor drawing 19219; Gullini 1956, pl. XV,1; Aurigemma 59 f., 62, no. 5, fig. 13; I. Kriseleit, *Antike Mosaiken, Aus den Beständen der Antikensammlung im Pergamonmuseum* (1985) 38 ff., col. pl. on p. 71; a fine colour reproduction in B. Andreae, *Römische Kunst* (1973) pl. 21. For the possibility of the original position of the section at the far right-hand side below section 15, see Ch. I, n. 36. The size of the Berlin section is 0,95–1,02 m.

[128] For the history of the Berlin piece see Whitehouse and Aurigemma *ll.cc.* in n. 127; Montagna 253 f; above Ch. I, n. 4. It had been presented by

Cardinal Magalotti to the Grandduke of Tuscany, Ferdinand de' Medici, in 1628. From the Medici collection it came onto the Florentine market, where it was bought in 1742 by A.F. Gori, see A.F. Gori, *Inscriptiones antiquae in Etruriae urbibus extantes* (1726–1743) III, 48 ff. From Gori's possesion it went to Bayreuth and eventually to Berlin (see Aurigemma 60 f.). The original section had been replaced by a copy in oil-paint, apparently when the original was still at Rome (see Ch. I, n. 4). The Dal Pozzo copy shows some differences from the Berlin piece especially in the shape of the pergola and in the presence of an unidentified object (see n. 129). This can only be explained by assuming that these differences existed in the oil-paint copy of the section and were the result of an attempt to complement the scene. Therefore the Dal Pozzo copy of this section (and the other Dal Pozzo copies which are all the same in style and execution, cf. Whitehouse 23) must have been made after the presentation of the Berlin piece to the Grandduke of Tuscany (cf. above Ch. I, n. 4). So the actual section of the mosaic was made after a Dal Pozzo copy of an oil-paint copy of the original section which is now in Berlin.

[129] In the mosaic the left-hand side of the pergola has been restored in such a way that it is much narrower than the opposite side of the pergola. This unnatural view apparently derives from the Dal Pozzo copy where only a small part of the left-hand side is depicted. This part has been reconstructed as if the original pergola was not wider than the copyist's paper. In the Berlin section the vault of the pergola is represented correctly although it is partly restored. Correctly completed the pergola should be much wider on the left-hand side, see fig. 8 and cf. the examples of pergolas given in n. 130. As regards the masonry on the right-hand side of the pergola, Schmidt 59, supposed that it was a ruin which it does appear to be now in the mosaic. Ruins are, however, rare in classical art (see e.g. a somewhat crumbling wall on a relief at Munich, Adriani 1959, pl. VII, fig. 22, and two examples in Campanian wall-paintings mentioned by Rostovtzeff 1911, 87). In both the Berlin piece and in the Dal Pozzo copy the masonry runs right up to the edge of the scene, so the actual aspect of a ruin may have been created by the restorer, and originally there may have been a complete building instead. In fact pergolas appear often in connection with a building, see e.g. Maiuri 1938, pl. VI, 1, and other examples in n. 130. Furthermore there is in the Berlin piece as well as in the Dal Pozzo copy a strip of land at the bottom, which has only partly been included in the mosaic. So altogether section 19 originally seems to have been considerably larger including a piece of pergola on the left-hand side, a building on the right-hand side and a strip of land in the foreground. Finally the Dal Pozzo copyist depicted in the foliage in the upper right-hand corner, between the pergola and the building, some sort of metallic object which is difficult to identify (see Whitehouse 24, fig. 19a, who describes it as egg-shaped with two longitudinal slits above and a semi-circular one below). It is, however, not visible in the Berlin piece (at least not on a photograph). The piece may have been restored in this part. It may also be that the Dal Pozzo copyist thought to see something in the foliage in this part in the oil-paint copy, which in the original section was not there or was so damaged that it was beyond recognition. Anyway, it was not included in the restoration.

[130] For similar pergolas with banquets see Schmidt 56 ff.; Maiuri 1938, pls. V,2; V,1; La Rocca, De Vos 214 (Casa di P. Cornelius Teges); Nogara, pl. IX,4; Blake 118, pl. 30, fig. 6 (mosaic in the Vatican). For *vela* which may serve a similar purpose see section 13, n. 152, e.g. our fig. 45. Westendorp-Boerma (*o.c.* in n. 122) 658 ff. identifies the pergola in the Nile Mosaic with

the *triclia.* Such banqueting pergolas also existed in ancient Egypt, see e.g. Badawy 1966, fig. 110; 1968, fig. 92; *LÄ* II, 378 ff., s.v. Gartenanlag; Baum 135, figs. 39, 41; *Archeologia* no. 212 (1986) 36 ff. (tomb of Sennefer at Thebes). Stone benches covered with matrasses were usual in summer *triclinia,* see S.P. Riccotti, Forme speciali di triclini, *Cronache Pompeiane* 5 (1979) 102 ff., e.g. fig. 5. For the matresses, see *RE* 2. Reihe III, 2, 2482 f., s.v. Stibas; Matz IV, 329.

[131] See for the Hellenistic chiton n. 81. It may often be found combined with a mantle which may be wrapped very low around the thighs, see above n. 81, e.g. Bieber, pl. 39; Horn (*o.c.* in n. 81) pls. 30,2, 37; Adriani 1972, pl. XXV,1; and section 13, n. 157, fig. 22. The chiton was fastened on the shoulders with only a narrow strap or a knot, and these could easily slide down the arm, cf. n. 81; see e.g. Horn *o.c.*, pl. 30,2, a Myrina terracotta which offers a fine parallel for the women in section 19; W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (1979), figs. 247– 249; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, Le centre du pouvoir* (1969), figs. 36, 38. In the last example the same style of hairdressing may be found.

[132] Various kinds of head-bands existed for banqueters, see in general A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst* (1968); H. Brandenburg, Studien zur Mithra, *JdI* 81(1966) 154 ff. The ones which we see here are noteworthy because they show a red and green check. This suggests that they consist of plaited red and green ribbons. Examples of such plaited head-bands may occasionally be found. See for an early specimen executed in metal, Andronicos 174 f. Later they became wider, cf. a bronze head in Naples (see D. Comparetti, G. de Petra, *La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni* (1883), pl. VIII,2). Fine examples with several colours are depicted in a mosaic from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli in the Vatican Museum (Nogara, pl. XXXVII,2). Similar plaited head-bands may be worn by men on the lids of Volterran cinerary urns, see M. Nielsen, The Lid Sculptures of Volaterran Cinerary Urns, in *Studies in the Romanisation of Etruria* (1975) (*Acta Inst. Rom. Finl.* V) 263 ff., esp. 304, where the figures are not very clear, but compare (M. Martelli, M. Cristofani, eds.) *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche* (Atti dell'incontro di studi Univ. di Siena, 1976)(1977) figs. 89, 92. There also exists another kind of head-band with a chequered pattern, as appears from an example which we can find in a mosaic frieze with garlands and theatrical masks from the Casa del Fauno (see Pernice 173, pls. 73, 74, 1–2). Another specimen in the same mosaic shows a textile pattern. These surely are not tambourines (as Pernice *l.c.* suggested) but a kind of head-band, which is not unlike a filled stocking (see Krug *o.c.*, 15 ff., type 4, pl. 4a–b). Although this type may have a chequered pattern, similar to that of the plaited head-band, it may be distinguished from it because the latter has a knot at the back of the wearer's head like those in the Nile Mosaic.

[133] The rhyton with the animal-protome, originally of Persian origin, is attested in Egypt since the beginning of the Hellenistic period, see for examples Adriani 1972, 170, pls. XLIV,2; LXII,2; Lefebvre, pls. VII, VIII ; M. Pfrommer, *Studien zur alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreuik in frühhellenistischer Zeit* (1987) 158, 266, pl. 1, and in general H. Gericke, *Gefässdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen* (1970) 20; H.Hoffmann, Rhyta and Kantaroi in Greek Ritual, *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 4 (1989) 131 ff.; esp. 160 ff. for their use at Dionysiac banquets. For the round bowls (it is not clear whether they are decorated but they seem to be plain) see the examples in Adriani and Lefebvre *ll.cc.* above. Similar bowls are held by the women on the Tazza Farnese, see Thompson 1978, fig. 107; La Rocca, pl. VIII. This type is also of Persian origin and may be found throughout the Hellenistic

period. Such bowls may be plain or decorated (see Pfrommer *o.c.*, pls. 56, 57, 58a, 62).

[134] For the transverse flute which had been in use in Egypt since the Hellenistic period, see *LÄ* V, 68 f. s.v. Querflöte; H. Hickmann, *45 siècles de musique dans l'Egypte ancienne* (1956), pl. XCVIII, E; Griffith 1975, 188 f., where flute players are mentioned who are dedicated to Sarapis and take part in the Isiac procession. With regard to the harp, Aurigemma 59, calls it a *syrinx* but from its shape and the way the woman holds it at shoulder height, it is clearly a *trigonon*, a small triangular harp. Cf. our fig. 46, which shows a striking similarity with the woman in the Nile Mosaic (terracotta in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire at Genève, Hickmann, *o.c.* pl. LXXXI, C), and fig. 45, reproducing a faience vase at Varna from Kition on Cyprus, showing a banquet scene which has several details in common with the Nile Mosaic, see Greifenhagen 52 ff., figs. 1–4; and below n. 166. For this kind of harp see *LÄ* II, 966 ff., s.v. Harfe, esp. 970 f.; *RE* 2. Reihe XIII, 142, s.v. Trigonon; H. Hickmann, Les harpes de l'Egypte pharaonique, Essai d'une nouvelle classification, *BIE* 35(1953) 21 ff., esp. 331 ff., figs. 24, 29, 34; L. Mannicke, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (1975) (*MÄS* 34) 62 ff.; Athenaeus IV 183e attests its popularity in Alexandria.

[135] For the vine see Germer 116 f.; and for viticulture in Egypt see *LÄ* VI, 1169 ff, s.v. Wein; Baum 135 ff. Originally restricted to the Delta it was extended southwards in the Ptolemaic period, even as far as Elephantine (*LÄ* VI, 1169, n. 8). In gardens the vine was often led over a pergola (see *LÄ* VI, 1170; e.g. Badawy 1966, fig. 100; 1968, fig. 92; the pergola in the tomb of Sennefer, see n. 130 and Maiuri 1938, pl. V). The grape was a symbol of regeneration (see *LÄ* VI, 1176, cf. the revellers in the pergola pointing at the grapes). Consequently it could be associated with Osiris, who may be represented beneath a canopy decorated with a grape-vine (*LÄ* VI, 1176 nn. 131–132), and with Isis- Hathor, Lady of Drunkenness (*LÄ* VI, 1176 f.).

[136] For the feasting at the time of the inundation, see below Ch. IV, pp. 72 ff. For examples of banquet scenes see above n. 130. The woman with the harp is strikingly similar to the terracotta figurine in fig. 47 (see n. 134). The man sitting on the right-hand side turning his back towards us and holding his arm above his head is strongly reminiscent of a woman lying on a couch in some Campana reliefs with Nilotic scenes (fig. 38, see n. 94; rather than taking a siesta, cf. Bonneau 523, she may be taking part in a drinking party since she holds a bowl in her hand and an ithyphallic herme stands beside her). The position of the couple on the left is well-known from sarcophagus lids. So it seems as if several figures which populate the pergola were familiar types for banquet scenes.

[137] See for the lotus *LÄ* III, 1091 ff., s.v. Lotos; Germer 37 ff. The Indian lotus (*Nelumbo nucifera Gaertn.*) has pink flowers, bell-shaped leaves and distinctive seedheads, which rise above the water on long stalks. It must be distinguished from the traditional Egyptian white or light blue waterlily, cf. Germer 39 ff. The Indian lotus does not seem to have been known in ancient Egypt but was introduced some time in the 1st milennium B.C., perhaps by the Persians, see Germer 40. It is striking that the various stages of flowering which the lotus may show are all represented in the Nile Mosaic: a green bulb, a slightly open pink flower with green outer leaves, a more widely open flower in the shape of a bell, a fully opened flower, and finally the seedhead without leaves. The same accurate representation may be found in the Nilotic mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno (fig. 28) and some other Pompeian and Roman mosaics, but in later representations the depiction gradually looses accuracy, see Whitehouse 82, n. 26; S. Auri-

gemma, *I mosaici di Zliten* (1926) 119 ff, n. 11; see however also *Kenchraei* II, 31 ff.

[138] The lotus was plucked and dried and the central part was used to make flour for bread, Herodotus II 92; Theophrastus IV viii, 7–9; Diod. I 10, 1; I, 34,6; Phillips 184 f.; Lloyd I, 371 ff.; Burton 132. For the marshdwellers see section 15, n. 125. For the Egyptian loin-cloth see E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (1966) pl. XXI, fig. 9; G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing (1993) 10 ff., simple loincloth, 64 ff., loincloth with knot at the front or sash-kilt; Lefebvre pl. VII. For examples in the Roman world see e.g. Bendinelli, tav. agg. 2a, 4 a, 5d, and the statues of *sileni* at the Canopus in the Villa Hadriana at Tivoli, *Antike Kunst* 7 (1964) 58, pl. 16, fig. 2.

[139] It looks as if the pergola connects two small islands. All the pergolas mentioned in n. 130, however, do stand firmly on the river bank. Nevertheless in Pompeian gardens we may find pergolas where a small canal runs up to or even through the pergola and its *klinai*, as in the Casa di Loreius Tiburtinus and the Casa di P.Cornelius Teges (see resp. Spinazzola I, pl. 5, opp. p. 376, pl. 6 opp. p. 416, figs. 458 f, 463, 465, 467–472; Ricotti (*o.c.* in n. 130) 103 ff., figs. 3–6, 8, 10, 12; and Maiuri 1938, fig. 19; Zanker 500 f. Such imitation canals were also called Nile and were mocked at among others by Cicero (*De Leg.* II 2) and they may have been inspired by Egyptian examples, lying especially along the canal between Alexandria and Canopus, which was notorious for its villas, restaurants and brothels (see Strabo XVII 16–17; P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux deux prémiers siècles de l'empire* (1943) 82 ff., 296 ff.; Zanker 473). It is even possible that in the Pompeian gardens the inundation was imitated so that a pergola may have seemed to float in the water (see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 42 ff.). In the case of the pergola in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges the Nilotic frieze, to which we frequently have referred, runs along the podium of the *klinai* and may have seemed to rise from the water (see Zanker 500 f.; Maiuri 1938, pls. IV–VI; W.F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii* (1979) fig. 145). Compare also the Nilotic landscapes reproduced in our figs 50, 51, 86, all of which decorated walls in Pompeian gardens. The Canopic canal was an important connection between Alexandria and Canopus, and the villas and gardens lying on and near its banks must have had landing quays, small harbours and connecting canals. Strabo *l.c.* mentions crowds in boats and dwellings and belvederes situated close to the canal, which were adapted to revelry. In such gardens we may imagine constructions similar to those in the Pompeian gardens and in the Nile Mosaic. An impression of such an arrangement may perhaps be offered by a temple garden with a pond lying parallel to the river bank and connected to it by a canal, see Badawy 1968, 491 ff., fig. 110.

[140] See for this section Whitehouse 18 f., no. 13, figs. 13a–c, Windsor drawings nos. 19213, 11483; Gullini 1956, pl. XVII; Aurigemma 63–69, no. 7, fig. 21, p. 71, nr. 9, fig. 25 and p. 69, no. 8, fig. 23; Romanelli, pl. XXVIII; Charbonneaux, fig. 186.

[141] See for this connection above Ch. I, n. 32. Because of the crenellated wall Schmidt 53, called it a fortress and identified it with a southern frontier fortress like that of Buhen (see for fortresses in general Badawy 1968, 450 ff., and especially 457 ff., figs. 243, 2 46). However, crenellated walls and towers were part of temples everywhere in Egypt (cf. Badaway 1968, figs. 247–249, pls. 66, 67; our figs. 16, 18, 87). The Dal Pozzo copy of this section only shows the wall in the foreground and the lower part of the tower at the right-hand side (Whitehouse, fig. 13a) so there may have been a building behind the wall. Phillips made the plausible suggestion that it might be

identified with a temple complex which was reproduced by Suarez but is otherwise lost (see Phillips 101 ff., fig. 3; Suarez's pl. opp. p. 288). If so this part would have shown another enclosure consisting of a tower on the left-hand side (which has been preserved in section 8, see n. 87; Ch. I, n. 32), a crenellated wall with a tower on the right-hand side which has been preserved in section 13; and a small prostyle temple with a segmental pediment, also reproduced in Suarez's plate.

[142] See for the papyrus canoe section 17, n. 194; for the Indian lotus section 19, n. 137 ; for the loin-cloth section 19, n. 138, and for the marsh-dwellers in general section 15, n. 125. For a lotus leaf as head-gear see L. Keimer, Lotus d'Egypte, *Egypt Travel Magazine*, August 1956, 21 ff., esp. 27 f., figs. 20, 21; Aurigemma (*o.c.* in n. 78) pl. 133. For the ducks, which are indistinct, see in general n. 117.

[143] For the date palm see n. 79. Date palms (with fruit-gatherers) were a popular motif in Egyptian and Egyptianising scenes, see e.g. Adriani 1972, pl. LX, 1,3,4; De Vos 1980, 68, n. 162, pl. LI; Rostovtzeff 1957 pl. LIII,2.

[144] See for towerhouses in general above n. 88. A fine parallel for the towerhouse in section 13 may be found in the limestone model in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, reproduced in fig. 37 (inv. no. 56352, height 0, 78 m., see Nowicka 109, fig. 64). The monumental door is of a Hellenistic character, cf. Nowicka, fig. 87; Adriani 1972, pl. LX,2.; Spinazzola I, 317 ff). Compare for the two low protruding walls Adriani 1966, pls. 48, 109 (tombs of Mustapha Pasha and Anfushy); Tybout fig. 17, pl. 110,1; Rostovtzeff 1911, fig. 11; Spinazzola II, fig. 851. For the marble inlay, which was not copied in the Dal Pozzo copy but which is original, see Tybout 271, pls. 31,1 and 109,1.

[145] Cf. a similar bowl on a column in our fig. 45, cf. nn. 134, 166. For an Etruscan example of a bowl on a column beside a house see R.A. Staccioli, L'urna etrusca "a palazzetto" del Museo Archeologico di Firenze, *Arch CL* 19 (1967) 293. For similar libation bowls see F. T. van Straten, The Lebes of Herakles, Note on a new decree stele from Eleusis, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 189 ff., figs. 1, 4, 6; Richter 1966, fig. 317. For a crater or libation bowl of similar shape see Lefebvre, pl. VIII. See for altars in or near private houses H. J. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco- Roman Egypt* (1953) 68; L. Robert, Sur un decret d'Ilion et sur un papyrus concernant des cultes royaux, *Essays in honour of C. Bradford Welles* (1966) 175 ff., esp. 186 ff. The palm-branch would have been an offering (cf. Elia, figs. 6–7; Tran tam Tinh 1964, pl. V,1) and may have been used in a ritual connected with the feast of the inundation, see n. 158.

[146] The figure on the left seems to bow forwards. The figure on the right seems to wear a wreath. A similar shadowy figure on the roof of the tower can hardly be anything other than a human figure (cf. Schmidt 64). The silhouette style of these figures is reminiscent of that of some of the women in section 8 (see n. 81) and seems to suggest distance, see Ch. VII, n. 11. If the figure on the left were human the figure on the right could be a statue of a divinity and would be a private cult statue in the house (see for private shrines in houses Bell (*o.c.* in n. 145) 68).

[147] See for supposed identifications with various temples like the Serapeum of Alexandria Ch. IV, n. 134; Whitehouse 92, n. 34, states that it is an odd building for a temple and suggests a shrine. The building seems to be wider than it really is but this impression is created by the awning which extends further to the left than the pavilion, because otherwise there should be a fifth column of which there is no trace. The centre of the pavilion must be the second intercolumnium from the right. This also appears from the position of the decoration of the pediment and of the top acroterium.

Actually both have been shifted a little to the right because otherwise they would have been obscured by the awning. The structure looks similar to the pronaos of the temple in section 8 (fig. 15) and to the pronaos of the temple, also with an awning in fig. 50, and especially to the temple of Ras el-Soda, see n. 85. See for such temples further nn. 83, 85, 155. There is, however, no trace of a cella behind the portico. The back wall is closed, and there is no trace of a door. That this is the original situation appears from the acroteria on the back of the roof. Exact parallels for such a structure are not easy to find. Some porch-like propylaea bear the most similarity (see e.g. Lawrence, figs. 123, 124). We have already noted that the structure does not seem to have had a door in the back wall. Perhaps the architecture may best be compared to a porch-like exedra (cf. the monument of Mithradates at Delos, Lawrence, fig. 122). Rostovtzeff 1911, 61, n. 1, compared it to a festival pavilion on Lake Mareotis. This can, however, only be the case with regard to the function and not to the architecture because the latter consisted of a row of dining rooms (see *BSAA* 4 (1902) 79 ff., pl. 3). See also Badawy 1975, 86 f., referring to kiosks and way-stations for ceremonies near landing quays (cf. below section 16, nn. 179, 180). One could also think of a porch-like shrine (Whitehouse 92, n. 34) but there is no trace of a cult statue or the like. Perhaps we may compare it to the shrine depicted in the fragmentary gold-glass bowl reproduced in fig. 48 (formerly collection Golenischeff, now in the Moscow Museum, which may still belong to the 3rd century B.C., see Rostovtzeff 1911, 65, fig. 38; Rostovtzeff 1941, I, 373, pl. XLIV, 3; III, 1408 f., n. 165, dated by him to c. 200 B.C.; A. Adriani, Un vetro dorato alessandrino dal Caucaso, *BSAA* 42 (1967) 105 ff., esp. 112, pl. 5 B; J. Cooney, The Gold-glass Alexander Plate, *Bulletin Cleveland Museum of Art* 56 (1969) 259 ff., fig. 56 (all reproductions show a drawing). A portico of Egyptian columns is depicted which support a segmental pediment. The structure is flanked by statues of falcons and sphinxes and an altar stands before it. The picture of the interior of the portico is not very clear but a niche may be discerned and, beneath it, an altar protruding from the wall. These were common features of shrines and tombs, see e.g. Adriani 1966, pl. 109, figs. 375, 376, pl. 113, fig. 396, Anfushy Tomb 2). Considering the presence of the sphinx with the lotus head-gear (cf. n. 105) the structure probably is a funerary chapel (see further below Ch. IV, n. 122). We may not exclude the possibilty that the pavilion in the Nile Mosaic originally also had a niche in the back wall. The back wall is now plain, but it is entirely new. The Dal Pozzo copy also shows a plain back wall but it is possible that this was a simple restoration by the copyist of an apparently very damaged part (cf. n. 156). So it seems that the structure is either a banqueting pavilion or an open shrine while the one explanation does not exclude the other (see further Ch. IV, n. 167).

[148] While some earlier experiments may occasionely be found, columns on pedestals may frequently be found since the end of the 2nd century B.C., especially at Pompeii where we may e.g. mention the Casa del Fauno with the Alexander exedra and the *lararium* in the *fauces* (see Tybout 224f.; Lauter 1986 259 ff.; Von Hesberg 1980, 125, 630; Lauter 1971, 164 f., w. fig. 17; Engemann, pls. 51,1 and 41,1). The bases are Ionic bases of the Italic type, which have the upper *torus* extending over the *scotia* whereas with the Attic form of the Ionic base the *scotia* extends beyond the upper *torus*. The Italic Ionic type may occasionally be found in southern Italy in the early Hellenistic period and had become wide-spread in Italy towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. (see L.S. Meritt, The Geographical Distribution of Greek and Roman Ionic Bases, *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 186 ff., esp. 191 ff.; Tybout 332; cf. *EAA*, Atlante dei complessi figurati, pls. 354– 356). It is interesting that in

contrast to several other architectural details in the Nile Mosaic (see e.g. below in this note and nn. 83, 149–151) no examples of the Italic Attic base have as yet been found in the Ptolemaic world, where only the Attic Ionic type seems to have been used (Meritt 201). So it seems that the artists of the Nile Mosaic simply depicted bases which they saw around them (cf. Tybout 332, n. 1187). The calyx-shaped capitals seem to be of Egyptian inspiration. Their shape seems to derive from the palmiform column, while the annulets below the capitals may derive from the cords with which the palm-leaves were bound together, see *LÄ* III, 323 ff., s.v. Kapitell. In this case, however, the palm-leaves are not indicated and the capital is wholly plain. This is reminiscent of an Egyptian type of a plain pillar capital which only consists of a cavetto gorge, see *LÄ* III, pl. on 325–326, bottom right; G. Jéquier, *Manuel d'archeologie égyptienne. Les élements de l'architecture* (1924) 156, figs. 83, 84, 89, 91; cf. also the capitals of the propylon in section 16, see n. 178.

[149] The combination of a plain architrave and a plain frieze may also be found in the temple in section 8 and the propylon in section 16. The frieze of the pavilion seems to consist of a cavetto cornice. This detail can not be found in the other two cases but it seems likely that they were similar. See for the combination of a plain frieze and a cavetto cornice Badawy 1968, 34, fig. 19; Adriani 1966, pl. 109, figs. 375, 376; pl. 113, fig. 392. (Anfushy Tomb 2); Tybout, pl. 110. For the segmental pediment see section 8, n. 83. See for the rows of modillions in the pediment Von Hesberg 1980, 68 ff., esp. 83; Tybout 337 f., pl. 110,1; Adriani 1966, pl. 88, fig. 299; pls. 91, 92, fig. 312, pl. 109, figs. 375, 376, pl. 113, fig. 392 (Anfushy Tomb 2). As a whole the entablature and the pediment of the pavilion and the propylon in section 16 are very reminiscent of those in the Anfushy Tomb no. 2 at Alexandria which may be dated in the 2nd century B.C., see Von Hesberg 69; *idem*, Zur Entwicklung der griechischen Architektur im ptolemäischen Reich, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (1976) 137 ff., esp. 144.

[150] See for the antefixes n. 84. In the case of the corner acroteria the lack of conformity between the Dal Pozzo copy and the diagrams of Gullini and Aurigemma is very confusing. In the Dal Pozzo copy (Whitehouse fig. 13a) the acroterium on the fore corner is lacking while on the back corner is represented an acroterium in the shape of a horn similar to those of the propylon in section 16 (see below n. 178). In Gullini's pl. XVII the foreground acroterium is indicated as original, but the other one is not. In Aurigemma's diagram, fig. 23, the whole roof is indicated as restored. Anyhow it is clear that not much of the acroteria remained. On the other hand it seems improbable that the restorer invented these unusual acroteria for which he cannot have found a model anywhere else in the mosaic. Therefore, some part of the original acroteria must have remained on which he based his reconstruction, and Gullini's plate is probably right. The Dal Pozzo copyist overlooked this detail as well as the *simpulum* in this scene (see n. 159). He omitted the acroterium on the fore corner but reconstructed an acroterium on the back corner like those of the propylon in section 16. The corner acroteria have the unusual shape of a flat triangle and seem to depict a floral ornament. It may perhaps be compared to Engemann, pl. 19 (wall-painting in the Villa dei Misteri). Another parallel may perhaps be found in the corner acroteria of the Khasneh at Petra which consists of a palmette and a spiral with tendrils and flowers (see Tybout, pl. 101; McKenzie pl. 23d. For its date in the 1st century B.C. and its connection with Alexandrian architecture, see Tybout 245, n. 873; Lauter 1986, 213, pl. 30B; McKenzie 40). The same shape but without ornamentation may be found on Alexandrian grave stelai, see Pagenstecher, figs. 23, 24.

[151] At first sight one would be inclined to think of the well-known motif of the sundisk between two uraeus snakes, which is usually to be found in this position, but the sharp ends of the horns are clearly not snake heads. For the Hathor crown see *RÄRG* 277, 569, fig. 140, 369, fig. 93; *LÄ* III, 189; our fig. 49. This too was well-known in the Roman world, see e.g. Nogara, pl. V; De Vos 1980, pl. XII; La Rocca, De Vos 239; *AA* 1941, 595 ff., figs. 108–111. In architecture its appearance is rare but an example may be found in the top acroterium of the pediment of the Khasneh, where it is combined with ears of corn, see McKenzie 141, pls. 80, 86d, 87b. The Hathor crown with ears of corn is an attribute of Isis, see Meyer 254, figs. 3,4; La Rocca 24. For antefixes with various forms of Isis crowns see *Alla ricerca di Iside* 71, no. 4.4. (from the Iseum at Pompeii) and Roullet 55 f., figs. 27, 28, 30, 31.

[152] For the garlands see n. 93. For*taeniae* or*vittae* see section 15, n. 122; *DS* VII, 953 f.; *RE* 2. Reihe, IV 2, 2002 f., s.v. Taeniae; e.g. Tybout, pls. 82, 83,1. Awnings to protect people, usually banqueters, from the sun appear frequently in Nilotic scenes: see our fig. 44, where it hangs from a temple façade; Schefold 1962, fig. 144; Adriani 1959, pl. XLII, fig. 123; and our fig. 35, where it is hanging from a tree.

[153] See for the quay Ch. I, n. 33; below section 14, n. 171; section 16, n. 182; section 17, n. 192.

[154] See for the cypres *RE* IV, 2, 1909 ff., s.v. Cypresse, esp. 1923,5 (where the identification with the cypres may, however, seem doubtful); *LÄ* VI, 1455 f., s.v. Zypresse. It is a subtropical tree, which may occasionally be found in Egypt, but it is not mentioned in the usual botanical literature on Egypt, like Germer and Täckholm. In antiquity it did grow in Cyrenaica which was under Ptolemaic control (see Theophrastus IV iii, 1). The soft climate of the Delta will not have differed much from that of Cyrenaica so it seems probable that the cypres, which was a popular tree in the classical world, was occasionally cultivated in the Delta in the Graeco-Roman period. As regards the tree between the cypresses, the shape and position of the sickle-like objects which seem to hang in it are suggestive of peapods. *Vittae* are always knotted and hang in a different way (see n. 122). Such large peapods and the shape of the tree with the wide-spread branches are characterstic of the Lebbek tree (*Albizia lebbeck* (*L.*) *Benth*), *Vegetationsbilder* (*o.c.* in n. 124) pl. 13; Baum 267. This tree is of Asiatic origin and is now very common in Egypt and East Africa but it is not attested in ancient Egyptian sources and it is believed to have been introduced in Egypt only as late as the 18th century, see L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* I (1924) 35, 98, n. 32. However, Keimer 98, n. 32, states himself that it is strange that the tree was introduced in the 18th century when the standard of life in Egypt was very low, and also that it was already common in southern Egypt where it was first described, c. 1750. So one may wonder if it may not have been introduced in Egypt at an earlier date. Other trees and plants like the persea and the Indian lotus had already been introduced to ancient Egypt (see nn. 48 and 137). Another tree whith large pods is the carob-tree but it looks very different to the tree in the Nile Mosaic, see Baum 162 ff. The sycamore was identified already by Schmidt 55. It bears its fruits on leafless branches and these fruits may be represented by the clusters of white spots. The sycamore was a very popular Egyptian tree (see Theophrastus IV ii, 1 ff.; *LÄ* VI,113 f. s.v. Sykomore; Germer 25 ff.; Baum 38 f.). Its widely spreading branches may also be recognised in the grove in fig. 51 (cf. Rostovtzeff 1911, 78) and possibly in fig. 50. See for these trees further Ch. IV, n. 111.

[155] See for the painting in the Casa dei Cei at Pompeii, fig. 49; Spinazzola I, 276 ff, figs. 305, 307–310; Peters 172 ff., fig. 171; Michel 84 ff., figs. 265,

274–280, and below n. 120; for the painting in the Casa di Appoline, see Rostoftzeff 1911, 78, fig. 45; Spinazzola I, fig. 311; Peters 177 f., fig. 176; Zanker 482 ff., fig. 14; *Italienische Reise* (*o.c.* in n. 85), pl. 18. An extant example of such a grove complex is the shrine of Isis and Osiris Canopus at Ras el-Soda from the 2nd century A.D. (see n. 85). Not only is the portico of that shrine strikingly similar to the pavilion, attached to it was a courtyard and a complex of outbuildings including a dining room and other dwellings. Adriani 1966, 101, suggested that it was part of an estate lying near the Canopic canal referring to Strabo XVII 1, 16, and W. Schubart, *Preuss. Jahrb.* 137,3 (1909) 498 ff., where papyri from the Augustan period are discussed mentioning estates belonging to Alexandrian citizens with private shrines, family tombs, orchards etc. See further below Ch. IV, n. 110, 120–121.

[156] See Whitehouse 18 f., figs. 13a, 13c. We have already noticed this situation in the case of the corner acroteria of the pavilion (see n. 150) and will see it again in the armour of the first officer (n. 162) and of the *simpulum* which the priestess holds (n. 159).

[157] For the Hellenistic chiton and the low hanging mantle wrapped around the thighs see nn. 81, 131, and e.g. Horn (*o.c.* in n. 81) pl. 30, 1–2, where the mantle is held up in the same way with the left hand.

[158] For the palm-branch see the extensive discussion in Griffith 1975, 198 ff., also 135 ff., 219, in connection with the palm-branch which is carried in the Isis procession (Apuleius XI 10). In Egypt the date palm had become associated especially with Hathor and the funerary cult (cf. I. Wallert, *Die Palmen im Alten Agypten* (1962) 105f., 135 ff.). Consequently it had become a promise of eternity and was connected especially to the circle of Osiris (see Wild 118 f.). In representations from the Graeco-Roman period it may be carried by Anubis (e.g. Malaise I, pl. 26; II, 210, n. 2; Grenier 139, pls. XVIII b, XXII) and by priests and women who take part in Isis processions (e.g. Roullet, pl. XXV, fig. 38, pl. XXVIII, fig. 41; Wild pl. XVIII,4; Tran tam Tinh 1964, pl. IV, 1–2; and section 16, n. 189, our fig. 55). It may also be carried by Isis herself (e.g. Dunand 1973, I, 81, 3; Dunand 1979, pl. XXXII, fig. 51). In the classical world the palm-branch was a token of triumph. It is not clear if and how far this conception influenced the Egyptian tradition in the Graeco-Roman period (see Griffith 1975, 203; Rice 11, 51, 57; cf. F.L. Bastet, Quelques rémarques relatives à l'hypogée de la Porte Majeure, *BABesch* 45 (1970) 148 ff., esp. 169, figs. 3, 20–22, for palm-branches and prize vessels as token of agonistic triumph and as symbol of triumph over death). Actually the two conceptions seem perfectly compatible and they may have merged in a natural way. In the Roman period the palm-branch had indeed also become a symbol of triumph over death (see Malaise II, 210, n. 2 with literature). A palm-branch is also carried by the figure of the Semasia, a young woman on a galloping horse, who, in the Roman period, announces the height of the flood (see fig. 94; Bonneau 375, n. 4; below Ch. IV, n. 179). In this case the Egyptian conception as a symbol of revival and the classical conception of triumph may have merged very well.

[159] It does not appear on the Dal Pozzo copy but it is original, see Whitehouse 19. Schmidt 63, and Rostovtzeff 1941, 318, thought that it was a *taenia* or a wreath for a victor, but it is a *kyathos* or *simpulum*, see Aurigemma 69; Whitehouse 19. This is a ladle which was used to dispense wine, for libation or for drinking, and had a long handle with a small bowl at the end. See *RE* XI,2, 2242 s.v. Kyathos; *RE* 2. Reihe III, 1, 213 ff., s.v. Simpuvium; cf. Lefebvre pl. VIII, where it is carried by servants together with a crater and drinking cups; it was also used in the cult of Isis for pouring water, see L. Castiglione, Die Rolle der Kyathos im ägyptischen Kult,

AAHung 8 (1960) 387 ff., esp. 396 ff., figs. 7–10; Wild 110 ff., pl. XIII; Malaise I, pl. opp. frontisp. The original type shows a long handle with a small cup at the end (see Lefebvre, pl. VIII). Since the Hellenistic period the long handle may also have a shallow bowl; see e.g. Richter 1966, fig. 426; A. Oliver Jr., *Silver for the Gods: 800 Years of Greek and Roman Silver* (The Toledo Museum of Art, exh. cat. 1977) 100, nos. 13, 15, 31, 58, 75). The *simpulum* in the Nile Mosaic seems to be of the latter type.

[160] Only the top is original and some of the foliage on the left-hand side appears in the Dal Pozzo copy. The way it looks now it may largely be a creation of the restorer. Nevertheless its shape is reminiscent of the bitter aloe, see e.g. G. Nicholson, *An Encyclopedia of Horticulture* I (1885) 53, fig. 61; V. Täckholm, M. Drar, *Flora of Egypt* III (1954) 294 ff. According to Germer 197, the aloe did not grow in ancient Egypt and was only introduced there in the Christian period. However, varieties of the aloe grew in Aethiopia and Arabia and later the aloe spread over the Mediterranean, so the possibility of its presence in Egypt before the Christian period may not be excluded, cf. L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* II (1984)(ed. R. Germer) 45 ff.

[161] For the wreath see n. 81. The horn has exactly the same shape as those on the buffet table on the left-hand side. Therefore it must be a drinking horn and not a music instrument as has sometimes been suggested (see Steinmayer 81, n. 3, identifying it as a Jewish trumpet, while Riemann 1986, 401, denying its Jewish character still assumes that it is a musical horn). Similar drinking horns are standing on the buffet-table on the left (see n. 166). See for the drinking horn, the *keras*, and its Dionysiac association in general Gericke (*o.c.* in n. 133) 19 ff. A similar horn is also held by the figure of the Nile and one of the nymphs on the Tazza Farnese. Just like the figure of the Nile the officer in the Nile Mosaic raises the horn waiting for it to be filled, while the *simpulum* is passed to him with which he can fill it (see Thompson 1978, 116, figs. 104, 105, 107; *AJA* 96 (1992) 249 ff., pls. 4a, 5b). A similar horn stands on the buffet-table on the Varna vase (see fig. 45; and below n. 166) and may be held by Isis (see fig. 96, Ch. IV, n. 180). See further Ch. IV, n. 166.

[162] The first officer is entirely restored and shows several differences with the Dal Pozzo copy. In the mosaic the tunic shows stripes in the part below the hips. This suggests that it has leather thongs, or groin flaps, which usually belong to a cuirass. These stripes do not appear in the Dal Pozzo copy, but, as they can not be found on any other of the soldiers, it does not seem probable that they were invented by the restorer. Also the red belt, a *cingulum*, is suggestive of a cuirass. The tunic is green. This should imply that if it is a cuirass (like Schmidt 62, assumes) it was not made of metal but of pressed and coloured linen or leather. The second soldier does wear a metal, or a metal coloured, cuirass. The third soldier clearly wears a muscle cuirass which is white, so it seems to be of linen or leather. See for cuirasses in general B.A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung* (1919) 34 ff.; A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour* (1967) 92, 117; C.C. Vermeule, Hellenistic and Roman Quirassed Statues, *Berytus* 13 (1959) 1 ff., esp. 13 ff.; P. M. Fraser in *Berytus* 15 (1964) 95 ff. Parallels for such cuirasses, with groin-flaps or with plain skirts, may be found on the Alexander sarcphagus from Sidon (see Von Graeve 94 f.), pl. 68,1. Compare further Alexandrian terracotta statuettes of Macedonian soldiers, wearing muscle cuirasses with kits of thongs or plain skirts, *chlamys* and *kausia*; see W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechische Terrakotten* (Königliche Museen zu Berlin) (1914) pl. 32, nos. 339–341; *Allard Pierson Museum, Algemene Gids* (1937) pl. XXIII. A fine parallel for these officers or

soldiers may be found on an Alexandrian gravestele from the 3rd century B.C., on which a soldier is depicted wearing a metal muscle cuirass with a *cingulum*, red groin-flaps and a greenish *chlamys*. He is being handed a Thracian helmet and a long spear by a boy dressed in a brownish chiton, see fig. 52; *Berytus* 51 (1964) 71 ff., no. 1, pl. 1. For other examples see grave stelai from Sidon in Rostovtzeff 1941, 474, pl. LVII,1–2; Adriani 1966, no. 116, pl. 85, figs. 283, 286. See for the *cingulum*, the Greek name of which is unknown, Hagemann 42; A. Alföldi, Insignia und Tracht der römischen Kaiser, *RM* 50 (1935) 1 ff., esp. 64 f. It is often supposed to be the distinction of a commanding officer, as it was in the Roman period. In the Hellenistic period, however, its use must have been wider because it may be found in many examples, see Hagemann 42. The *chlamys*, which may be recognised by its rounded end was originally a typical Macedonian mantle (see Bieber 35, pl. 32,1; Von Graeve 85; B.M. Kingsly, The cap that survived Alexander, *AJA* 85 (1981) 39 ff., esp. 41 f.). In the Roman world the red or purple *chlamys*, called *paludamentum*, came to be reserved for the commander in chief or the emperor. In the Hellenistic world its use must, however, have been wider, because we find it with many officers and in different colours. Different colours may have been indicative of rank, the red or purple colour perhaps being reserved for kings or commanding officers, but this is not certain. In the Nile Mosaic we find a red and a yellow *chlamys* and in our fig. 52, a greenish one (see *DS* IV, 295, s.v. Paludamentum; Alföldi *o.c.* 49 ff.; H. Wrede, Zur Trabea, *JdI* 103 (1988) 381 ff., esp. 384). The Thracian helmet has a high cap with forehead-, neck- and cheekplates. The height of the cap could vary and the plume could be removed, cf. the helmet of the fourth soldier on the right. The Thracian helmet was the most common type of helmet in the Hellenistic world and because it was especially popular with the Macedonian armies it is also called the Macedonian helmet (see G. Waurick, *Helme der hellenistischen Zeit und ihre Vorlaüfer. Antike Helme, Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des antiken Museums Berlin* (1988) 151 ff., figs. 13–21; B. Schröder, Thrakische Helme, *JdI* 27 (1912) 317 ff.; fig. 1, Beil. 9–16; Snodgrass *o.c.* 116, fig. 53; Rostovtzeff 1941, 474, pl. LVII; Von Graeve 91 ff.; I. Makaronas, S.G. Miller, The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, *Archeology* 27 (1974) 248 ff., pls. on 250, 257; Tybout, pl. 82). It appears on many Macedonian coins (see H. Gäbler, Die antiken Münzen von Makedonien und Paionia, *Die antiken Münzen Nord Griechenlands* III, 2 (1935) Index s.v. Helm, macedonische, e.g. pls. XXXIV, 3,13, XXXV). On the Alexander sarcophagus it is worn especially by the infantry soldiers while the cavalry wears the Boeotian helmet (see n. 163 and Von Graeve 88, 91 ff.; pls. 28, 33–35, 68,1; 77,2; 78,3). The boots are *embades*, as may be seen by their leather turnovers, which are presumably of Thracian origin, see *DS* II,1, 593 ff., s.v. Embas, figs. 2646–2653. They may easily be distinguished from the Roman *caliga*, which is an ankle-high sandal, as Schmidt 62, incorrectly called them. In the Hellenistic period *embades* could become very luxurious, made with lion skin etc., and in this way they lived on in the Roman period, when they were reserved for images of the gods, mythological figures and emperors (see H.R. Goette, Mulleus-Embas-Calceus. Ikonographische Studiën zu römischen Schuhwerk, *JdI* 103 (1988) 401 ff., esp. 424 ff.). Whereas the soldiers with the cuirasses and *chlamydes* seem to be officers, the other men are apparently private soldiers. Some fine parallels for these may be found on a stele from Sidon representing soldiers dressed in short-sleeved chitons and armed with Thracian helmets and oval shields (see Rostovtzeff 1941, 474 pl. LVII; Kingsley 39 ff., n. 12). For the short-sleeved chiton see M. Bieber in *AJA* 60 (1956) 171f.; Von Graeve 85, pl. 66,1. The *krepides* are clearly depicted in the second Dal Pozzo copy of this scene (Whitehouse fig. 13c). See for them *DS* I,2, 1557 ff., s.v. Crepida; Von Graeve 85, pl. 66; *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 208. For the lances see the stelai from Sidon and Alexandria (see our fig. 52; Rostovtzeff 1941, 474, pls. LVII, XXXVII,1; LVII,1–2). Presumably they are the famous Macedonian sarissas, see *RE* 2. Reihe I,2, 2515 ff., s.v. Sarisse. For the shields see n. 163.

[163] Schmidt 62, called the shields Roman *clipei* and *scuta*. However, round, oval and rectangular shields were common in the Hellenistic world (see Snodgrass (*o.c.* in n. 162) 123 ff., 147). The oval shields could in reality also have been round, if they were pictured from an angle, but oval shields, often called Celtic shields, were common in the Hellenistic world (see Fraser II, 927, n. 355; Lunsingh Scheurleer 101, figs. 1, 5; the Sidon stele mentioned in n. 162; U. Hausmann, Zur Eroten-und Gallier-Ikonographie in der Alexandrinischen Kunst, *Alessandria* II, 283 ff., pls. LI, LII; D. Salzmann, Überlegungen zum Schild auf dem Münzen des Ptolemaios Philadelphos und verwandte Denkmälern, *Schweiz. Münzblätter* 30 (Heft 118) (1980) 33 ff.; *SNG Copenhagen* 1977, pl. IV, nos. 103–128. The shield with the star may be round because the star was a popular motif on round shields (see examples in n. 164). The shield with the four S's is clearly oval. The rectangular type of shield was comparatively rare in the Hellenistic world, but it was by no means the sole distinguishing mark of the Roman *scutum* (see for this *DS* I,2, 1254 ff., s.v. Scutum). See e.g. *Altertümer von Pergamon* II (1885) pls. 47, 48, 50; Pasquinucci (*o.c.* in n. 17) figs. 93, 95, 96). Sometimes they have slightly curved sides, like the right hand one of the two rectangular shields in the Nile Mosaic seems to have, see Picard, pl. VIII; (cf. T. Hölscher, in *Tainia, Festschrift R. Hampe* (1980) 359 ff.); *BCH* (1913) 118 f., fig. 8, representing a Greek example from the 3rd century B.C., possibly of Thracian origin. In the Hellenistic period they seem to have become smaller, like those in the Nile Mosaic. As regards the helmets, the ones on the left and the right-hand side seem to be varieties of the Thracian helmet with a very short forehead plate (cf. Waurick (*o.c.* in n. 162) 157 f., figs. 19, 20, dating from c. 100 B.C. The helmet between these is a specimen of the Boeotian helmet, as may be seen from the rather small cap and heavy forehead- and neck-plates. These were used by the Macedonian cavalry and, confusingly, are sometimes also called Macedonian helmets (see Snodgrass 116, fig. 59; Waurick 159 ff., figs. 22–33; Von Graeve 87 ff., 91 ff., pls. 28, 29, 31). The axe as a weapon was rare in the Greek world (except for the mythical Amazones) see Snodgrass 40, 85. For the axe in Egypt see E. Kühnert-Eggebrecht, *Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten* (1969) (*MÄS* 15) esp. fig. 3 and pl. 6. In Egypt and Aethiopia the axe was used to fight large animals, like elephants and hippopotami and thus it became a weapon for Aethiopians and mahuts (see Scullard 70, 75; Foucher, fig. 4; and our Ch. IV, n. 16; fig. 61). As a mahut's weapon it may have become a weapon for the elephant corps (cf. Diod. XVIII 27; and Ch. IV, n. 16).

[164] Only one of the shields does not seem to have a shield device but to have a strengthening bulge in the middle. The use of large individual shield devices was typical for the classical and Hellenistic periods, see in general G.H. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greeks* (1902); W.L. Hare, *Greek Armorial Bearings, Art and Archeology* 27 (1929) 59 ff., 136 ff., 169 ff. For some examples from the Hellenistic period see *Altertümer von Pergamon* II (1885) pl. 46; M. Moretti, *Etruskische Malerei in Tarquinia* (1974) figs. 90, 93; Picard, pl. VIII. A star, or perhaps a sunburst, was a typical Macedonian device and was also used by the Ptolemies (see Andronicos, pls. 135, 136, 143, 144, 153.; Makaronas, Miller (*o.c.* in n. 162), pls. on 250, 257; Lunsingh Scheurleer

101 f., fig. 5. Shields with stars may also be found in Roman wall-paintings, see e.g. Tybout, pl. 30. As regards the scorpions Steinmayer 81 calls them a scorpion and a scarab, but the two animals that are represented clearly belong to the scorpion family although they are not identical (see for scorpions Keller II, 470 ff., fig. 142a). It may have an astrological and an apotropaic meaning, and may be found regularly on Greek shields since the 6th century B.C. (see Chase, 61 ff., 119, no. 224; Hare 59 ff., 136 ff., 169 ff.). It may also be an attribute of Africa or of Syrian towns (cf. *EAA* I, 107 ff., Keller II, 475, n. 390). In Egypt the scorpion was especially the animal of Selket, and as such of Isis (*RARG* 696 ff., s.v. Selket; *LÄ* V, 830 ff., s.v. Selqet; cf. fig. 81, central scene). See also F.L. Bastet, Der Skorpion auf der Gemma Augustea, *Studies in Classical art and archeology, A tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (1979) 217 ff., esp. 219 f., where, however, the appendix presenting the evidence is lacking. Anyway it is clear that there is no reason to connect a scorpion as a shield device with Tiberius because that was his astrological birth sign (as it was done by M. Durry, Sur l'armement prétorien, in Mélanges Ch. Picard I, *RA* 29–30 (1948) 326 ff., esp. 327, with earlier literature; G. Ch. Picard, *Les trophées romains* (1957) 309; cf. Bonneau 91, n. 3, quoting J. Charbonneaux). See for the meaning of the star and the scorpion further below Ch. IV, n. 164. For the motif of the four S's I have not found an exact parallel, but it may be found in combination with thunderbolts on an oval shield in stucrelief in the Casa del Criptoportico at Pompeii, see Spinazzola I, fig. 525.

[165] In spite of repeated opinions that they are Roman legionaries or even members of the Praetorian guard (see e.g. Schmidt 61 f.; Rostovtzeff 1957, 276; Bonneau 93). The 'national' Macedonian dress consisted of a short chiton, *chlamys, embades* or *krepides* and the *kausia*, see D.B. Thompson , The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic period, *Troy*, Suppl. Mon. 3 (1963) 53, n. 136; Kingsley (*o.c.* in n. 162) 41 f.; Athenaeus XII 537 e; Plutarch, *Antonius* LIV. Only the *kausia* is missing in this military group, but it may be found with the sailor blowing a trumpet in section 17 (see n. 196). See for the Macedones, the household troops, and the Ptolemaic army in general Fraser I, 53, 80, 68 f., 88 f., 102, 118, 129 f., 281. For the Ptolemaic household cavalry see Fraser I, 88. Soldiers do not appear frequently in Nilotic scenes. If they do, they are often represented as pygmies but dressed and armed as Hellenistic soldiers, as we have just described, and they seem to have the function of police troops, see e.g. Schefold 1962, figs. 121, 144; Spinazzola I, fig. 305; and section 17, n. 196. The soldiers in the Nile Mosaic are apparently taking part in a festive drinking party. See for this further below Ch. IV, pp. 69, 73.

[166] For buffet-tables with vessels for eating and drinking see Schmidt 63; Richter 1966, 63 ff., 81 ff.; figs. 422, 424–426; Adriani 1959, pl. XXXI; and the Varna vase in our fig. 45; see nn. 161. The table in the Nile Mosaic is of a rectangular Greek type with stretchers between the legs (see Richter 1966, 66 f., figs. 361, 362, 365). The legs are of the lion paw's type and have the characteristic volute attachment at the upper end of the legs (cf. Richter 1966, 68, figs. 350–355). The use of this type continued in the Roman period (Richter 1966, 111, fig. 574). The shape of the crater with its heart-shaped belly and high foot may be found in craters from the Hellenistic period, see e.g. Adriani 1959, 5 f., pls. V, VI; Bastet (*o.c.* in n. 158), fig. 20; Tybout pl. 14,1; and the Varna vase in our fig. 45, see n. 161. The banquet scene on the Varna vase is especially interesting in connection with the scene in the Nile Mosaic. Although in that case the buffet-table is of an Egyptian type (cf. Richter 1966, fig. 364) it shows several Greek types of vessels, like the crater,

the horn, and the libation bowl on a column (see nn. 161 and 145), amphoras on stands, etc. It shows the same mixture of Greek and Egyptian elements as may be found in the scenes from the tomb of Petosiris, see Lefebvre, e.g. pl. VIII.

[167] See for dogs of which a large variety existed in Egypt and Aethiopia section 3, n. 31. It seems to be a lightly spotted hound, cf. Epstein 78 ff., 80, figs. 91, 101–104, 107; Keller I, 101, 155, fig. 53; Boessneck 83 ff. Dogs and hounds were favoured by the Ptolemies and 2400 dogs and hounds of various kinds are said to have taken part in the Procession of Ptolemy II, see Rice 93. For dogs in the classical world in general see D.B. Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* (1964) and R.H.A. Merlen, *De Canibus, Dog and Hound in Antiquity* (1971).

[168] For this section see Whitehouse 19 f., no. 14, fig. 14, Windsor drawing no. 19214.

[169] See Whitehouse 19 f., cf. Ch. I, n. 34.

[170] See Whitehouse 20 and 73. The base of the pilaster at the back of the pavilion is clearly visible. One may wonder if the copyist did actually see any traces of the priestess and the plant beside her, or if he only reconstructed it with the help of section 13. On the far left-hand side there is a sketch of a human figure. Nothing remains of this figure in this part of section 13, which is here, however, totally new. On the other hand the figure resembles the fisherman in section 8. Perhaps the copyist first thought that section 14 should be connected to section 8 (cf. Whitehouse 92, n. 33). Anyhow, because of the pilaster and the oblique causeway the section can not have been placed elsewhere in the mosaic. The two figures on the quay will have been either spectators or participants in the procession which sets foot on the quay in section 16. See for the quay section 16, n. 182, section 17, n. 192, and Ch. I, n. 33,

[171] Logically the water should represent the left part of the water surface of section 17. The second brown patch looks like an arch of the arcade which supports the causeway but it is placed against the same green background as the parasol. One wonders where the beginning of the arcade was placed. Perhaps the green background was not water but the arcade wall and the shadow of the sunshade was another arch. Anyhow, it seems that the fragment was much damaged and that the copyist became confused about what he was depicting, cf. Ch. I, n. 34. See for quay further n. 192.

[172] The parasol is not just a small parasol but a grand affair with an ornate fringe. The fringe does not seem to indicate any specific meaning, but only to serve for decoration as it may often be found with parasols (see A.D. Trendall in *AJA* 66 (1962) 350, pl. 94, fig. 3). The pole stands obliquely to the cone so it must be adjustable. See for examples of such ornate parasols A.D. Trendall, A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* II (1982) pl. 183, 1, 376,3; 394,2; cf. below Ch. IV, nn. 140–144; e.g. our fig. 90. Such a parasol is hardly ever carried by the person who enjoys its shade, but usually by a servant. We may, therefore, assume that at least two figures appeared below the parasol and perhaps even more. See for this scene further below Ch. IV, pp. 65 ff.

[173] For this section see Whitehouse 20, Gullini 1956, pl. XIX; Aurigemma 71, 73, 75, no. 11, and fig. 30; Romanelli, col.pl. XXVII. Since it was not copied for Dal Pozzo, Whitehouse 20, suggests that it had remained behind *in situ* at Palestrina, together with section 21, and was only lifted for the purpose of the restoration of 1640, see however n. 174 and Ch. I, n. 10.

[174] Gullini's plate XIX, shows a larger part of the man as original and belonging to section 20 than Aurigemma's fig. 30. But since the sitting man

appears nearly in full in the Dal Pozzo copy, except for his foot, Gullini's plate can not be right here, unless section 20 was present at Rome and was not entirely copied, because there was no place on the paper. Perhaps it was not thought to be of enough importance to be copied separately. However, Aurigemma's diagram seems to be more correct here because it shows only the foot of the sitting man in section 20, and this would fit section 16 exactly as it appears in the Dal Pozzo copy, cf. Ch. I, n. 10.

[175] See for the quay Ch. I, n. 33, and below section 17, n. 191.

[176] See for this section Whitehouse 21 f., no. 16, figs. 16 a–b, Windsor drawing no. 19216; Gullini 1956, pl. XIX; Aurigemma 71, 73, 75, no. 11, fig. 30; Romanelli, col. pl. XXVII. The connection with section 20 appears from the man sitting in the lower left-hand corner because his lower legs appear in section 20, see n. 174.

[177] For the sycamore and the grove in section 13 see above n. 154. The connection between the pavilion and the propylon is emphasized by the fact that both have the exceptional Hathor crown acroterium (see n. 151). The way in which other parts are supposed to be connected is, however, not very clear. Essentially it seems that the propylon leads to a causeway which opens on the waterside and runs along the wall of the grove. In this wall there is a door. The wall and the causeway seem to be connected in some way to the back of the pavilion (see n. 170). But why is the course of the wall so angular, and why is the pavilion not open to the causeway, but placed with its back towards the propylon? It would have seemed more logical if the artist had placed the pavilion facing to the right instead of to the left. In that way he would perhaps not have had enough room to represent the whole scene which takes place below the awning. Or perhaps he tried in this way to separate the two scenes from each other, i.e. the procession in the background and the meeting in the foreground. Anyway, the artist seems to have muddled up his model in this part somehow (cf. also Ch. IV, n. 132).

[178] See for the parapet walls section 8, n. 83. For the Italic-Ionic bases see section 13, n. 148. The capitals have the same calyx-shape as those of the pavilion in section 13, but they are less high, see n. 148. Parallels for such capitals may be found in the Anfushy tombs at Alexandria (see Adriani 1966, pl. 107, fig. 366; pl. 113, fig. 395; and above n. 149). They must not be confused with the popular bell-shaped papyriform capital but the difference is not always clear (see *LÄ* III, 323, s.v. Kapitelle, pl. on 325–326; e.g. our figs. 48, 53, 54; and compare Adriani 1966, pl. 113, fig. 395 with fig. 392; for a similar capital in the courtyard of the Isis temple at Philae see *Description de l'Egypte. Antiquités* I, pls. 6,2; 8,3). This type is similar to an old Egyptian type of pillar capital, which consists only of a cavetto gorge, see *LÄ* III, pl. on 325–326, bottom right; Jéquier (*o.c.* in n. 148), 156, figs. 83, 84, 89, 91. The entablature consists of a plain architrave, surmounted by what seems to be a plain cavetto cornice as in section 13, see n. 149. For the segmental pediment see section 8, n. 83. It has rows of dentils below the straight and the raking cornice (see n. 149; Adriani 1966, pl. 109, figs. 375, 376). See for the Hathor crown section 13, n. 151. For horn-shaped acroteria see Adriani 1972, pl. IX,1; 1966 pl. 48, reproducing the tomb of Mustapha Pasha, a long horn-shaped acroterium; and for a shorter type like those in the Nile Mosaic, Pagenstecher, fig. 19. The roof has the same antefixes as the temple in section 8 (see n. 84). Alltogether, the best parallels for the various architectural elements may, as is the case with the pavilion in section 13, be found in tomb 2 at Anfushy, see n. 149.

[179] See for kiosk-like propylaea and landing stations Whitehouse 92, n. 39; *RÄRG* 376, s.v. Kiosk; Badaway 1968, 174 f., figs. 108, 109; Badaway 1975,

86, fig. 7. *LÄ* V, 1258, s.v. Stationsheiligtum. Good parallels may be found in fig. 54 (representing a Roman lamp exhibiting an Isis sanctuary with a propylon, see Pagenstecher 29 f., no 93, fig. 16; Witt 185 ff.; Fraser II, 829, n. 232). See also our fig. 53, representing a relief of the Hathor temple at Dendera depicting a portable shrine of similar shape with an image of Harpocrates, see *PM* VI, 76, 216–233, where this detail is not mentioned though. See further Pagenstecher, figs. 83, 84.

[180] This kind of kiosk-like structure was an imitation of the vault of heaven supported by four columns (see A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastide à l'époque saïte* (1913) IX ff.; M.J. Raven in *OudheidMeded* 62 (1981) 18). It was used widely in various forms for shrines, canopies, tombs and similar structures, see *RÄRG* 376, s.v. Kiosk; *LÄ* I, 607 f., s.v. Baldachin; III, 441, s.v. Kiosk; V, 1258, s.v. Stationsheiligtum. See the examples given in n. 179 and the cabin boat in section 12 and Castiglione 1954, 211, n. 3, fig. 5.

[181] Statues of sacred animals beside the entrances of temples, shrines and tombs, in pairs or alone, were an old Egyptian custom, see e.g., figs. 48, 50, 54, 86, 87. Perhaps we may imagine a matching statue on the other side of the propylon. The statue of the dog has already been recognised as the jackal god Anubis by Suarez 291, see further Schmidt 55; Aurigemma 73; Bonneau 92 f; Whitehouse 22; Steinmayer 81. Grenier 156, n. 248, states that the sitting position and the naturalistic rendering of the dog in the Nile Mosaic are unusual. Nevertheless, various examples of similar representations may be found from the Graeco-Roman period (see e.g. Grenier pls. Xb, XII ; *Alessandria* III, pl. CXLV, fig. 2; our fig. 78; see further Ch. IV, n. 109). In fact the jackal was not clearly distinguished from wolves and wild dogs and the appearance of Anubis is a mixture of these animals. Representations of a sitting dog may be found at an early date, see Witkowski 38, n. 9, and 45. Statues of a sitting jackal, which may have belonged to a pair, have also been preserved; see e.g. J.G. Milne, *Greek inscriptions, Catalogue général des antiquiteés égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (1905) 42 f.; no. 9276, pl. IV , (c. 200 B.C.). The meaning of the Anubis statue in the Nile Mosaic shall be discussed in Ch. IV., n. 109.

[182] Cf. Whitehouse, 22 and 92, n. 39, fig. 17a, where in the upper edge of section 17 a platform is represented which ends with a corner that must approximately have been placed beneath the Anubis statue in section 16 (see below section 17, n. 192).

[183] See for Egyptian processions *LÄ* IV 1,160 ff., s.v. Prozession. Fine representations of processions have among other places been preserved at Edfu (see e.g. *Edfou* IX, pls. 121, 122, 126, 127; XIII, pls. 451–475; our fig. 70) and Dendera (see e.g. *Dendara* VIII, pls. 1241–1292). For Egyptian priests with their long white skirts and shaven heads see *LÄ* IV, 1084 ff., s.v. Priester, and 1098 ff., s.v. Priester(tum); S. Sauneron, *Le prêtre de l'ancienne Égypte* (1957). In a procession inside the temple the priests carried the divine image in a small shrine (see e.g. *Dendara* VIII, pl. 1057, and our fig. 53). When outside the temple this shrine was placed on a procession boat (see *LÄ* I, 623 f., s.v. Barke; our fig. 70, *Edfou* IX, pls. 121–126). Other priests carried other cult objects or standards with images of other gods on top, to ward off evil (see n. 184). A procession could be accompanied by musicians and dancers (see our fig. 70, and n. 189). The wreaths which the priests in the Nile Mosaic wear are an innovation of the Ptolemaic period (see n. 81). See for representations of Egyptian processions from Italy, our fig. 55; Roullet 58, nos. 17–19, pls. XXVI–XXXIV, figs. 39–47; Malaise I, 195 ff., nos. 352, 363, 368, pl. opp. frontisp.; pl. 26; Grenier pl. XVIII b; Wild 118 f., pls. XIII, XVIII, XXVI.

[184] Standards with sacred animals as symbols of the gods, or of the provinces of Egypt, were carried in processions , see *LÄ* II, 713 f., s.v. Götterstandarte; II, 422 ff., s.v. Gauzeichen; e.g. *Dendara* VIII, pls. 1241, 1244, 1249, 1258, 1273, 1275; Roullet pl. XXVII, fig. 40; our fig. 55. The more common animal symbols include: falcon (for Horus, see *Dendara* VIII, pls. 1241, 1273), ibis (for Thot, *Dendara* VII, pls. 1166, 1181); standing wolf (for Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, *Dendara* VIII, pls. 1241, 1273); recumbent wolf (for Wepwawet of Lower Egypt, *Dendara* VIII, pls. 1249, 1258); ram (for Khnum) (*Dendara* VIII, pls. 1241, 1273); bull (*Dendara* VIII, pls. 1244, 1249, 1275, 1278); scorpion (for Selket, *Dendara* VIII, pls. 1241, 1273) and crocodile (see *LÄ* II, 422). Regrettably the representations of the animals on the standards in the Nile Mosaic are indistinct. Apparently the artist did not understand what he saw. The animal on the standard which is held by the sitting priest is called a crocodile by Bonneau 95, n. 5. However, it clearly has only two legs. The animal is too indistinct to be identified but since it is a bird it could perhaps represent the falcon of Horus. The other two animals are an indistinct bird and a standing quadruped. This bird has, in contrast to the other one, a neck and could, therefore, be the ibis of Thot. The standing quadruped is of a slender build and has no horns, so it could be the standing wolf of Wepwawet of Upper Egypt. See for these standards also below Ch. IV, n. 85.

[185] Steinmayer 81, suggests that it is an oracle priest which does, however, not explain his unusual position. He could perhaps be cleaning the pavement for the procession. Compare the ritual cleaning, by brooming, of the floor of a funerary chapel after bringing sacrifices to the dead, see *LA* III, 155 ff., s.v. Init red. It is not always clear if this rite took place before, during or after the ceremony, cf. H. Junker, *Giza* III (1938) 110 f., pl. 10, fig. 17. We may also consider a scene with a funeral procession, where a box is covered with a piece of cloth, see P. Jourdain, La Tombe du scribe royal Amenemopet, Deux tombes de Deir El-Médinah, *MémIFAO* 73 (1939) 25 ff., esp. 33, n. 1, fig. 24. In either way, however, one may wonder why this man is sitting. The only other example of a sitting figure in an Egyptian religious scene is the flute player in the Herculaneum painting (fig. 71, see below Ch. IV, 88). This figure wears a reddish-greyish kind of stola. A similar stola is carried by a priest in the background holding a sistrum. So the stola may indicate that they are musicians. Another priest in the foreground wears a reddish-greyish mantle. It seems that in all these cases the reddish-greyish colour is supposed to be purple. The last priest may be the ***exegetes*** , the most important priest in the cult of the Nile, who wore a purple mantle (Bonneau 392 ff., 397; Strabo XVII 1, 12). The function of the stolas and the mantle in the Herculaneum painting clearly differs from that of the piece of cloth which the priest in the Nile Mosaic is holding. Unless he is spreading his mantle on the pavement, like the Jews did for Christ when he entered Jerusalem, which was an honour reserved for Oriental kings (Luke 19, 35; Matthew 21, 8; cf. Book of Kings, 9, 13). Nevertheless, the priest's sitting position which is suggestive of a common spectator remains unexplained.

[186] The omitted bearer is depicted in full in the Dal Pozzo copy (see fig. 26). The litters which were usually used in Egyptian religious processions have a different shape. These had a high base below the poles so that they did not have to be pulled up from the ground (see our figs. 73, 84). Large procession-boats were placed on a platform supported by poles (see our figs. 70, 84). Smaller litters consisting of a platform and two poles were only used in burial processions (see e.g. Lüddeckens (*o.c.* in Ch. IV n. 93), figs. 1,2, 23, 43, 45; pls. 1, 6, 9–12). The latter type was also common in the classical world, see *DS* II, 2, 1040 ff., s.v. Ferculum, figs. 2949 –2951; *RE* VI,2, 2206 f.;

EAA VI, 33, fig. 32. Spinazzola I, 231, fig. 261; I.S. Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art, *MAAR* 22 (1955) pl. LII; Fröhlich, pl. 57,1. Several of such litters carried by two or four bearers appear in the picture of the Isiac procession in the Casa d'Ercole at Pompeii, but also litters with four feet (see Tran tam Tinh 1971, 132, no. 24, pl. XI). Occasionally a litter which consists of a square or rectangular base supported by two poles may be found (see *DS* II,2, figs. 2951, supporting a statue of Victoria; and Ryberg, pl. LIII, fig. 81c, supporting a laurel-wreath and vase).

[187] Kircher 97, called it a candelabrum, as did Schmidt 55. The identification with a candelabrum is apparently inspired by the conical base and the strip of light at the top, which make it look like a candlestick. Actually candelabra of such robust shape are usually *thymiateria,* ornate incense burners (see e.g. De Vos 1980, 15 f., 23, 53, pls. E; XV, 1–2; fig. 31; Elia, figs. 6–7; Malaise I, 58, no. 1, pl. 2, depicting Isis between two *thymiateria.* Bonneau 92, n. 5, states that the base of the candelabrum is original which in her opinion excludes the possibility that the object was originally a statue. However, the plates of Gullini and Aurigemma (see n. 176) clearly indicate that the whole candelabrum is a restoration (see also fig. 25). For the following discussion of the problem as to whether there was originally anything on the litter or not, cf. Whitehouse 21. On the original part of the top of the column behind the litter there is a light-coloured stripe which must be a highlight like those on the columns of the pavilion in section 13 (see Gullini, pl. XIX). This stripe of light was connected to the top of the candelabrum when the section was restored, so it looked like a candle. It was omitted by the copyist, who also omitted similar details in other parts of the mosaic, like the *simpulum* which the priestess holds in section 13 (see n. 157, cf. also n. 144; Whitehouse 16, 19). With regard to the candelabrum the copyist may have been right. Perhaps there really was nothing on the litter and he erroneously left out the strip of light on the column, while the restorer may have been surprised at the empty litter and, noticing the light stripe above it, reconstructed a candelabrum on his own initiative. On the other hand, however, the possibility may not be excluded that some original tesserae, of a different colour than that of the column and belonging to a missing object, remained in this part. These may have been omitted by the copyist, together with the light stripe, because he did not notice them or could make no sense out of them, but for the restorer these may have been a motive to create the candelabrum. It is interesting that in the picture of the Holy Family in Egypt, painted by Nicolas Poussin in 1655–57, in which he depicted an Egyptian procession which he modelled after the one in the Nile Mosaic, he pictured also a chest, which has nothing on top of it (see A. Blunt, *Nicolas Pousin* (1967) 100 ff., 310 ff.). However, since Poussin was a close friend of Cassiano dal Pozzo and studied his collection of drawings of antiquities when he stayed in Rome, it seems probable that he used the Dal Pozzo copies and not the original Nile Mosaic which had returned to Praeneste and probably only showed the candelabrum after the reconstruction of 1640–44 (see Whitehouse 93, n. 39; G. Dempsey, Poussin in Egypt, *The Art Bulletin* 45 (1963) 109 ff., esp. 112, n. 18). It is also interesting to note that the candelabrum shows a striking resemblance to some Christian reliquaries and ostentatious candelabra. Therefore Calandra, who worked in St. Peters at Rome, may have found inspiration for his reconstruction in his daily surroundings (compare e.g. Gentile Bellini's painting The Procession of the Reliquary of the Holy Cross on the Piazza di San Marco at Venice, see J. Meyer zur Capellen, *Gentile Bellini* (1985) fig. 40; and F.S. Orlando, *Il tesoro di San Pietro* (1958) pls. 125, 134, 135, 172, 173). On face value it is not possible to

decide if there was anything on the litter, and if there was anything, what it may have been. This shall be discussed further below in connection with the interpretation of the procession as a whole, see Ch. IV, n. 102.

[188] This piece of ground on which women are standing runs obliquely upwards to the right until it reaches the edge of the mosaic and is partly original (see Gullini, pl. XIX). In the original reconstruction of the mosaic this piece of land, if prolonged, would have reached section 11 more or less in front of the Egyptian temple (see Ch. I, n. 37, fig. 8). There is no trace of a connection but the piece of land in section 16 may have touched the land on which the temple in section 11 is standing. If there was no real connection the original composition would still show an oblique axis connecting the pavilion in the centre of the foreground with the propylon and the Egyptian temple.

[189] Schmidt 54 f. calls them priestesses. See for female priests section 8, nn. 81, 157. Egyptian processions could be accompanied by female musicians and dancers, see *LÄ* IV, 231 ff., s.v. Musiker; *LÄ* VI, 215 ff., s.v. Tanz, see e.g. Sauneron (*o.c.* in n. 184) 71 ff., fig. on p. 73; *Edfou* IX, pls. 122, 126, XIII, pls. 464, 472; and our fig. 70. For female musicians in Isiac processions playing tambourines, double oboes and *trigona,* see Bonneau 396 ff.; Griffith 1975, 81 ff.; Dunand 1973, I, 179, pls. XL,1; XLI; Dunand 1979, 192 ff., pls. XLI–XLVII. For the double-oboe see Mannicke (*o.c.* in n. 134) 20 ff., pl. V, fig. 10, pl. VIII, figs. 15a–b. For the tambourine see *LÄ* VI, 767 ff., s.v. Trommel; Mannicke *o.c.* 1 ff., pls. I, XIX. Le Corsu 182, and Lavagne 246, recognize in the tambourines mirrors which were carried in the Isiac procession described by Apuleius (XI, 9; cf. Griffiths 1975, 182). However, looking at the way the women in the Nile Mosaic are holding them they are clearly tambourines which were used in large numbers in Isiac processions (see the examples given above and Griffith 1975, 184 f.). See for the palm-branch section 13, n. 158. The women in the Nile Mosaic look very similar to the women who appear behind the dancing figure in a painting from Herculaneum (see Malaise I, 252 f., no. 4, pl. 36; Tran tam Tinh 1971, 39 ff., no. 59; 47 ff., 85 f., fig. 41; Bonneau, pl. IVa).

[190] Cf. Whitehouse 22 and 73. In the reconstrution of the original mosaic a considerable space remains between the right-hand side of section 16 and the left-hand side of section 15 (see Ch. I, n. 35; fig. 8). The Dal Pozzo copy of section 15 shows something which seems to be the stern of a boat and a coracle-like boat in the upper left-hand corner (see n. 126; Whitehouse 21, fig. 15c). So originally there may have been another scene between section 16 and 15, which included a boat, and at which the women in section 16 were looking. See for this missing scene Ch. IV, n. 104.

[191] For this section see Whitehouse 22, no. 17, figs.17a–b; Windsor drawing no. 19217; Gullini 1956, pl. XIX; Aurigemma 71, no. 10, fig. 27; Romanelli, col. pl. XXVII.

[192] For the quay which connected all these sections see Ch. I, nn. 33, 34; section 14, nn. 170, 171; section 20, n. 175; section 16, n. 182. Although it is largely restored its original position may be reconstructed because its beginning appeared in section 14 (see nn. 170, 171) and the end of the arcade has been preserved in section 17 between the prow and the sail of the upper boat. The oblique wall in section 20 seems to have run more or less parallel to it (see n. 175). In the Dal Pozzo copy of section 17 a platform has been preserved above the upper boat, which apparently formed the end of the quay and which originally was the platform on which the propylon stood (see n. 182; Whitehouse 92, n. 39, fig. 170, and our fig. 8). Arcaded quays were a common feature with harbours, see for examples Picard (*o.c.* in n. 199), figs.

12, 14, 15; Baily (*o.c.* in n. 199) pl. XLVII. Arcades already existed in the Hellenistic period, see Tybout 250, e.g. pl. 98,2; 100,1; pl. 99,2. Whitehouse 22, fig. 17a, assumes that the actual oblique position of the upper boat, which has a more horizontal position in the Dal Pozzo copy, is due to the restoration when an attempt was made to fit it into the narrow space. However, that does not correspond with the diagrams of Aurigemma (fig. 27) and Gullini (pl. XIX) which both show the position of the boat as original and as forming one piece with the galley below which also has an oblique position. This position may be meant to indicate perspective (cf. n. 198). In details the original appearance of this section which is heavily restored is not wholly clear, partly owing to the absence of section 14, see Whitehouse 22; our Ch. I, n. 34, also n. 13. It is clearly, however, a picture of a harbour, which is flanked on the left-hand side by the quay of sections 13, 14, 20, 17 and 16, and on the right-hand side by the island with a farm, and above by the terrace on which the propylon of section 16 stands.

[193] The boat looks like a large papyrus raft with its curved prow and stern and the vertical junctions (see Landström 17 f., 94 ff., figs. 298, 303). However, these normally do not have a sail and a cabin (see *LÄ* IV, 670 s.v. Papyrus boat). A mast and a cabin were usually combined with larger and stronger boats which were made of wood like cargo vessels and travelling ships (cf. the one in section 10, n. 99). Very similar to the boat in the Nile Mosaic is a boat model reproduced in Göttlicher fig. 280 (except for the different shape of the stern). The curved prow also suggests a papyrus boat. However, such boats seem to have been made of wood in imitation of papyrus boats (cf. *LÄ* IV, 670, Landström 19, 56 f.). Casson 163, identifies it with the *keraunos* of classical sources.

[194] The papyrus canoe, a smaller form of the papyrus raft (see n. 193) was the common means of personal transport and fishing on the Nile and in the Delta. Papyrus reeds were bound into bundles and these were bound to one another. Similar canoes appear in sections 13, 15 and 19. Many examples may be found in Roman Nilotic scenes (e.g. fig. 35; Aurigemma,*o.c.* in n. 77, pl. 134). See for it *LÄ* IV, 670 f., s.v. Papyrusboot; Landström 17 f., 94 ff.; Casson 342, n. 71, who identifies it with the *roms* of classical sources. With the inundation the fish returned and fishing began, See for fishing *LÄ* II, 224ff., s.v. Fische, profan;*ibid.* 234 ff., s.v. Fischer und Fischerei; Vandier, IV, 717, pls. XXX–XXXIII; and above section 8, n. 82; section 12, n. 118. Anglers may often be found in harbour scenes and in Nilotic scenes (see e.g. Nowicka, fig. 96). See for anglers and angling in Egypt *LÄ* II, 234 ff., s.v. Fischer und Fischerei, esp. 238; Brewer, Friedman (*o.c.* in n. 118) 30; Boessneck 118 ff.; Vandersleyen, pl. 259 a.

[195] It is often stated that the *liburna* or *liburnica*, a light bireme, was introduced into the Roman navy by Agrippa (cf. Bonneau 93). This may be true as far as the Roman navy was concerned, but it does not mean that it was a new kind of ship. In fact it was a light galley which was in general use in the Hellenistic world (see *RE* XIII, 1, 143 ff. s.v. Liburna; Casson 132 f., 141 ff., fig. 109, 110, 115, 116). For the prow with the volute-shaped top see I. Pekary, Akrostolia auf den hellenistisch-römischen Schiffsdarstellungen, *Boreas* 6 (1983) 119 ff. For the aplustre and the flagstaffs, see Casson figs. 108, and 114; Wachsmuth (*o.c.* in n. 112) 88 ff. Galleys with soldiers are not a common motif in Nilotic scenes but they do belong to naval battles, parades and harbour scenes (see for these F. Avilia, L. Jacobelli, Le naumachie nelle pitture pompeiane, *RStPomp* (1989) 131 ff., De Vos 1980, 89 f., e.g. Peters, figs. 43, 178; Rostovtzeff 1911, fig. 58 and below n. 199). For a rare example of a galley with soldiers in a Nilotic scene, possibly representing

river police, see Peters, fig. 114; Picard, pl. LVI; *Collezioni Napoli*, pl. on p. 69. The bireme was popular in Egypt because of its usefulness on the inland waterways, see Casson 340. For the oblique way in which the galley is positioned see n. 198.

[196] The schematic rendering of the soldiers in the galley appears exactly in the same way in Pompeian representations of galleys, see n. 195. Only the man on the prow is more distinct (see for him n. 197). For his chiton see section 13, n. 162. For the *kausia* see Kingsley (*o.c.* in n. 162) 39 ff.; Thompson (*o.c.* in n. 165) 53 ff., esp. n. 145, and the terracotta soldiers mentioned in n. 162. Compared to the soldiers in section 13 who seem to represent heavy infantry, the Macedones (see n. 162), the soldiers in the galley may perhaps represent the light infantry, the *hypaspistes* who wore chiton and *kausia* and had short spears. These may perhaps have been used also as naval soldiers and police forces (see Peremans 72 f., Fraser I, 69 f., and for the Ptolemaic fleet in general E. Van 't Dack, H. Hauben, L'apport égyptien à l'armée navale Lagide, *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten* (1976) 59 ff. Egyptian soldiers may appear as Ptolemaic guards in boat processions, see below Ch. IV, n. 164, e.g. fig. 70.

[197] This part is heavily restored although this is not indicated on the plates of Gullini and Aurigemma (see n. 191) probably because the restoration only affected the surface of the mosaic (see Whitehouse 22, pl. 17a). The scene is clearer in the Dal Pozzo copy. The soldier on the prow is probably the *proreus*, and may be compared to similar figures, see e.g. *EAA* VII, 895, fig. 1003. It is not clear what kind of object is hanging from his hip, a bag? The way he blows the trumpet may well be compared to the terracotta figure in Hickmann (1956, *o.c.* in n. 134) pl. C,c. A Nike, standing on a prow and blowing a trumpet, on a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes has a similar position (Casson fig. 107, Castiglione 1970, 5, fig. 24). On a Roman lamp there is a representation of a ship entering or leaving a harbour, the steerman on the stern blows a trumpet, see C. Torr, *Ancient ships* (1964) pl. F. The trumpet mostly had an official, ritual or military use, see for it *LÄ* VI, 769 s.v. Trompete; *DS* V, 2, s.v. Tuba, esp. 526, n. 2; Mannicke (*o.c.* in n. 134) 31 ff., pl. XXI, fig. 40. One of the hunters in the Marissa frieze also blows a long trumpet (see Ch. IV. n. 6, fig. 57).

[198] This oblique position may often be found with ships in naval scenes in Roman wall-painting, see Avilia, Jacobelli (*o.c.* in n. 195) e.g. figs. 12, 13; Von Blanckenhagen 1962, pl. 56; *Collezioni Napoli*, pl. on p. 44; and a Roman coin from 108–107, Crawford 307, 1b; 316; pl. XLI, 8. It is usually supposed that the ship is arriving at the scene taking place in section 13 (Schmidt 62; Bonneau 93). Steinmayer 80, 82, thinks that the ship is leaving the harbour but that opinion seems to be influenced by her interpretation of the entire scene which, according to her, represents the departure of the hunting expedition which is represented in the upper part of the mosaic. The trumpet may of course be blown both while entering and while leaving a harbour. The examples given in n. 197 give no clue in either direction. See for the interpretation of this scene further below Ch. IV, n. 162.

[199] For harbour scenes which may be found in combination with Nilotic scenes and villa landscapes, see in general Rostovtzeff 1911, 153 f., fig. 66; Peters 187 ff.; *Kenchraei* 57 ff., drawings XVI–XXI; figs. 28, 31, 80–134.; Ch. Picard, Sur quelques répresentations nouvelles du phare d'Alexandrie, et sur l'origine des paysages portuaires, *BCH* 76 (1952) 61 ff.; M.L. Bernhard, Topographie d'Alexandrie et le mausolée d'Auguste, *RA* 47 (1956) 129 ff.; A. Balil, Monumentos alejandrinos y paisages egipcios en un mosaico romano da Toledo (Espana), *Alessandria* III, 433 ff., pl. LXXVII. For highly plausible

objections to the proposed identifications see D.M. Bailey, Alexandria, Carthage and Ostia (not to mention Naples), *Alessandria* II, 265 ff..

[200] For such farms see Schmidt 69 ff.; Rostovtzeff 1911, 69 f.; Nowicka 135 ff., figs. 90–92; Badawy 1968, 21 f. , fig. 6, cf. above n. 97. See for the tower-house n. 88; and for the date palm nn. 88, 143. Pigeons were kept in large pigeon-houses for food and menure since the Ptolemaic period, see *LÄ* VI, 240 f., s.v. Taube; Nowicka 125, figs. 76, 77; Bowman 106, fig. 61.

[201] Schmidt 69, suggested that it was a flooded vegetable garden (cf. for a vegetable garden which has, however, a different shape and a different fence, Schefold 1962, fig. 151,2). Phillips 190, noted that its appearance fits the description of a Babylonian fisherman's creel described by Diodorus III 22, 1–4. This way of fishing was not restricted to Babylon and a similar trap was used to catch the giant snake for Ptolemy II (Diodorus III 37, see above n. 12). So it may also have been used for fishing in Egypt. The woman may be handling a landing-net.

[202] Cf. Whitehouse 21; Phillips 189, 221. The rounded form and smooth surface are reminiscent of coracle boats, which were made of branches coated with clay or bitumen and skins, see Casson 221 f., 342, who identifies it with the *pakton* of Strabo XVII I, 4. It was used in the small channels of the Delta because it could easily be navigated. Another similar boat may originally have appeared in section 15, see n. 126. A similar boat seems to be represented on a silver cup from Pompeii (see A. Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria* (1932) 266f., fig. 107, pl. XVI).

[203] See for the lotus n. 137. The bush looks exactly the same as the bush rising from the water in section 15, beside the papyrus canoe and so it may also be a young mimosa, see n. 124.

[204] This aspect of Egypt at the time of the inundation is described by several classical authors, see Ch. IV, n. 7.

[205] The documentary character as opposed to the more generic character of later Nilotic scenes is generally recognised, see e.g. Beyen II, 1, 311 ff.; Whitehouse 3 f.; Leach 91 ff; Tybout 341 ff. See for the connection between the upper part and descriptions of Aethiopia like those by Agatharchides and his followers, notably Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and Aelian, above n. 13, below Ch. VII, n. 27. See for the similarity in contents between the lower part and descriptions, like those in Herodotus II, 97; Diodorus I 36, 7–12; Strabo XVII 1, 4 and 48, e.g. Ch. III, n. 77; Ch. IV, n. 60; Phillips 195 f.; and many references given above in the notes. For the literary background see further Ch. VII, n. 21. Moreover the Nile Mosaic combines several kinds of scenes which later are usually defined as different genres. Thus there are the common Nilotic landcapes showing: Egypt at the time of the inundation and populated by dwarfs (see e.g. fig. 34, 35, 38), ritual scenes (fig. 68), wild animal scenes (fig. 29), and harbour scenes (see n. 199), see further Ch. V, p. 83. For the realistic rendering of the landscape see e.g. nn. 4, 21 and 204. The animals which are depicted are: monkeys, red monkey, nn. 9, 19, 20; green monkey, n. 24; baboon, n. 49; Anubis baboon, n. 62. Other mammals: gnu, n. 7; spotted hyena, n. 14; African buffalo, n. 23; otter, n. 27; elephant, nn. 36, 51; striped hyena, n. 38; dromedary, n. 39; giraffe, n. 42; shrew, n. 46; lion, n. 52; onager, n. 53; wild cat, n. 56; bear, n. 59; cheetah, n. 60; rhinoceros, n. 65; river-hog, n. 66; wart-hog, n. 68; hounds, nn. 31, 167; mongoose, n. 74; dog, n. 75; hippopotamus, n. 114; cow, n. 123. Reptiles: python, nn. 12, 61; crab, n. 25; tortoise, n. 28; rock lizard, n. 54; desert monitor, n.63; Nile monitor, n.70; cobra, n. 74; crocodile, n. 116. Birds: herons, nn. 11, 34, 89. peacock, n. 33; exotic birds, n. 50. cormorant, n. 89. sacred ibis, n. 98; glossy ibis, n. 122; ducks, n. 117. pigeons, n. 200. Fish: Nile perch, n. 118.

Trees and plants are not always easy to identify, mainly due to damage, and in these cases the suggested identifications are given with all reserve. In other cases, however, the representation is remarkably accurate, for instance the sycamore, the Indian lotus and the Sudanese desert rose. Moreover, as in the case of the animals there are hardly any repetitions, except in the case of very common trees and flowers, like the palm and the lotus. Mentioned may be the toothbrush tree; n. 10, desert rose, n. 18; persea, n. 48; doum palm, n. 61; date palm, nn. 79, 143; tamarisc, n. 79; Egyptian mimosa, nn. 95, 124, 203; giant reed, n. 115; vine, n. 135; Indian lotus, n. 137; cypress, n. 154; Lebbek tree, n. 154; sycamore, n. 154; aloe, n. 160. Boats in various kinds include a galley, n. 195; merchant vessels, nn. 99, 193; a cabin boat, n. 112 ; coracle-like boats, nn. 126, 202; papyrus canoes, nn. 124, 138, 142, 194, 202. Population: see for the Greek soldiers, nn. 165, 196; cleruchs, n. 113; the women, nn. 81, 131, 189; the Egyptian priests, n. 183; travellers, n. 110; peasants and marsh-dwellers, nn. 82, 123, 138,142, 194, 201, 202. For daily life in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period in general, see Bowman; N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1986); N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (1983).

[206] The documentary character and the bird's eye view composition, which may be related to topographical painting, shall be discussed in Ch. VII, and Appendices 20 and 21.

Notes to Chapter IV

[1] An excellent and comprehensive account of all the interpretations is given by Phillips 1 ff. For a short review see pp. 50 f.

[2] For this view see Marucchi 1904, 264; Schmidt 22, 33 ff.; Rostovtzeff 1941, 318; Phillips 115; Bonneau 90 ff.; Whitehouse 3; Steinmayer 96. The idea that the mosaic is a schematic map of the course of the Nile was first conceived by J.B. Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719) I, 338 ff.; cf. Phillips 7. Such an idea was visualised in the picture of Egypt in the frontispiece of the Description de l'Egypte I (1809) (see our fig. 66). The distinction between Aethiopia and Egypt was first made by the Cardinal de Polignac, who interpreted the mosaic as a picture of Alexander the Great in Egypt, basing this argument on Curtius Rufus IV vii, 16–22. He published this theory in a small treatise accompanying a series of engravings of the Nile Mosaic published by P. Sincero and G. Frezza in Rome in 1721, which was reprinted in B. de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et representée en figures.* Suppl. IV (1724) 152 ff.; cf. Phillips 8. A different view was held only by Maspero 77 ff., who, on the basis of comparison with some Egyptian wall-paintings, argued that the foreground of the Nile Mosaic represented the Nile, the central zone the Nile bank, and the upper part the desert behind. The upper part of the Nile Mosaic, however, cannot depict the desert to the east or west of the Nile valley, because it is populated not by common desert animals but by Sudanese animals; it can only depict the Nubian desert (cf. below nn. 4, 43, and Ch. VII, n. 5).

[3] For Aethiopia see Ch. III, n. 8.

[4] For the landscape see Ch. III, nn. 7, 21 and for the flora e.g. Ch. III, nn. 18, 48. For the negro hunters see Ch. III, n. 16. For the animals which appear In Egyptian hunting scenes see *LÄ* III, 221 ff. s.v. Jagd; 224 ff. s.v. Jagddarstellungen. Representations of a giraffe or a rhinoceros do occur, but they are exceptions to the rule (see Ch. III, nn. 42, 65). For the tribute scenes see the discussions of the various animals in Ch. III and in general *LÄ* VI, 763, s.v. Tribut. Only once does a rhinoceros appear in it and it is dead rather than alive. For the Marissa frieze see the following discussion.

[5] For the site of Marissa (Mareshah, ancient Apollinopolis) see Avi-Yonah 782; *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (1976) 552 f.; F.J. Bliss, R.A.S. Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898–1900* (1902) 52 ff.; Rostovtzeff 1941, 520; E.D. Oren, U. Rappaport, The Necropolis of Maresha-Beth Govria, *IEJ* 34 (1984) 114 ff.; R. Arav, Hellenistic Palestine Settlement Patterns and City Planning 337–31 B.C.E., *BAR* Int. Series 485 (1989) 52 ff. For the tombs in question see especially Peters, Thiersch, and Avi-Yonah. Tomb A with the painted frieze was made for Apollophanes, head of the Sidonian colony at Marissa for 30 years, who died towards the end of the 3rd century B.C. The lay-out and the decoration of the tomb show strong influence from Ptolemaic Egypt (see Oren, Rappaport 150). The paintings may be dated before the end of the 3rd century B.C., the earliest graffitto dating from 196 B.C. (see Peters, Thiersch 9 ff, 80; Avi-Yonah 789; cf. Oren, Rappaport *o.c.*, 148). Some of the human figures were effaced by religious fanatics shortly after the tomb was found in 1902. Today there are no substantial traces of the paintings (Oren, Rappaport 115). For the frieze see extensively Peters, Thiersch, xv f., who already noted the similarity with the upper part of the Nile Mosaic. Their plates, which are reproduced in our figs. 56–65, reproduce water-colour copies of the paintings; see further H. Thiersch, in *AA* (1908) 407 ff.; Phillips 211 ff.; Avi-Yonah 788 ff.; Steinmayer 102 ff.; Rice 96 f. Measurements are not given, but can be roughly estimated from Peters, Thiersch, 16 f., figs. 1–2. The height of the frieze varied from 30 to 40 cm and it was c. 6,30 m long on the right-hand wall and c. 6,70 cm on the left-hand wall. The colours were mainly black, red and yellow. In contrast to their natural appearance most animals, even the hippopotamus, have spotted or striped skins, which are mere embellishments by the artist. This unnatural colouring may be found elsewhere, as in the animal frieze in the Tomba Francois (see F. Messerschmidt, A.v. Gerkan, *Die Nekropolen von Vulci* (1930) 120 ff., pl. 1.2).

[6] See Peters, Thiersch 23 f., pl. VI., They read *hippos libanou tou hippikou* and translate 'horse from the Lebanon of the rider', which obviously is incorrect. Rostovtzeff 1941, III, 520, suggested the reading *hippos ananou tou hipparchou*, 'the horse of the cavalry commander Ananos'. However, the name Libanos is clearly visible in the photograph reproduced by Peters, Thiersch. Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 78; Diod. III 37,3) tells us that horsemen, trumpeters and packs of hounds, which served to frighten the prey, took part in the capture of a giant snake in Aethiopia (cf. Ch. III, n. 13). For the hound, possibly a greyhound, see Ch. III, n. 31, for the *embades* Ch. III, n. 162; for the trumpet Ch. III, n. 197. The breeches of the horseman are called Persian by Peters, Thiersch 29, cf. Von Graeve 50. For Ptolemaic hunting scenes on foot and on horseback on Mitrahineh faience, see Parlasca, figs. 3, 6,9; Lunsingh Scheurleer 102, n. 41. The animals which are hunted in these scenes include a leopard (Parlasca, fig. 3, cf. our n. 7), a wild boar (Parlasca, fig. 6, cf. our Ch. III, n. 68 and below n. 11), a gazelle and even a sphinx and a griffin (cf. below n. 12). So these scenes too seem to depict an Aethiopian rather than a common desert hunt, cf. n. 4.

[7] The inscription should read *pardalis*. The leopardess clearly shows teats. For a hunting scene with a leopard on Mitrahineh faience see Parlasca, fig. 3. For palm-trees see Ch. III, nn. 61, 79, 143.

[8] See Peters, Thiersch 24, pl. VII; Rice 97, n. 187, who wrongly calls the lion a cheetah. For the lion in general see Ch. III, n. 52. For the confusion between large feline animals see Ch. III, n. 60. The second lion is perhaps a lioness accompanying the other one, but it may also represent another kind of lion since several species were distinguished in antiquity (cf. Keller

I, 24 ff.). Thus Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 68, p. 172; Photius VII, 137, fr. 68) distinguishes the Aethiopian, the Arabian and the Babylonian lion. In actual fact, though lions show many variations, especially with regard to the mane, there are no different species, see Haltenorth, Diller 203 f.; See also n. 19.

[9] Peters, Thiersch 25, pls. VII,VIII. The inscription may originally have been *tauros*, but Phillips 212, suggests (*s)arko(phagos tauros)* and assumes that it represents the carnivorous buffalo, which according to Agatharchides lived in Aethiopia and the Trogodyte country (Woelk fr. 76, pp. 80 ff.; Diodorus III 35, 7–9). In either case the inscription fits the buffalo. For the possible presence of the *sarkophagos tauros* in the Nile Mosaic, see Ch. III, nn. 22, 23. A carnivorous buffalo does not exist in nature, but the adjective indicates the animal's extremely ferocious character, which is illustrated also by the fight with the snake. Pliny *NH* VIII 30, 74, obviously uses Agatharchides description of the carnivorous buffalo for his own description of the African forest buffalo, and Agatharchides' story is repeated by Aelian *NA* XVII 45. In the savanna country hoofed animals sometimes tread upon snakes and combats may follow in which a fierce buffalo can tear its opponent to pieces. Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 78, Diod. III 37, 8–9) mentions large snakes fighting with buffaloes. For wild asses and deer fighting with snakes see below n. 24, fig. 64. The snake in the Marissa frieze is clearly a cobra with a spotted skin (see Ch. III, n. 74 and fig. 28). The African buffalo basically occurs in two kinds, the brown forest buffalo and the nearly black savanna buffalo, which is even wilder, but many cross-breeds exist (see Haltenorth, Diller 94 f., pl. 19, 3–4). Wild buffaloes appear in Egyptian hunting scenes, see *LÄ* III, 221, s.v. Jagd; 224 ff., s.v. Jagddarstellungen; V, 257 ff., s.v. Stier; VI, 14 ff., s.v. Stiergott; Raïos-Chouliara 61f.; Daszewski pl. 12). Agatharchides mentions a red skin which is more suggestive of the forest buffalo, but its extreme fierceness and conspicuous horns relate better to the savanna buffalo (cf. Woelk 181 f.). The same author (Woelk fr. 84, Diod. III 41,3) also states that Somaliland abounds in elephants, rhinoceroses and buffaloes. Artists will hardly ever have seen the wild savanna buffalo so must have depicted the better known forest buffalo, see fig. 29, and Schefold 1962, pl. 150, above, cf. Haltenorth, Diller, pl. 19,3; or in some cases depicted the European wisent (see Ch. III, n. 7)

[10] See Peters, Thiersch 25, pl. VIII. The Nile Mosaic has the more correct form *kamelopardalis* (see Ch. III, n. 42; cf. above n. 6 for the *pardalos* inscription). This is the earliest extant picture of a giraffe in classical art and compared with the giraffes in the Nile Mosaic it is a clumsy representation. The artist had apparently never seen a giraffe and worked from a bad model or even from a description alone. For the giraffe in general see Ch. III, n. 42.

[11] See Peters, Thiersch 25, pl. VIII. Because of its large size it must be a wart-hog, an animal which also appears in the Nile Mosaic, see further Ch. III, n. 68.

[12] See Peters, Thiersch 25, pl. IX. The griffin was a fabulous animal, a mixture of eagle and lion, see *LÄ* II, 895 s.v. Greif; *EAA* III, 1056 ff., s.v. Grifo; J. Quaegebeur, De l'origine égyptienne du griffin Némésis, in *Visages du destin dans les mythologies. Mélanges J. Duchemin, Traveaux et Mémoires* (Act. Coll. Chantilly, mai 1980) (1983) 41 ff.; Pliny *NH* X 70, 136, states that it lived in Aethiopia. It is sometimes found in Egyptian hunting scenes, see *LÄ l.c.* and Daszewski pls.10, 12. For Ptolemaic soldiers fighting griffins on Mithrahineh faience see Lunsingh Scheurleer 102, n. 41, figs. 2–5; *idem*, in *Enthousiasmos, Essays on Greek and Related Pottery presented to J.M. Hemelrijk* (1986) 148, figs. 1 f., 2. A griffin also appears among the African animals in

the Casa di Romolo e Remo (our fig. 29, not visible; Mielsch 1986, fig. 10) and in the great hunt mosaic at Piazza Armerina (Mielsch 1989, 463 f.; Carandini, fig. 129).

[13] See Peters, Thiersch 25, pl. IX. The large scimitar-shaped horns clearly indicate that it is a scimitar-horned oryx, a kind of antelope which was common in northern Africa (see Haltenorth, Diller pl. 11,3; Keller I, 292 ff.). The red spots on its skin in the Marissa frieze must be an embellishment such as occurs elsewhere in the frieze; cf. e.g. the hippopotamus (see nn. 5, 25). The animal was known in Egypt and it is found in many hunting scenes, see *LÄ* I, 319 ff., s.v. Antilope; III, 222 s.v. Jagd; e.g. Davies, pl. XLIII. Several oryxes appeared in the Grand Procession, see Rice 88 f. A scimitar-horned oryx is represented among the African animals in the wall-painting in the Casa di Romolo e Remo at Pompeii, fig. 29. It is not certain that in antiquity the scimitar-horned oryx lived also in Aethiopia. Nowadays, however, the only species living there is the East African oryx, which is distinguished by its long straight javelin-like horns (see Haltenorth, Diller, 58 f., pl. 11,1). Rice *l.c.*, assumes that the oryxes which figured in the Procession included both kinds. This may have been so, but one may wonder whether the Greeks recognized the two kinds of oryxes as varieties of the same family. Not only the shape of their horns is very different but also their colour, they are respectively very light brown-white and brown-grey. Athenaeus mentions the oryxes together with various kinds of antelopes and with *onelaphoi* (meaning ass-deer or horned ass). The latter name is otherwise unknown. Rice *l.c.* (following Jennison 32) assumes that this was just another kind of wild ass (cf. the *onagrios* see n. 24), but one may wonder how an ass could be called horned and why it should be named together with other horned animals (cf. also the *choirelaphos* , see Ch. III, n. 68). The East African oryx is a large antelope which in build and colour looks not unlike the Somali wild ass which also appears in the Marissa frieze (see n. 24). I would suggest therefore that the *onelaphos* was actually the East-African oryx. If this assumption is correct we would here have another example of an ass-name given to a newly discovered animal, like the onocentaur (see Appendix 1).

[14] See Peters,Thiersch 26, pl. X. Because of the bulky forehead and the way it holds its head low, it can be identified as a white rhinoceros (cf. Ch. III, n. 65; Haltenorth, Diller pl. 22, 2). For the rhinoceros see further above *l.c.*, and below n. 22.

[15] See Peters, Thiersch 26, pl. X. For elephants see Ch. III, n. 51. Tame elephants with rugs on their backs are represented in reliefs in the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es Sufra near Meroe, see *Kush* X (1962) 180, fig. 6, pls. LII, LVa. For war elephants on Mitrahineh faïence see Lunsingh Scheurleer 99 f., 102, fig. 1,2. For the history of the hunting of African elephants see p. 49, n. 44, 46, 47.

[16] See Peters, Thiersch 26, pl. X. The keeper carries a long-handled axe with a broad-edged blade. Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 56; Diod. III 26–27) reports that a savage Aethiopian tribe called the *Elephantophagoi* killed elephants with axes and that Ptolemy, who wanted elephants alive, therefore had to look for other hunters to catch them. These he may have found among the Meroites who must have been accomplished elephant hunters, given the importance of the elephant in their culture, see Rice 92, n. 195; cf. above n. 15. In this case the negro does not seem to be an elephant hunter, but the keeper of the tame elephant. The axe was an Aethiopian weapon (cf. Strabo XVII 1, 54) and may also have become a trademark of a mahout (cf. Achilles Tatius IV, 4 ff., describing an Aethiopian mahout, whose elephant

fears and obeys its master not least because of his iron axe). For the axe see further Ch. III, n. 163. For terracotta figures of negroes armed with axes see P.G.P. Meyboom, Een Alexandrijnse terracotta van een neger, *VerAmstMeded* 43 (1988) 11 ff., esp. n. 8.

[17] See Peters, Thiersch 26, pl. X. The outline of this figure was incised in the wall but the negro was then painted over it, evidently because of a change of plan. The inscription *Aithiopia* would better fit a female figure than the negro hunter. For personifications of African countries see below n. 148, fig. 91.

[18] See Peters, Thiersch 28, pl. XV. The tree with its many branches seems to be a tree of considerable size which is crammed into the limited height of the frieze. This and the animal standing beside it, which is presumably a lion (see n. 19), are reminiscent of the persea and the lioness in the Nile Mosaic (see fig. 13). The persea was a large and characteristic Sudanese tree, see Ch. III, n. 48.

[19] See Peters, Thiersch 28, pl. XV. Perhaps one can read on the plate H.CΛ.OC but neither reconstruction can easily be related to the animal. Perhaps the original word was pantheros, cf. the lion inscribed *pantheros* in fig. 58, above n. 8. Phillips 212 f., suggests identifying it with the manticora, man-eater, a fabulous Indian animal which seems to have been inspired by early accounts of the tiger, see Ch. III, n. 60. Avi-Yonah 790, calls it a lion with a human face and a beard and suggests that it is a version of the Assyrian Lamassu, a fabulous creature with a lion's body, eagle's wings and a human face. However, a lion's head represented frontally can sometimes be quite suggestive of a human face, cf. e.g. a lion in a wall-painting from Ostia (see R. Calza, M. Floriani Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense* (1962) 109, no. 14), which appears above a Nilotic landscape with pygmies fighting cranes and crocodiles). At all events, the animal depicted looks very much like a large lion with a bushy mane, cf. Haltenorth, Diller pl. 39, 1 and 3. For the supposed existence of various kinds of lions see above n. 8. For the lion in general see Ch. III, n. 52.

[20] See Peters, Thiersch 28, pl. XV; Haltenorth, Diller pl. 43, 1; Avi-Yonah 790, wrongly calls it a rat. For the caracal see above Ch. III, n. 56. The unusual spelling with *n* instead of *g* is also found in the Nile Mosaic. Keimer (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 56) noted the traditional belief that the lynx followed the lion to feed on the remains of its prey.

[21] See Peters,Thiersch 28, pl. XIV. For the porcupine see Keller I, 207 ff.; *L.Ä.* V, 1232 f., s.v. Stachelschwein; Haltenorth, Diller 140, pl. 25,5. L. Keimer, Le porc-épic dans l'égypt ancienne, *ASAE* 49 (1949) 393 ff. Porcupines appear regularly in Egyptian desert scenes (see *LÄ* III, 222 s.v. Jagd) and were also hunted in the Ptolemaic period (cf. Callimachus, *Hymn* III 94–97).

[22] See Peters,Thiersch 28, pl. XIV. Peters, Thiersch read .ΛΟΦ On their plate it seems, however, as if the correct reading should be ΕΛΟCΑ. They suggest *hulophagos*, wood-eater, for its reconstruction. Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 60; Diod. III 24) mentions the *hulophagoi* as a negro tribe in Eritrea, who eat the young shoots of shrubs (cf. *RE* IX, 1, 126). H. Thiersch, in AA (1908) 411, reconstructs it as (*ai*) *lou*(*ros*), weazel, which bears, however, no relation to the animal depicted. Avi-Yonah 790, says that it is similar to a tapir with a horn on its snout. If anything, however, the horn on its snout makes the animal look like a lightly built rhinoceros. The ears also resemble those of a rhinoceros. In fact the rhinoceros appears in very similar form in some ancient Egyptian representations (cf. above Ch. III, n. 65, Störk, *o.c. ib.*, 201). We have already seen that two kinds of the rhinoceros exist in Africa, the white and the black rhinoceros. The white rhinoceros was better known in

antiquity than the wild black rhinoceros, but no distinction may have been drawn between them (see above Ch. III, n. 65; Haltenorth, Diller 103 ff., pl. 22). The other rhinoceros in the Marissa frieze (see n. 14) and the one in the Nile Mosaic are white rhinoceroses. The black rhinoceros can be distinguished especially by the fact that it holds its head straight in front of it, and by the fact that it does not graze but feeds on leaves and branches of shrubs and trees (even occasionally rearing against a tree trunk). The single horn, a feature which might suggest a white rhinoceros, and its light build are characteristic of young or female specimens. So this rhinoceros could well be a black rhinoceros, which is here distinguished from the white one. Its striking habit of feeding on branches may explain the denomination *hulophagos,* if that reconstruction is correct. So this picture could be a rare representation of the black rhinoceros (see further Ch. III, n. 65).

[23] See Peters, Thiersch 27, pl. XIII. The inscription is visible on their plate but they read IYI.Λ and suggest restoring it as ΛYKOC, wolf. Although the real wolf is not indigenous to Africa various kinds of wild dogs live there, cf. Haltenorth, Diller e.g. pl. 20, 2 and 6. But the tuft of hair between the ears is unexplicable, unless it refers to the hair on the neck of a hyena (cf. Steinmayer fig. 14; Haltenorth, Diller pl. 38, 3,4). For the striped and spotted hyena see Ch. III, nn. 14, 38, where we have seen that the spotted hyena was believed to be a cross-breed between a wolf and a cheetah. Another possibility would be that it was some kind of feline, such as a wild cat, a lynx or a serval; cf. Avi-Yonah 790: wild cat; Rice 97: animal resembling a lynx; cf. Haltenorth, Diller pl. 42,3,4 and 41,1; and Ch. III, n. 56. In that case the tuft of hair between the ears remains inexplicable.

[24] See Peters, Thiersch 27, pl. XIII. Because of its large hairy ears it can be identified as a real Somali wild ass in contrast to the onager which is depicted in the Nile Mosaic (see Ch. III, n. 53; Haltenorth, Diller pl. 20, 1). The skin of the ass is of a light brown colour and is also striped, which makes one wonder if the animal could not be a zebra (cf. Haltenorth, Diller 100 ff., pl. 20, 4 and pl. 21, 1–2). The zebra, *hippotigris* , was not unknown to the ancient world (cf. Ch. III, n. 7; Toynbee 167, 286 f.; Mielsch 1986, fig. 14). However, since most of the animals in the Marissa frieze have striped or spotted skins, it seems better to assume that it represents the real *onagrios,* the Somali wild ass, which has stripes on its forelegs. The combat with the snake is a variant of that between the buffalo and cobra represented also in the Marissa frieze (see n. 9; fig. 59; and in general R. Ettinghausen, The Snake-eating Stag in the East, in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honour of A.M. Friend Jr.* (1955) 272 ff.; Mielsch, 1986, 752, nn. 14–16). Large vipers especially were known to exist in Aethiopia; and this was reported by the explorer Nymphis as quoted by Aelian *NA* XVII 39, cf. Ch. III, n. 12. For the hippopotamus see in general Ch. III, n. 114.

[25] See Peters, Thiersch 27, pl. XII. For the crocodile, which is painted red, see Ch. III, n. 116; and for ibises Ch. III, n. 122. One might assume that the crocodile, the ibis and the hippopotamus (see fig. 64) represent Nilotic fauna in general, but Strabo XVI 4, 14, after describing the other Aethiopian animals, mentions them especially as living in Somaliland: "between Deire on the straits of Aden and the promontory of Pytholaos there are two lakes of fair size, one of which has salt water and is called a sea, whereas the other has fresh water and supports both crocodiles and hippopotami and has papyrus round its borders; the ibis is also to be seen in this place". So the Marissa painting here seems to follow strictly an ancient tradition which has also been preserved in Strabo. Agatharchides mentions the richness of this area in wild animals, such as elephants, rhinoceroses,

buffaloes, lions, and hogs (Woelk, fr. 84, Diod. III 41, 3). Strabo XVI 4, 15–16 also ascribes all the other Aethiopian animals to the Somali coast, so Strabo's passage about the sweet water lake with its fauna may also derive from Agatharchides, and ultimately from a 3rd century B.C. source.

[26] See Peters, Thiersch 26, pl. XI. They describe them as fishes with an elephant snout with tusks and a trunk and a tapir-like snout. Avi-Yonah 790, describes them as having an elephant's head and a rhinoceros's head and suggests that they are legendary creatures based on a belief held by some Greek scholars that a correspondence existed between land and marine animals. It seems, however, more probable that they are somewhat exaggerated representations of real Nile fish, namely specimens of the *mormyridae,* an African fish family which has representatives in the Nile, distinguished by their long tubular mouths and barbels. The left-hand fish may be a specimen of the elephant-snout fish, which is common in the Nile and frequently appears in Egyptian fishing scenes; it was sacred in the town of Oxyrhynchus (see Gamer-Wallert 29 ff, 91 ff.; pls. III, 5–7, IX, 2; Boessneck 128). If the fish on the right is not of the same genus (Peters, Thiersch state especially that it has tusks beside its snout, which may be barbels) it might be a loose representation of the *synodontis batensoda,* which has a large head and several barbels, and which is again common in the Nile and frequently represented in works of art (see Gamer-Wallert 34 f., 52, pl. V, 4; Boessneck 130). For Nile fish in general see also *LÄ* II, 224 ff., s.v. Fische, profan.

[27] Cf. the description of a Ptolemaic hunting party by Agatharchides (Woelk fr. 78; Diodorus III 1; above Ch. III, n. 12;). The presence of hunters with bows and arrows, as in the Nile Mosaic, is suggested by the arrow which has hit the leopard (see fig.57). For the inscription *Aithiopia* see n. 17.

[28] The lioness in the Nile Mosaic has the correct inscription *leaina* but the lion in the Marissa frieze has the wrong one *pantheros* (see Ch. III, n. 52 and above n. 8). The hyena has the inscription *krokottas* in the Nile Mosaic and an incomprehensible one at Marissa, if indeed the same animal is represented there (see Ch. III, n. 38, above n. 23). The Nile Mosaic has the *tigris* inscription and possibly had the *choirelaphos* inscription, while the wart-hog at Marissa has no inscription (see Ch. III, nn. 38, 60). The Marissa frieze has the *pardalos, onagrios, krokodilos* and *ibis* inscriptions and also incomprehensible ones with the large lion and the black rhinoceros (see nn. 7, 25, 19, 22). The Nile Mosaic has the cheetah with the inscription *tigris,* and the Marissa frieze a leopard with the inscription *pardalos* (see Ch. III, n. 60 and above n. 7). The Marissa frieze has a caracal with the inscription *lynx* , but the Nile Mosaic represents a wild cat or a serval (see n. 20 and Ch. III, n. 55). The Marissa frieze correctly has a Somali wild ass with the inscription *onagrios* while the Nile Mosaic has an onager without inscription (see n. 24 and Ch. III, n. 53). In the Nile Mosaic the giraffes are depicted more succesfully than in the Marissa frieze and so are the two kinds of hyenas (see nn. 10, 23 and Ch. III, nn. 42, 38, App. 2). Animals which appear only in the Marissa frieze are the scimitar-horned oryx, the porcupine, the buffalo, the black rhinoceros and the griffin (see resp. nn. 13, 21, 9, 22, 12). In the Nile Mosaic we find the onocentaur and the rock pythons (see Ch. III, nn. 7, 12), in addition to a number of smaller animals such as monkeys, birds, lizards and amphibious animals like otters and turtles.

[29] See below n. 37.

[30] See above n. 25.

[31] For the style of lettering see Ch. III, n. 59. The similarity is striking in several cases, as in the rhinoceros inscription, see fig. 16 and fig. 61. In

both cases we find the spelling *lynx* instead of *lygx*, see n. 20, Ch. III, n. 56.

[32] See Phillips 177 ff.; Steinmayer 75 ff., and above Ch. III, n. 13.

[33] See Steinmayer 75 ff. The animals listed by Agatharchides are: lion, ant-lion (see below n. 35), panther (presumably the cheetah, see Ch. III, n. 60), rhinoceros, giraffe, sphinx, *cynocephalus*, and *cephus*-monkey, carnivorous buffalo (see n. 9), *krokottas* (presumably the spotted hyena, see Ch. III nn. 14, 38), giant snake, horned boar (wart-hog, see Ch. III, n. 6), elephant, buffalo (see Woelk frs. 68–79a, 84). Diodorus mentions only the following animals: rhinoceros, *sphinx*-, *cynocephalus*-, and *cephus*-monkey, carnivorous buffalo, giant snake, elephant, buffalo, and lion (Diod. III 35–36, and 41,3). Strabo gives the same list as Agatharchides but omits the lion and the horned boar (XVI 4, 15–16). He adds, however, the hippopotamus, crocodile, and ibis (XVI 4, 14; cf. n. 25).

[34] For the carnivorous buffalo see n. 9, and Ch. III, nn. 22, 23; for the wart-hog n. 12 and Ch. III, n. 68.

[35] See Appendix 6, The *murmekoleon.*

[36] For the Procession of Ptolemy II see Ch. III, n. 42; for the animals esp. Rice 86 ff. Pliny gives a lot of scattered information on Aethiopian animals in book VIII (esp. on elephants, the spotted hyena, the monkeys, the African buffalo, etc.). Although he does not mention Agatharchides and Artemidorus among the sources for his eighth book, he does so for other books, e.g. for his seventh book (see his account of his sources in his first book). Aelian sometimes gives long quotations from the authors which he mentions; from Pythagoras' book on the Red Sea, for example, he takes the descriptions of the onocentaur and the *cephus* (see Ch. III, nn. 6, 7, 49).

[37] Such a confusion is the more explicable since Aethiopia and India were believed ultimately to be a geographical unit and Indian creatures, such as the peacock, may have reached Egypt along the Red Sea trade route (see Ch. III, n. 33). The dromedary may also have become associated with the Red Sea trade route since it provided one of the means of transport between Egypt and the Red Sea (see Ch. III, n. 39). Bears and onagers were also imported to Egypt (see Ch. III, nn. 53, 59). For Ptolemy II as animal collector and for the zoo see nn. 44, 46. The problem of the artist's models will be discussed further in Ch. VII.

[38] Cf. above n. 28. Nonetheless, the artist of the Nile Mosaic occasionally confused animals and names. *Tigris* may originally have been the correct name for the cheetah (see Ch. III, n. 60). But he called the spotted jackals *thoantes* while their correct (Aethiopian) name *krokottas* was attached to the striped hyena (see Ch. III, nn. 14, 38). He attached the Aethiopian name for giraffe, *nabus*, to the dromedary (see Ch. III, n. 39) and *satyrus* to a baboon, instead of to the green monkey (see Ch. III, n. 62).

[39] Cf. above n. 28. The Marissa frieze seems, for example, to distinguish between the white and black rhinoceros (see n. 22) and correctly represents the Somali wild ass (see n. 24).

[40] Arranged according to the classification of Aristotle, see Keller I, 1 ff.; the terminology is of later date. See for the red monkey Ch. III, n. 19; green monkey Ch. III, n. 24; baboon Ch. III, n. 49; Anubis baboon Ch. III, n. 62; Hamadryas baboon Ch. III, nn. 19, 55; lion Ch. III, n. 52, Ch. IV, nn. 8, 18; leopard Ch. IV, n. 7; cheetah Ch. III, n. 60; wild cat or serval Ch. III, n. 56; striped hyena Ch. III, n. 38, Ch. IV, n. 23; spotted hyena Ch. III, n. 14; hounds Ch. III, n. 31; mongoose Ch. III, n. 73; otter Ch. III, n. 27; caracal Ch. IV, n. 20; porcupine Ch. IV, n. 21; dassie Ch. IV, n. 35; shrew Ch. III, n. 46; Somali wild ass Ch. IV, n. 24; giraffe Ch. III, n. 42, Ch. IV, n. 10; scimitar-horned oryx Ch. IV, n. 13; buffalo Ch. III, n. 23; Ch. IV, n. 9; gnu

Ch. III, n. 6; elephant Ch. III, n. 36, Ch. IV, n. 15; white rhinoceros Ch. III, n. 65, Ch. IV n. 14; black rhinoceros Ch. IV, n. 22; hippopotamus Ch. IV, n. 25; wart-hog Ch. III, n. 68, Ch. IV, n. 11; river-hog Ch. III, n. 66; ibis Ch. III, n. 122; Ch. IV, n. 25; herons Ch. III, n. 11; cranes Ch. III, n. 11; exotic birds Ch. III, n. 50; turtle Ch. III, n. 28; crocodile Ch. III, n. 118; Ch. IV, n. 25; lizard Ch. III, n. 54; Nile monitor Ch. III, n. 70; desert monitor Ch. III, n. 63; rock python Ch. III, n. 12; cobra Ch. III, n. 73; viper Ch. IV, nn. 9, 24; elephant-snout fish Ch. IV, n. 26.

[41] Agatharchides and Diodorus describe the Aethiopian animals after the Trogodytes (Woelk frs. 67 ff.; Diod. III 35. 1 ff.). Strabo XVI 4,13–16 describes the animals in connection with the land of the Ichthuophagi who live in the same area as the Trogodytes and in Somaliland (cf. Agatharchides, Woelk fr. 83; Diod. III 40,1). For Aethiopia and the Trogodyte country see Ch. III, nn. 8, 16; below nn 42, 43.

[42] For the similarity of the rocky landscape represented in the Nile Mosaic to that of the first cataract see Ch. III, nn. 4 and 21. For Nubia in general see the literature in Ch. III, nn. 8,16. The waste desert of rock and sand lay like a buffer between Egypt and Kush, the Nile forming the only link between Egypt and Meroe. But temples, such as the famous ones of Abu Simbel, had been built here and there along the Nile. In the Ptolemaic period this region, which stretched from Philae to Hierasycaminus (Wadi Maharagh) was called the Dodecaschoenos; it gradually became more developed, a development which continued in the Roman period. Originally the property of the god Khnum of Elephantine it came c. 200 B.C. into the possession of the temple of Isis at Philae, but was in fact partly under Ptolemaic, and partly under Meroitic control, depending on the balance of power. As the land of Isis it was a sacred country for Egyptians and Nubians alike (see *LÄ* I, 1112 f., s.v. Dodekaschoinos; Scholz 67; Trigger, *passim*; L. Török, To the history of the Dodekaschoenos between 250 B.C. and 298 A.D., *ZÄS* 107 (1980) 76 ff.; A. Burckhardt, Ägypter und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos, *Meroitica* 8 (1985) and below n. 51.

[43] For the island of Meroe, the centre of the Meroitic kingdom of Kush, lying between the White Nile, the Blue Nile and the Atbara, see Ch. III, n. 8, and especially Scholz 8 and 79 ff., fig. 102. For the rain-belt see Haltenorth, Diller, map on p. 17. In antiquity the region was much richer in water, vegetation and animals, see Scholz 80, 89 ff. The animals depicted in the Nile Mosaic and in the Punt relief at Deir el-Bahari lived there, see fig. 32, and it was there that the Nubians hunted the leopards, cheetahs, giraffes and monkeys which they sent as tribute to Egypt (see Drenkhahn 120 ff., *LÄ* VI, 763 ff., s.v. Tribut; and Ch. III for each animal separately). It was difficult however to transport large and strong animals like elephants and rhinoceroses along the Nile, with the result that these creatures were only vaquely known to the Egyptians (see e.g. Ch. III, nn. 51, 65). Even today several of the animals here discussed can still be found in this area, but others like the cheetah and the rhinoceros have withdrawn to the south (see further Haltenorth, Diller, for each species).

[44] For the Ptolemaic elephant hunting expeditions in general see Diod. III 36,3; 18,4; 26–27; Scullard 123 ff.; Fraser I, 175 ff.; Raïos-Chouliara 69 ff.; Desanges 248 ff,; Rice 90 ff.; Hofmann 46 ff.; Scholz 91. The main aim of Ptolemy II was allegedly to collect war elephants to make up for the shortage which he had suffered since the first Syrian war (274–272) when the Seleucids had blocked the import of Indian elephants (see Agatharchides, Woelk frs. 1, 78; Photius VII, 134, fr. 1, Diod. III, 36,3; and the quotation in the beginning of this book; Fraser I, 176; Desanges 248 f.; 278 f.). But his

expeditions may also have formed part of a larger exploration programme because he sent expeditions to Meroe, as well as along the African and Arabian coasts of the Red Sea (see Fraser I, 177; Desanges 262 f., Sidebotham 4 ff.). Jennison 37, and Fraser I, 175 f. assumed that Ptolemy II tried the Red Sea route because relations with the kingdom of Meroe were bad. However, Desanges 250 ff., 258 ff., rightly points out that Ptolemy mounted various expeditions to Meroe which included elephant hunters (cf. their graffiti on the statues of Abu Simbel, Fraser II, 309 n. 375) and suggests that he concluded that the Nile route was too difficult for the transport of elephants. The Nile route, by water or along the river bank, was indeed difficult. The cataracts made the river only partly navigable (see Lloyd I, 117, 121). Moreover, the sea route would have seemed much shorter than the route along the twisting Nile. The famous Punt expedition by Hatshepsut seems indeed to have followed the same route (see K.A. Kitchen, Punt and How to Get There, *Or* 40 (1971) 184 ff., esp. 202. As late as the last century the easier route to the Sudan was still along the Red Sea. General Charles Gordon in 1874 travelled to Khartoum by the sea route to Suakim and then over land to Berber on the Nile, see C.C. Trench, *The road to Khartoum, A life of General Charles Gordon* (ed. of 1987) 73; and below n. 45). For rare representations of an elephant transport, although not necessarily an Aethiopian one, see *MAAR* (1936) pl. 46, fig. 31; Carandini, fig. 123.

[45] For the exploration of the African Red Sea coast see Diod. III 18,4; Fraser I, 177 ff; Desanges 248 ff., 262 ff., 292.; Scullard 129, fig. 13; Peremans 447 ff.; Hofmann 81 ff.; Rice 91. For Ptolemais of the Elephant Hunts see Fraser II, 304, n. 359. Below Suakim the coastal mountain ridge is interrupted and it is easy to reach the fertile inland region with its doum palms, baboons, giraffes, rhinoceroses and elephants (cf. fig. 32; see Kitchen (*o.c.* in n. 44) 202; *idem* in *LÄ* IV, 1198 ff., s.v. Punt, with map on 1198). The railway from Suakim to Berber was laid along the same route in 1906, see E.A. W. Budge, *The Nile. Notes for travellers in Egypt and in the Sudan* (1910, 11th ed.) 793 ff., map on p. 798.

[46] For Ptolemy II as an animal collector and for the Alexandrian zoo, see n. 44; Fraser I, 515; II, 466, n. 39; Rice 86 f.; *LÄ* VI, 1420 ff.; s.v. Zoologischer Garten. Many animals such as dromedaries, elephants, wild asses, antelopes, and even cheetahs, could be domesticated (see Rice 88 f.; and for the cheetah Ch. III, n. 60). Other animals, like the giraffe, rhinoceros and large feline animals of prey, were only kept for show. Many of the Aethiopian animals discussed in the aforegoing pages and many other Aethiopian animals such as oxen, sheep and birds, were already present in the Procession which is thought to have taken place somewhere between 279 and 270 (see Ch. III, n. 43), so before the presumed beginning of the elephant hunting expeditions along the Red Sea which began in 270 (see n. 44). This poses the problem of when and how these animals had been brought to Egypt. Earlier expeditions along the Red Sea coast should perhaps not be excluded (cf. Desanges 263 ff.) but it would have cost considerable time and organisation to collect the mass of Aethiopian animals which figured in the Procession. Many of these animals must therefore have come from Nubia along the Nile route, just as they did in the days of the old Pharaohs (see *LÄ* VI, 763 ff., s.v. Tribut). They may have included some elephants although the number of elephants figuring in the Procession suggests that they were mostly Indian (or perhaps Carthaginian elephants, cf. Rice 91 f.; Ch. III, n. 51). The Nile route is the more probable because not only Aethiopian animals appeared in the Procession but also Aethiopians themselves carrying 600 tusks of ivory, 2000 blocks of ebony, gold and silver vessels and gold

dust (cf. Rice 91 ff.). The combination of animals and treasure suggests a successful raid into Nubia (see Fraser I, 176; Desanges 253 ff.). The great variety of Aethiopian animals which figured in the Procession, including such creatures as the rhinoceros and the giraffe, was someting never before seen by the Greeks. It will have been a stimulus for Philadelphus' hunting expeditions.

[47] The zenith of elephant hunting seems to have been reached under Ptolemy IV Philopator after the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.), presumably because of the heavy losses sustained in that battle (cf. Fraser I, 179; II, 308, nn. 370, 371). After Philopator's death in 203 there is no more evidence of elephant hunting, presumably in consequence of the political decline of Ptolemaic Egypt from that time onwards (see Fraser I, 179; Desanges 297 f.; Hofmann 104 ff.; Scholz 91; Raïos-Chouliara 74 f.). But that does not necessarily mean that elephant hunts stopped totally. There is one later mention of war elephants, notably those of Ptolemy VI, which on his death in 146 were captured by Demetrius (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIII 120). It has been assumed that these had come from Nubia along the Nile route (cf. B.G. Haycock, Landmarks in Cushite History, *JEA*, LVIII (1972) 231 ff., esp. 237). They may alternatively have been Carthaginian elephants (cf. n. 46, Scullard 189; Rice 91, n. 160). But there is no reason why they should not have come along the traditional Red Sea route (cf. Desanges 286); the more so since the spice trade with the Somali coast and India had never ceased (see n. 48).

[48] For the continuation of the trade with the Somali coast and India see Fraser I, 179 ff.; II, 294, n. 330; Desanges 272; 298 ff.; 303 f.; Scholz 8, 14; Hofmann 129 ff.; Sidebotham 4 ff.; and for an example Ch. V, n. 31.

[49] In a fragment of the memoirs of Ptolemy VIII, which has been preserved in Athenaeus, mention is made of pheasants and guinea fowl which were kept in the royal palace. Although these may simply have belonged to the palace garden and even have served the palace kitchen, it is tempting to assume that they belonged to the original zoo of Philadelphus (Athenaeus XIV, 654 C; Fraser I, 515; II, 743 n. 181; Rice 87). The games of Pompey in 55 B.C. included elephants, baboons, a rhinoceros and a spotted hyena, all probably presented by Ptolemy Auletes (see above Ch. III, n. 14), while a giraffe was shown at the games of Caesar in 48 B.C. (see Ch. III, n. 42). Although some of these animals may have come from the Alexandrian zoo, it must in course of time have become necessary to mount hunting expeditions to Aethiopia to meet the increasing demand for African animals for the Roman amphitheater.

[50] For the correct landscape see nn. 43, 45, and especially Kitchen (*o.c.* in n. 44), 202; our fig. 32, reproduces a small part of the Punt relief after Smith, pl. opp. p. 60, where in addition to the doum palms there are frankincense and ebony trees. For the unnatural placing of the animals in the Nile Mosaic see Ch. III, n. 5. The size of the animals in the Nile Mosaic also is totally out of proportion with the table mountains on which they stand (cf. figs. 10, 13, 16, and 89).

[51] Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the character of the landscape and the habitat of the animals is not entirely incorrect, because the landscape gradually changes. In the foreground we find granite rocks rising from the water, a landscape which seems to have stretched well into the upper left-hand side. Above this, visible between the rocks, are stretches of flat land with savanna trees and shrubs. In reality this change of landscape and flora would have taken place over a very considerable distance from north to south. Even if one came from the Red Sea coast it was a considerable distance before the true habitat of the animals was reached (cf. nn. 43, 45).

[52] For the land of Isis-Hathor see above n. 42; H. Junker, Der Auszug des Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien, *APAW* (1911) Anh. 3; L. Kákosy, Nubien als mythisches Land im Altertum, *AnnUnBud*, sect. hist., 8 (1966) 3 ff. (repr. in *Studia Aegyptiaca* 7 (1981) 15 ff.); S. West, The Greek version of the Legend of Tefnut, *JEA* 55 (1969) 161 ff.; Bonneau 254 ff.; Dunand 1973 I, 195 f., 205 f.; Desanges 257 ff.; *LÄ* II, 815 f., s.v. Götterland; *LÄ* IV, 198 ff., s.v. Punt; *LÄ* VI, 296 ff.,s.v. Tefnut; Scholz 90, 93, 94. In a relief of the great pylon at Philae Ptolemy VI and his wife Cleopatra are represented offering Nubian products, which include semi-precious stones, gold and ivory, and exotic animals such as a panther and a giraffe, to Isis, Mistress of the South (see Junker 1958 269 ff., fig. 159; above Ch. III, nn. 4, 43, 60). Cf. also the picture decribed by Philostratus (*Imag.* I, 5) representing the Nile and Aethiopia and the deity who presides over the Nile flood (see Bonneau 338, and Ch. IV, n. 154).

[53] For the origin of the Nile and the Nile flood see extensively Bonneau 135 ff.; *RÄRG* 525; *LÄ* IV, 506 f., s.v. Nilquellen; VI, 831 f., s.v. Uberschwimmung; Van der Plas I, 171 ff. According to one view, which was known to the Greeks in the classical period, the Nile was believed to spring from the inner earth in the rocks below Assuan (see Bonneau 62 f., 171 ff.; below n. 115, fig. 82). According to another view, which had been accepted in the Greek world since Aristotle, the Nile flood was caused by heavy summer rains in the Abyssinian mountains (see Bonneau 195 ff., 203 ff.). This view, which shows a better knowledge of Nubia and the course of the Nile, and which existed already in ancient Egypt (Bonneau 195), was also known to Agatharchides (see Diod. I 41, 4; Burton 20 ff., 140 f.; Bonneau 205). For the connection of Isis and the Nile flood see nn. 52, 54.

[54] Only the more important lines of thought will be outlined here. See further the excellent and comprehensive survey by Phillips 1 ff.

[55] A descriptive and decorative character was first suggested by De Montfaucon in 1724 (see above n. 2; Phillips 9). On the one hand this view led to a valuation in a descriptive or didactic sense (Vaglieri 1909, 238 f.; Phillips 196 f.; Leach 92, 94). On the other hand it led to an interpretation of Nilotic scenes in general as an exotic decoration in the manner of Chinoiserie in European art (see Rostovtzeff 1911, 71; Phillips 37, 50; Boëthius, Ward-Perkins 461). Generally speaking the descriptive and decorative view is the more modern one. Thus Phillips and Whitehouse refrain from a specific interpretation. Originally I also held the generic view. It was the publication by Whitehouse of the Dal Pozzo copies – especially of sections 14 and 16, which substantially differ from the corresponding parts in the mosaic – which induced me to reconsider the interpretation, see below pp. 55 ff. and pp. 64 ff., figs. 23, 25, 26.

[56] Kircher 100 ff. proposed a far-fetched interpretation as an allegory of Fortuna and of divination (cf. Phillips 6). Such an approach was elaborated in a different but equally far-fetched way by Marucchi (1885, 79 ff.; 1904, 232 ff.; 1910, 149 ff.; cf. Phillips 42 ff.). These theories are not accepted anymore but in a general way the interpretation of the mosaic as an allegorical picture of the power of Isis still has its followers (Schefold 1962, 16 f., 29 f., 197 ff.; Witt 34, 163; Coarelli 1987, 81; Lavagne 248; cf. above Ch. II, n. 35). The importance of the religious ceremony, i.e. the procession, which is interpreted as a procession with a vessel containing the water of the new inundation, has been stressed by Bonneau 92; Castiglione 1957, *idem* 1970.

[57] The only mythological interpretation was put forward by J.J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti spiegati ed illustrati* (1767) 215 f. (cf. Phillips 18 ff.). He suggested that the mosaic depicted the escape of Menelaus and Helen

from Egypt: while the priests carry Menelaus' bier to the sea the ship which is to take her away is approaching. Historical interpretations usually began with the meeting scene in the foreground. The first interpretation as an historical event was given by the Cardinal de Polignac who assumed that it depicted the visit of Alexander the Great to the oasis of Siwah where he was recognised as son of Amon (see above n. 2). The Abbé Barthélemy assumed that the mosaic represented a visit of Hadrian to Elephantine in 130 A.D. (Barthélemy 526; cf. Phillips 14 ff.). Although Schmidt 56, did not think it necessary to assume that Hadrian himself was depicted she strongly stressed a Hadrianic connection. Pieralisi assumed that the mosaic represented the coronation of Sulla's protégé Ptolemy XI at Memphis in 80 B.C. (Pieralisi 36 f., 59 f.; Phillips 34 ff.; Leach 93). A connection with Sulla or Hadrian is still assumed by many scholars (see Ch. II, n. 58).

[58] For the view of a schematic map of the course of the Nile from Aethiopia to the Delta, and for fig. 66, see above n. 2. In such a view the top sequence of scenes of the lower part of the Nile Mosaic would represent Upper or Central Egypt and the foreground Lower Egypt or the Delta. This view was elaborated among others by Schmidt 34 ff., Bonneau 92 f.; Steinmayer 80 ff.; Leach, 93 f.; who suggested topographical identifications which, however, hardly ever agree. Thus the Nilometer and temple have been located at Assuan, Elephantine and Philae (see nn. 61, 62). For the many interpretations of the Egyptian temple, see n. 70. The pavilion in the foreground has been located at Alexandria, at Memphis and at Canopus (see n. 135).

[59] See above Ch. I, p. 6.

[60] The aspect of the various scenes floating in the water is not due to the restorer who simply filled in the space between the scenes with water, but must be original because most of the Dal Pozzo copies of the lower part show the scenes surrounded by water. The aspect which Egypt offered at the time of the inundation, i.e. of islands with people, cattle and houses is a recurrent topic in classical literature, see Phillips 196; Bonneau 88 f., 94–101; Whitehouse 3; Herodotus II 97; Lloyd II, 380; Diod. I 36, 7–12; Strabo XVII 1, 4; Seneca QN IV 2, 11; Achilles Tatius IV 11–12; Heliodorus IX 9, 14. Nowadays this aspect does not occur anymore due to the building of the High Dam near the first cataract but a fine impression is offered in a plate published by Belzoni, which shows a striking similarity with some parts of the Nile Mosaic such as sections 9, 10 and 15 (see fig. 67, after G. E. Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and the Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia* (1820), pl. 26, reproducing an etching by Aglio after a drawing by S. Belzoni, made between 1815–1819; cf. E. Eggebrecht, *Ägypten, Fascination und Abenteuer* (1982) 52 f.

[61] For an identification as a Nilometer at Elephantine see Marucchi 1929, 33 ff; Aurigemma 57; Witt 34 f., 163 f.; Phillips 195; for an identification as the Nilometer of Assuan see Marucchi 1904, 265; Schmidt 34; Steinmayer 84 ff. For Nilometers in general see Ch. III, n. 77. For instance the temple of Isis at Philae had four Nilometers, see Bonneau 1976, 5, no. 19; Wild 28 ff., fig. 11. Only in two cases the location of a Nilometer is indicated by an inscription, i.e. Alexandria. These are a late-antique mosaic from Beth Shean (Balty, pl. CXXXI,2) and a late-antique mosaic from Sepphoris (Netzer, Weiss, figs. opp. 38 and on 41). In both cases a conspicuous Nilometer column is depicted. In reality this Nilometer probably stood near the mouth of the Schedia canal (see Bonneau 1971a, 39; Borchardt (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 77) 38). For the Nilometer of the Serapereum of Alexandria which was merely symbolical see Wild 29 ff., 154.

[62] Marucchi 1904, 265; Schmidt 34, and Aurigemma 57, supposed that, while the Nilometer was located at Elephantine or Assuan the temple beside it was the Isis temple of Philae, which had a well-known pair of obelisks (see Ch. III, n. 89). However, the position of the Nilometer just in front of the obelisks and the temple entrance is so customary that they must belong together, cf. our fig. 33, representing the Nilometer of Kom Ombo, situated on the terrace before the temple. The connection of the Nilometer and the temple is also made clear by the people standing in front of these, together they obviously form one group. The Isis temple of Philae was a large temple in the Egyptian style (see fig. 83). The temples of Khnum and Satet at Elephantine also were in the Egyptian style (see Jaritz, figs. 1, 24, 25). At Assuan remains have been preserved of a large Isis temple from the Ptolemaic period and of two temples from the Roman period dedicated to Khnum, Hapy, Osiris and to Isis and Satet, which were all in the Egyptian style (see *LA* I, 495 ff., s.v. Assuan).

[63] Obelisks were originally connected with the Sun-god Re and symbolized rebirth and eternity. Because of this meaning and because of the assimilation of Re and Osiris obelisks could, just like the Phoenix, also be associated with the Nile flood and Isis and Osiris, see Ch. III, n. 80. For the assimilation of Osiris and Re, and their relation to the inundation, see Derchain 35 ff.; Kákosy 191 f.; Goyon 101 ff.; De Wit 155 f.; Bonneau 238; and below nn. 83, 116; fig. 83. For the lotus as symbol of revival and its connection with the inundation and Isis and Osiris see Ch. III, nn. 84, 93, and 105. In the Nilotic scene reproduced in fig. 35, the connection between the temple and the Nile flood is indicated by the ritual waterpitcher on top of the pediment (see Michel 85, and for waterpitchers below n. 88). The presence of only women near the temple, except for the fisherman, may perhaps also be suggestive of an Isis temple, see Ch. III, n. 81. For shrines of Isis throughout Egypt see Dunand 1973, I, 119 ff.

[64] Cf. Phillips 195; Steinmayer 87. For the landscape of the area around the first cataract see Ch. III, pp. 21 ff., nn. 4, 21, fig. 89. In Roman representations of Nilometers a rocky landscape is never indicated, and they are just placed in a flat landscape (see the examples given in Ch. III, n. 77). Still the rocky nature of the area of the first cataract was well known and may be found in other representations (see e.g. Bonneau, pl. VII, nos. 5, 6, 10, figuring Neilus sitting on rocks; Bonneau, 1976, 56; cf. figs. 75, 76.

[65] See for these temples n. 62. During the Ptolemaic period Khnum, originally the god of the Nile flood, was surpassed by Isis who had been assimilated with Satet-Sothis at Elephantine and whose temple at Philae became pre-eminently connected with the Nile flood (see *LÄ* I, 1217 ff, s.v. Philae, esp. 1025; below n. 112). It is doubtful whether temples or shrines in the Greek style were ever built as far south as the area of the first cararact during the Ptolemaic period, because in Upper Egypt the population was mainly Egyptian (cf. however the temple for Augustus in Philae, see Ch. III, n. 85). It is possible that such temples were only built in the northern part of the country where the Greek element in the population was much stronger. The artist may just have depicted an Isis temple similar to one he knew from the Delta. Anyway, the Roman beholder could easily associate a temple in the classical style with Egyptian gods as appears from the many examples in Nilotic scenes (cf. Ch. II, n. 85, figs. 34, 35).

[66] For the various kinds of Nilometers see Ch. III, n. 77. For the Nilometers of Philae see above n. 61. For the Nilometers of Elephantine, see Jaritz, pl. 4 c and fig. 1. As regards the Nilometer of Assuan Pliny *NH* II 183, informs us that a well (*puteum*) at Syene was fully illuminated by the

rays of the sun at midday on the summer solstice. From Strabo XVII 1, 48, we learn the same phenomenon (see Fraser I, 414 f., II; 598 f., nn. 308, 309). Such a phenomenon can not occur in a Nilometer of a corridor type which were partly covered. So it is only logical to assume that it had the shape of a well and that this well was the well of Pliny. At Edfu the Nilometer is simply called 'well' (see Ch. III, n. 77). The special position of Assuan with regard to the sun on the summer solstice was renowned because Eratosthenes had used it for his calculation of the circumference of the earth (see Fraser *l.c.* and cf. e.g. Lucanus, *Pharsalia* II, 587 '*umbram numquam flectente Syene* '. The artist may have tried to illustrate this phenomenon by letting us look inside the shadowless well (Steinmayer 86). Steinmayer *l.c.* also suggests that the obelisks in the Nile Mosaic are the gnomons mentioned by Strabo, *l.c.* This does not seem probable because a pair of obelisks were a common feature of a temple forecourt just like Nilometers, and gnomons are nowhere attested as being connected with Nilometers. Moreover single obelisks were only used as gnomons since the Imperial period (cf. Fraser *l.c.* and Ch. III, n. 80).

[67] See the examples given in n. 66 and Ch. III, nn. 77, 78. Sometimes only a Nilometer column is depicted, which implies, however, the presence of a well from which the column rises, see Ch. III, n. 78.

[68] See Plutarch, *De Is.* 7, and Aelian *NA* X, 19. The grey mullet had the habit of swimming up the Nile annually and it reached the area of Assuan around the time that the flood was due to come, see Griffith 1970, 278; Bonneau 49, 295; Gamer-Wallert 101 ff.; *LÄ* II, 231 f., s.v. Fische, religiös. Steinmayer 87 makes the attractive suggestion that the fisherman in section 8 actually announces the arrival of these fish. An ancient Egyptian scene exists which depicts a herdsman announcing the arrival of the grey mullet in the Delta, which was the sign for general fishing (see fig. 67; E. Edel, *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der "Weltkammer" aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre* II (1963) 140–142, 214 ff., esp. 216, fig. 1; and E. Edel, S. Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-Re* (1974) pls. B and 15). The similarity between these two scenes certainly makes it tempting to assume that the fisherman is announcing the appearance of the *phagrus* fish in the Nile near the first cataract and so the coming of the flood.

[69] For the structures on the island see Ch. III, nn. 94, 97. Schmidt 38, suggested that it should represent the city of Thebes. We have seen, however, that the buildings on the islands are very simple. Therefore these can hardly have suggested Thebes which was one of the most famous cities of the Ancient World. Steinmayer 88 ff., identifies it with the island Elephantine and the Khnum temple because of the long shape of the island and its position opposite Assuan and its Nilometer. The island of Elephantine was, however, especially characterised by its granite rocks and the temple of Khnum was in the Egyptian style (see esp. nn. 6 and 62). Rocks are depicted in the upper part of the Nile Mosaic and in section 8 but are absent on this island. Furthermore, Elephantine was a real temple island and the structures on the island in the Nile Mosaic are very simple dwellings (cf. *LÄ* II, 1217 ff., s.v. Elephantine). See for the lotus acroteria and the garlands Ch. III, n. 93, and compare the temple in our fig. 35, which has on top of the pediment a Nilewater vessel (see Michel 85, and for similar vessels below n. 88).

[70] The following interpretations have been proposed since the last century: the temple of Amon at Thebes (Marucchi 1895, 31; R. Cagnat, V. Chapot, *Manuel d'archeologie romaine* II (1920) 146; Witt, 35); the temple of Khonsou at Thebes (Aurigemma 69, 77, however, the relief to which Auri-

gemma refers actually represents the 2nd pylon of the temple of Amon, see above Ch. III, n. 103); the Ramesseum at Thebes (Marucchi 1904, 265) or in general a Pharaonic funerary temple at Thebes (Schmidt 42 f.; Phillips 77, 192 ff.); a Pharaonic temple at Memphis (Pieralisi *l.c.* in n. 57; Leach 93 f.); the temple of Osiris at Canopus (Weber 1910, 21 f.; Castiglione 1957, 216, n. 21); the temple of Horus at Edfu (Bonneau 92); the temple of Isis at Philae (Steinmayer 90 ff.).

[71] See for the architecture of the temple Ch. III, n. 108, and below n. 84. Perhaps we should not attach too much importance to the architecture of the temple and reckon with the possibility that the artist simply wanted to represent an Egyptian temple in general, or depicted a temple which he happened to know.

[72] See for Osiris statues and their meaning Ch. III, n. 104, and below n. 80. For the identification as a funerary temple see n. 70, but the use of Osiris statues was by no means restricted to funerary temples, see e.g. our fig. 39. See further below n. 80.

[73] In this view the Osiris statues would simply represent the god of the temple. Weber 1910, 21 f. pointed to the similarity with an Egyptian temple represented on Alexandrian coins from the 2nd century A.D., see Ch. III, n. 103, fig. 42. Because in each of those cases an image of Osiris Canopus appears in the entrance he concluded that these temples, as well as the temple in the Nile Mosaic, should depict the Osiris temple of Canopus. This view was adopted by Castiglione 1957, 216, n. 21, who furthermore assumed that the object which was carried in the procession was originally also an image of Osiris Canopus. This, however, seems doubtful (see below n. 89). The Alexandrian bone tesserae with the inscription Canopus were unknown to both scolars (see n. 78 and Ch. III, n. 103, fig. 41).

[74] Thus Bonneau 92, identified it with the temple of Horus at Edfu. Steinmayer 90 ff., esp. 94, considers that a falcon cult is also attested for the temple of Isis at Philae where every year a live falcon was shown to the people from above the great pylon, and she concludes that the temple in the Nile Mosaic should depict the Isis temple of Philae (cf. the traveller pointing at the eagle; see Strabo XVII 1, 49; and H. Junker, Die Bericht Strabos über den heiligen Falken von Philae im Lichte der ägyptischen Quellen, *WZKM* 26 (1912) 42 ff., esp. 58; *LÄ* IV 1022 ff., s.v. Philae, esp. 1026). For the presentation of divine images above temple entrances in general see Badawy 1968, 38, 178; Handler 61, nn. 48, 49. However, the cult of the falcon god Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris existed not only in Horus temples, but also in temples of Isis and in temples of the cult of the Pharaoh who was the representative of Horus on earth (see *LÄ* II, 94 ff., s.v. Falke; III, 14 ff.; s.v. Horus, esp. 15 ff.), Der Königsgott; cf. Diod. I, 87, stating that falcons and eagles were sacred at Thebes, see n. 77). So it was by no means restricted to the two temples discussed here.

[75] See Ch. III, n. 103, cf. fig. 40. This observation does not imply that the falcon and the eagle may not have been equated at times and places, because in general they were confused (see *LÄ* I, 64, s.v. Adler). Here, however, we are involved with the unusual combination of an eagle depicted in the naturalistic Greek way and with a traditional Egyptian temple. It is of course tempting to consider, whether, and in how far, the Ptolemaic rulers (who as Horus' representatives acted as the living falcon god on earth, see n. 74) identified themselves with their eagle device. On their coins the eagle seems to have represented the sovereign because eagles may also appear in pairs and then apparently represent the royal couple (see n. 76 and App. 7; Möbius 24; e.g. *SNG Copenhagen* 1977, pl. V, nos. 144, 146).

[76] The eagle was not unknown in Egypt (see n. 75, Ch. III, n. 103) but the naturalistic depiction of it appeared only since the time of the Ptolemies who had adopted the bird of Zeus as their dynasty's device and displayed it on their coins; see for the eagle of Zeus in general J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (1977) 141 ff.; *RE* I, 371 ff., s.v. Adler; *RAC* I, 87 ff., s.v. Adler; for the Ptolemaic eagle see *LÄ* I, 64, s.v. Adler; Möbius 24 ff., 76 ff., pl. V, 5, our fig. 40; after J.N. Svoronos, Die Münzen der Ptolemaeer III (1904) pl. 17, 1; Studniczka 61 ff., and for other examples, *SNG Copenhagen* 1977, pl. III, 76–86, showing the head of Zeus on the obverse. Variations in the position of the eagle's head and wings may be found throughout the Ptolemaic period and do not seem to have a special meaning. The posture of the bird in the Nile Mosaic with the head turning back and the wings down, is not very common in the Hellenistic period, but may be found already in the 5th century B.C. (see *BMC Peloponnesus*, pl. XIV,12). See further nn. 77, 82, App. 7.

[77] See for a suggested identification with the Amon temple at Thebes n. 70; compare the relief with the 2nd pylon of the temple of Amon with a vulture above the doorway, Ch. III, n. 103. See for the eagle of Zeus n. 76. See for the assimilation of Zeus and Amon which was of much older date *RE* I,2, 1853 ff., s.v. Ammon, esp. 1855 ff.; EAA VII, 1264 f., s.v. Zeus Amon; Herodotus II, 32, 42, 54; and for Zeus Amon and the Nile flood Bonneau 316 ff.; Lloyd II, 133 ff., 190 ff., 251 ff. In the Hellenistic period Thebes was called Diospolis Magna and according to Diodorus I 87, and Strabo XVI 1, 40, the eagle was held sacred there because it was a royal bird worthy of Zeus. Many Ptolemaic coins which show the Ptolemaic eagle depict on the obverse the head of Zeus Amon, see e.g. *SNG Copenhagen* 1977, pl. V, nos. 141–146 (Ptolemy II). Actually the pylon represented in our fig. 39, is one of the pylons of that temple (see Ch. III, n. 104). De Polignac had already assumed that the temple in the Nile Mosaic was dedicated to Zeus Amon but he located it in the oasis of Siwa (cf. above nn. 2, 57, see for that temple Lloyd II, 133 ff.).

[78] See for the presentation of divine images above the temple pylon n. 75. See for the bone tesserae and coins Ch. III, n. 103, figs. 41, 42. For the Canopic image of Osiris, i.e. a vase with a lid in the shape of the head of the god, see *LÄ* III, 315 ff., s.v. Kanopen 1; below n. 89; our fig. 72. Two temples in the Egyptian style appear on Alexandrian coins. One shows a pylon with Isis above it (sometimes flanked by falcons, see e.g. fig. 42d) and one showing an eagle above it, and a figure of Osiris Canopus in the entrance (see our fig. 42a–c). Handler 63 f., supposed that both represented the same temple i.e. an Isis temple at Alexandria, where there was also a cult for Canopus. However, the difference is consistent and Naster 184 f. identified the one as the temple of Osiris at Canopus while the other remained an unidentified Isis temple (cf. also Alföldi-Rosenbaum 222 f.). The identification of the Osiris temple of Canopus has been proven by the bone tesserae which bear the inscription Kanopos (see Ch. III, n. 103, fig. 41). See for the temple of Canopus further below nn. 84, 192.

[79] See Wild 114. The earliest dated representation of Osiris Canopus appears on an Alexandrian coin of Galba of 69 A.D., and possibly on a coin of Claudius of 44/45, see resp. *SNG Copenhagen* 1974, pl. IV, 155; and J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (1924) II 6, F617, who refers to F. Feuardent, *Collections Giovanni di Demetrio, Numismatique, Égypte ancienne* I–II (1869–1873) II, no. 617; apparently a unique copy which he has not seen himself. Since 69 it becomes a regular feature on coins (see Wild 114, nn, 88, 89). The appearance of the Canopic image on coins and on the bone tesserae which in general may be dated between 45 B.C. and 69 A.D. (see Ch. III, n. 109) implies that it must have originated some time before, presumably in the 1st

century B.C. (cf. Wild 114). It may be noted that the lotus headgear which the statues in the Nile Mosaic have, may be found in several cases with Osiris Canopus (see Ch. III, n. 105, our fig. 72, see for this below n. 89; Wild, pl. XXII; Roullet, pl. CCXVIII, fig. 324).

[80] For Osiris statues and their meaning see Ch. III, n. 104. These statues represented the deified Pharaoh as Osiris in memory of rituals connected with royal jubilees (see Leblanc 1982 (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 104) 298). However, this cult practice was characteristic for the New Kingdom and there is no indication that it was later revived. There are no Osiris statues in the famous temples of Dendera, Edfu and Philae (see for each *LÄ* s.v.). The statues in the Nile Mosaic wear the Hellenistic lotus headgear of Osiris. Their number, four, may frequently be found with Osiris statues from the New Kingdom, though this is not always the case because they may also appear in pairs (see Leblanc 1982, e.g. figs. 1 and 3). Although the cult practice of Osiris statues is not attested for the late period the assimilation of the dead Pharaoh with Osiris continued in the Graeco-Roman period. Several statues of Pharaohs without portrait features have been preserved from the Roman period (see e.g. Roullet 101 ff., figs. 176, 177, 182, 188–193, 196, 198). They wear the ceremonial Pharaonic dress which may also be found in the period of the New Kingdom (see Badawy 1968, 478 ff.; Leblanc (1980, *o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 104) 72 ff.). Several statues exist of Antinous in this costume which indicates that he is deified and equated with Osiris (see Roullet 85 ff., figs. 116–120). Osiris appears in Pharaonic dress in the Nile Mosaic in the Vatican (Nogara, pl. V; De Vos 29 ff., no. 17) and in a terracotta statuette from the Casa di Loreius Tiburtinus at Pompeii, a house which is rich in Egyptian references (see Spinazzola I, 395, fig. 451; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 44 ff.). So many of these Pharaoh statues are actually Osiris statues (cf. K. Parlasca, Osiris and Osirisglaube in der Kaiserzeit, in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecques et romains* (1973) 96, pl. IV, fig. 4). So the equation of the Pharaoh and Osiris was still a strong religious element (see in general below n. 155). It may, therefore, be possible that the four Osiris statues in the Nile Mosaic are an indication that the old cult practice of the Osiris statues was in some way revived in the Ptolemaic period. Such a revival would tally with the close connection which the Osiris temple of Canopus had with the Ptolemaic Pharaoh's and the annual royal jubilees at the time of the inundation (see pp. 67 f., 74 ff., App. 12). On the other hand, the original meaning of the Osiris statues may have been lost and these statues merely could represent the god of the temple. It is even possible that in reality these statues were not present near the temple but that they were an addition by the artist. The representations on the coins depict only shafts for flagstaffs in this position, but coins are a very inaccurate medium because of their small size (see fig. 42, cf. Ch. III, n. 102; Badawy 1968, 171 f.). Perhaps the artist only used the general practice of placing statues in front of temple pylons, simply to indicate the god of the temple, just as the images of Osiris Canopus do in the bone tesserae and coins (cf. fig. 39). For a Greek or Roman this would have been obvious. In that case, however, it remains to be explained why the artist choose the characteristic number of four.

[81] For the Ptolemaic eagle see n. 76, and for the famous funerary temples at Thebes n. 70. It seems, however, improbable that the Ptolemies added their device to a funerary temple of one of their remote predecessors. The temple of Osiris at Canopus was styled as being especially dear to the Ptolemies in the Canopus decree from 238 B.C.; see for the Canopus decree *LÄ* III, 321 s.v. Kanopusdekret, and below nn. 174, 193, Appendix 12. See for the temple of Canopus further nn. 84, 192.

[82] For the eagle as symbol of eternity and apotheosis see *RAC* I, 87 f., s.v. Adler; Peters, Thiersch, 88 ff.; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (1960) 709, n. 1; H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (1961) 138 ff.; Möbius 24 ff.; Von Graeve 45ff. In this way the eagle may appear as a decoration on grave monuments see e.g. our fig. 56; and the Khasneh at Petra, see McKenzie, pls. 2–7, 16, 79.

[83] See Appendix 7.

[84] For the Osiris temple of Canopus, of which only the dedication plaques by Ptolemy III have been preserved, see *LÄ* III, 320 f., s.v. Kanopus; Fraser I, 253; II, 401, n. 486 and below n. 192. It is mentioned in the Canopus decree as one of the major temples of the country especially honoured by the Ptolemies (see below n. 193). As far as its original appearance is concerned, we do not know in how far the representation of the temple in the Nile Mosaic was meant to be an accurate representation (cf. n. 71). Still its architecture, especially of the naos, was not unusual in the Ptolemaic world (see Ch. III, nn. 102, 106–108). It is interesting to note that one of the Alexandrian coins does not show the usual Egyptian temple pylon but an entrance flanked by two crenellated towers (see fig. 42c). This is not another temple as Naster 184, supposed, but apparently it depicts a fortified gateway to the compound which lies around the actual temple and which in the Nile Mosaic is only shown on the left- and the right-hand side of the temple (see Ch. III, n. 106). See for Canopus and its temple further below 00.

[85] For the procession see Ch. III, pp. 39 ff., nn. 183, 184, 188, 189. Already Barthélemy 518 f., called it an Isiac procession referring to Plutarch, *De Is.* 39 (366 F) and so did Schmidt 54, 77; Le Corsu 182; Phillips 187. We can also compare the Isiac procession described by Apuleius XI 8, 17; cf. Griffith 1975, 81 ff.; above Ch. III, n. 189. See for Isis processions in general Dunand 1973, I, 212 ff. The priests and women-musicians do not show any specific characteristics exept perhaps for the palm-branch (see Ch. III, nn. 189 and 158) and they could have taken part in any Egyptian religious procession (see e.g. our fig. 70). The sacred animals on the standards are badly depicted and the identifications which have been suggested above are based only on a lack of better parallels and because the suggested animals appear frequently in processions (see Ch. III, n. 184). They could take part in various rituals (see e.g. Ch. III, n. 184, in connection with Hathor, and below n. 102, 103, in connection with Osiris).

[86] Cf. Whitehouse 92, n. 39. Badawy 1975, 86, compares the scene in the Nile Mosaic to a boat procession passing through a landing station (cf. Ch. III, n. 179). In the usual Egyptian processions the divine image was placed in a shrine in a ceremonial boat which was carried on a litter. The litter could have a high base so that it could easily stand on the ground (see Ch. III, n. 186, e.g. figs. 71, 81). Large procession boats could be carried on a platform resting on poles (e.g. Edfu IX, pls. CXXI, CXXVII). Neither the shape of the base on the litter nor the object placed on it resemble in any way a boat with a shrine. The simple litter with only two poles was also used for funeral processions In Egypt (see below n. 93).

[87] See for the candelabrum or *thymiaterion* Ch. III, n. 187, where we have seen that it is entirely restored (cf. fig. 25). In the few cases where a *thymiaterion* is carried, it is by hand (see a painting from the Iseum of Pompeii where a priest carries two *thymiateria* to a shrine of Harpocrates; Elia, figs. 6–7; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 135, pl. V,1; *Alla ricerca di Iside*, 41, no. 1,5; fig. on p. 116; see for other examples De Vos 1980, fig. 31; and a relief with a triumphal procession from Naples, Ryberg (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 186) pl. LII).

[88] See Bonneau 92, followed by Malaise II, 119, n. 9. The *hydreion* with

the fresh Nile water, which symbolised Osiris, was carried by the *prophetes*, who also announced the maximum level of the flood, and is attested for several Isiac processions, see Bonneau 92, 283, 388 f., 395 ff.; Malaise II, 116 ff., Plutarch, *De Is.* 36; Griffith 1975, 227 ff. For the Herculaneum painting see fig. 71, esp. Tran tam Tinh 1971, 83 f., pl. XXVII; Malaise I, 251 f., no 3; col. pl. in *L'image du noir*, fig. 288. Various kinds of water pitchers, with and without spouts, existed for different purposes such as carrying water in a procession or pouring libations, see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 94 f., nos. 41, 69; Griffith *ll. cc.*; Malaise II, 116, n. 9; De Vos 1980, 19 f., 38 b, 46, pls. H, XVIII, XIX, XXXII; Wild 103 ff. They may stand on a base but these are not of a conical shape, see Bonneau 282 f., De Vos 1980, 19 f., pls. XVIII, XIX. In all these examples the water jars were carried by a single person, see e.g. Bonneau 388 f., 395, De Vos 1980, 46, pl. H. Only very large water jars were carried on a litter, see n. 90, fig. 73.

[89] See Castiglione 1957, 209 f., figs. 3–4, and Castiglione 1970, 44, figs. 30–31. The shape of the image of Osiris Canopus is that of an ovoid jar crowned by the head of the god, see *LÄ* III, 315 f., s.v. Kanopus I; Tran tam Tinh 1971 34 ff.; Wild 113 f.; Thélamon 207 ff.; Raven 1986, 21 ff.; e.g. our fig. 72 (see for this example Roullet, 99, no. 146, pl. CXVIII, fig. 64; Malaise I, 107, no. 11, pl. 11). This image has nothing to do with the visceral jars which, because of their similarity in appearance, have also been called Canopi, but is related to water jars crowned with the heads of gods (see n. 90; Beinlich 302 ff.; our fig. 73). It combines a vase containing the vivid efflux of Osiris' body, and his head as the mental centre of his body and so is, as it were, a reconstruction of Osiris (see Thélamon 220 ff.). Compare also the jar containing the efflux of Osiris' body discussed in n. 91. Indeed the central part of the candelabrum is not unlike the shape of an image of Osiris Canopus. However, there are no examples of an image of Osiris Canopus standing on such a base. Furthermore, in nearly all cases where an image of Osiris Canopus is carried this is done in the hands of a single priest, see e.g. our figs. 55, 71; Roullet pl. XXX, fig. 43, pl. XXXII, figs. 45, 46; Wild, pl. XXV. In a rare representation, on a coin from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the figure of Osiris Canopus appears in a shrine on a boat-shaped procession wagon, see *OudheidMeded* 24 (1943) 9, fig. 5e; Feuardent (*o.c.* in n. 79) II, no. 2084, pl. XXV. In portable shrines Canopi usually appear in pairs. See examples with the Canopic images of Osiris Canopus and Isis Menouthis, for Weber 1910, pl. 12, no. 127; Handler 64, pl. II, 10–12; Thélamon 223, fig. 30; Wild, pl. XIX. For the appearance of the Canopic image of Osiris since the 1st century A.D., and its presumed origin in the first century B.C., see n. 79.

[90] See C. Traunecker, Les rites de l'eau à Karnak après les textes de la rampe de Taharqa, *BIFAO* 72 (1972) 195 ff., esp. 226, fig. 8 (is our fig. 72), also for other examples, e.g. pl. L; E. Schott, Die heilige Vase des Amun, *ZÄS* 98 (1970) 34 ff. The same rite may have taken place in other temples like the Osiris temple at Abydos, see Traunecker 222 f. This water was used for ritual purposes. The pitcher could have a considerable height (even 3,5 m) and did not stand on a conical base, and the litter usually includes a basis. After the Ramesside period not much is heard of this rite. In the Graeco-Roman period it was again of importance. Then, however, the water usually seems to have been carried in small *hydreia* which could be carried by hand (see Traunecker 232 ff.; Beinlich 302 ff.; our n. 88). Nevertheless, a relief depicting a procession with a similar very large pitcher may be found in the porticus of the temple of Isis at Philae, see *Description de l'Egypte, Antiquités* I, pl. 10, fig. 4.

[91] For the Papyrus Jumilhac, Louvre, no. E 17.110, dating from the late Ptolemaic period, see Vandier 1961, esp. pls. IX, XXII, our fig. 74; Thélamon 220 ff., figs. 20, 21, 22; Raven 1982, 30; Beinlich 68 ff. In the *snw* vase Horus collected the *rdw,* the efflux of Osiris' body. This is identified with the fertile water of the Nile flood and barley may be seen sprouting from it (Vandier 220 ff., pl. V). Other examples of barley sprouting from vases may be found as vignettes on coffins of the Corn Osiris, see Raven 1982, 27. See for the sprouting of barley and the Corn Osiris further below nn. 94, 115, 127. The vase may be kept in a square or rectangular box (Vandier, pls. IX, XXII; our figs. 47, 74). Essentially this vase is closely related to the *hydreion* with the sacred Nile water, to Osiris Canopus and to the Nile water procession described by Plutarch, see Thélamon *l.c.* and our nn. 88, 89, 94, 96).

[92] For the shape of the litter see Ch. III, n. 186. For the fact that the candelabrum is entirely restored see Ch. III, n. 187. Still, this does not leave out the possibility that there was some object on the litter, see below nn. 102, 130.

[93] For burial customs in general see *LÄ* I, 745 ff., s.v. Bestattungsritual; and especially E. Lüddeckens, Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen, *MDAIK* II (1943). Usually sarcophagi were not carried but drawn on a sledge. When it is carried it represents the bringing of the deceased to the embalmment hall or the bringing of the sarcophagus from the sledge to the tomb, see e.g. Lüddeckens, pls. 1, 6, 9–12 and 23 (the last figure offering the only example where a sarcophagus is carried on the shoulders). The bearers were friends and colleagues of the deceased. In the same burial processions another chest may be carried behind the coffin. This one is more or less square and is carried on the shoulders of the bearers. It is the Canopic box which contains the four visceral jars, see Lüddeckens, figs. 22, 43–45, 52. Sarcophagi and Canopic boxes may have the figures of a falcon of Horus or a jackal of Anubis on top (see n. 102).

[94] See for this rite and the connections with Osiris and the Nile flood Plutarch, *De Is.* 39 (366F); Merckelbach 35 f.; Chassinat 9ff., 24 ff.; Griffith 1970, 50 f., 56 ff., 66; Griffith 1975, 222 ff.; Bonneau 271 f., 369 ff.; Malaise II, 221 ff.; Hani 349 ff.; Wild 103 f.; *LÄ* IV, 1065 ff., s.v. Plutarch; Beinlich 272 f., 285 ff. The sea mentioned by Plutarch, which suggests that the rite took place in the Delta, must not be taken literally. The rite probably took place on the Nile bank at the time of the inundation or on the sacred lake which was connected with many temples, see Griffith 1970, 63; Beinlich 286 f.; *LÄ* V, 791 ff., s.v. See, heiliger. The filling of the casket has often been compared to or identified with the filling of the *hydreion* (see the authors mentioned in this note and n. 88). Plutarch's account seems most reminiscent of the box containing the vase with the efflux of Osiris' body, as described and depicted in the Papyrus Jumilhac (see n. 91 and fig. 74). Beinlich 272 ff., 284 ff., has demonstrated that this rite must be connected to the drawing of Nile water in Canopic jars, with which the Osiris ritual of the month Khoiak began (cf. for the different date Merkelbach 35 f., and below n. 174). This water was believed to be the efflux of Osiris' body. It was then poured over a basin filled with earth, which represented Osiris's dead body and contained barley seeds (see fig. 81). The earth had been moulded into the shape of an Osiris mummy and when the barley seeds would germinate, the mummy was considered to be revived. See for the ritual of the Corn Osiris of the month Khoiak below n. 126.

[95] See for the relation between *hydreion,* Osiris Canopus, the *snw* vase and the golden casket of Plutarch, all of which contained, in one way or an-

other, Nile water, the efflux of Osiris' body, nn. 91, 94. Still Thélamon 218 f., correctly observes that the various kinds of vessels which can contain the efflux of Osiris' body are not identical but that a distinction must be made between vases which were used to transport the water, and the Canopic image which is a symbolic representation of Osiris (cf. n. 89 and Beinlich 302 ff.).

[96] See for the mythical passion, the ritual and revival of Osiris and the relation with the Nile flood and the vegetative cycle *LÄ* IV, 623 ff., s.v. Osiris VI, X, XIII; *LÄ* VI, 659 ff., s.v. Totenbult; Junker 37 ff.; Chassinat 9 ff.; Goyon 101 ff.; David 248 ff.; Raven 1982, 30 ff.; Beinlich 272 ff., 285 ff.; Bonneau 243 ff.; 272 f.; Merkelbach 12 ff., 39 ff., 57 ff.; Bonneau 1971b, 56 ff., Plutarch, *De Is.* 38, 39; Griffith 1970, 33 f., 56 ff.; 444 ff.; Hani 349; Heliodorus IX, 9. The union between Isis (in the shape of a falcon) and the dead Osiris, from which Horus is born, is an ancient Egyptian tradition (see J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (1968) 127 ff.; e.g. Mariette IV, pls. 70, 88; cf. App. 13, n. 20). The assimilation of Isis with Egypt and of Osiris with the Nile, and the interpretation of their union as the fecundation of Egypt by the Nile, which is expressed by Plutarch and Heliodorus must, however, be of Greek origin. In the ancient Egyptian view Osiris represented the dead earth which was revived by its own efflux with the help of Isis (see nn. 91, 94, and in general Beinlich 305 f.). Isis' association with the earth seems to have had its origin in the assimilation of Isis with Demeter by the Greeks which is already attested by Herodotus II, 123 (see Bonneau 271 f.). See for the union of Isis and Osiris at the time of the inundation further below nn. 156, 178.

[97] For the painting with the finding of Osiris see fig. 75; Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 8929; Elia 21 f., fig. 26; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 65, 143 f., no. 47, pl. X,1; Castiglione 1970, 42, fig. 29; *Alla ricerca di Iside*, 60, no. 1, 74. The box is square and yellow. In front of it there is a bird. It does not look like a falcon, a hawk or a kite, which representing Isis and Nephthys may be found beside Osiris' body (cf. Tran tam Tinh 1964, 65). It is dark, has a white breast and is more reminiscent of a pigeon or a swallow. See for swallows with Isis and Osiris Griffith 1970, 328 f., esp. 329, n. 1; *LÄ* V, 754, s.v. Schwalbe. The scene is flanked by two bearded heads wearing lotus flowers on their heads. They probably are the Nile Gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, see *LÄ* IV, 485 ff., s.v. Nilgott, esp. 487, cf. n. 200, fig. 93. Elia *l.c.* suggested that the finding of Osiris was also depicted in a fragmentary wall-painting from Herculaneum (Naples MN, inv.no. 8566; Elia 4, fig. 4; Tran tam Tinh 1971, pl. XXIV, fig. 37; De Vos 1980, 22 f., no. 11, pl. XVII, fig. 2). A close look at the original which is rather damaged clearly showed, however, that this is only a simple Nilotic scene representing pygmies rowing in boats between ducks. For the painting with the shrine of Osiris see fig. 76; Naples MN, inv.no. 8570; Elia 33 f., pls. C2 and 5; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 65, 142, no. 45, pl. X,2; *Alla ricerca di Iside*, 57, no. 1, 68, pl. XIII. The sarcophagus becomes slightly wider towards the top which is rounded. It is plain dark brown, with reflections of a lighter brown. Its colour and width are not unlike those of the chest carried in the Nile Mosaic where, regrettably, the top is lacking. On top of the sarcophagus sits a falcon or other bird of prey. It may represent Isis or Horus (cf. n. 102, figs. 74, 84). There is a ribbon around the sarcophagus, a *taenia* or *vitta* (cf. Ch. III, nn. 122, 152). According to Elia the sarcophagus is open and the shape of a mummy may be seen inside it and the bird which sits upon it has an uraeus with solar disk and lunar crescent on its head. In reality none of this can be seen. The sarcophagus only shows light falling on its upper part and the complicated crown is not at all recognizable (cf. for a good photograph of these details Van den Broek, pl. V). Merkelbach, repeating more or less Elia's fanciful

description, calls it the sarcophagus-bark of Osiris and compares its upright position to (the erection of) the Djed pillar (see *Latomus* 24 (1965) 144 f., esp. 148 f., pl. XIX,3). Continuing along this line of thought Parlasca actually identifies the sarcophagus as a Djed pillar, which was erected at the close of the Khoiak festival (see K. Parlasca, *RM* 95 (1988) 178 f.). The Djed pillar is, however, very different in shape, see *LÄ* I, 1100 ff., s.v. Djed-Pfeiler; e.g. our fig. 81, above centre; Mariette IV, pls. 78, 88. As regards the bird on top of the sarcophagus it is usually called a Phoenix but Van den Broek 342, n. 4, observed that it does not look like any of the traditional representations of the Phoenix. The bird looks rather like a bird of prey and could be a falcon, for Isis, Horus or Sokaris, or a hawk or kite for Isis (see n. 102, and e.g. fig. 84).

[98] For an ancient Egyptian example of a description and illustrations of the Osiris ritual, notably that at Abydos, see David 219 ff. Descriptions and illustrations from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods may be found in the Osiris chapels on the roof of the Hathor temple at Dendera; in the Osiris chapel on the roof of the Isis temple at Philae, on Hadrian's gate at Philae, and in the temple of Opet at Thebes. See for the Osiris chapels at Dendera below esp. nn. 126, 128–130, e.g. figs. 77, 84, 85; Mariette IV pls. 24–90; Cauville, figs. 1–6; see for the Osiris chapel and Hadrian's gate at Philae, *PM* VI, 247 ff.; *Philae* 123–127, pls. XXXV–XLII, and below esp. nn. 114–116, 128–130, e.g. figs. 81–83; for the temple of Opet at Thebes see De Wit III, 151 ff.: II pl. 4; e.g. below n. 156. For a rare early representation which is strikingly similar to the later ones of Dendera, see E. Otto, Eine Darstellung der "Osiris-Mysterien" in Theben, in *Festschrift für S. Schott zu seinem 70 Geburtstag* (1968) 98 ff., pl. IV.

[99] See for these little known and badly preserved reliefs *PM* VI, 94, 31–35, where the scenes are not even mentioned; Beinlich 281 ff., with plan on p. 312; Cauville 31. They are situated in the bottom register on the left- and right-hand side of the doorway, leading from the middle to the inner room of the western Osiris chapel on the roof of the Hathor temple at Dendera. On the left-hand relief a sarcophagus containing the coffin of Osiris-Khentamenthes is carried on the shoulders of Isis, Neket and Nephthys (see Beinlich 281, and 279, n. 55). On the right-hand relief the coffin of Osiris-Sokaris is carried in a sarcophagus by four priests acting as the four Horus children. See for Osiris-Khentamenthes and Osiris-Sokaris below n. 126. A variant of this scene may be found in Philae, see Beinlich 281, n. 79 with fig.; Philae pl. XL; our fig. 81. See for these scenes further below n. 129. The small number of bearers compared to that of real burial processions may be explained by the fact that the sarcophagus is a ritual sarcophagus and not a real one (cf. nn. 93, 101 and 130).

[100] See for this relief below nn. 118 and App. 10.

[101] One could also consider the possibility that the chest was the Canopic box (see n. 93) but this is always square, whereas the chest in the Nile Mosaic is decidedly rectangular. The sarcophagus in the Nile Mosaic might seem somewhat plain, compared to Egyptian sarcophagi which were often more ornate. But the sarcophagus in the Iseum painting has the same plain dark brown colour and simple shape (see n. 97, App. 11, fig. 76). Its top is round, but this part is not original in the Nile Mosaic. In the Nile Mosaic the upper side of the chest seems slightly rounded just like Egyptian sarcophagi often are (see fig. 77). A real sarcophagus usually had nine bearers (see n. 93). The ritual, smaller Osiris sarcophagi on the Dendera reliefs have only three or four bearers (cf. App. 11). Procession boats may also be carried by four bearers, see *Edfou* IX, pls. CXXI, CXXVII.

[102] The figures of Horus and Anubis who protected the deceased may be found with sarcophagi of mortals (see e.g. Lüddeckens (*o.c.* in n. 93) fig. 45; M. J. Raven, in *Oudheid Meded* 62 (1981) 18 f., pl. 7B; *LÄ* V, 449, s.v. Sarg.) and with the sarcophagi of Osiris (see n. 130, e.g. fig. 84; Mariette IV, pl. 67). See for Anubis below n. 109. The meaning of a falcon is not always clear. Isis may appear in the Osiris myth in the form of a falcon or kite and so the bird may represent Isis (see n. 97). A falcon could also represent Sokaris, who was assimilated with Osiris (see n. 126). Compare in general figs. 48, 74, 76, 84. If only part of such a figure remained in the original mosaic it may have given the restorer a motive to restore it into the candelabrum, cf. Ch. III, p. 39, n. 187. In fact the shape of a falcon is not unsimilar to the upper part of the actual candelabrum, but the conical base must have been added by the restorer.

[103] See for the animal symbols Ch. III, n. 184 and above n. 102. Standards with the same figures may be found in the funeral ritual of Osiris, see e.g. David 124, episode 43; J. Capart, *Abydos, le Temple de Séti Ier* (1912) pl. XX; *LÄ* II, 714, s.v. Göttersymbole, n. 15,

[104] It seems that in the original mosaic there was a considerable space on the right-hand side of section 16, in which a boat may have figured, see Ch. III, n. 190, fig. 8. Therefore it seems possible that in this part the boat procession which carried the sarcophagus was depicted. This included the usual boats with the shrines of the gods and the train of the procession. See for such a boat procession below nn. 128–130, and cf. fig. 70.

[105] See n. 96 and below p. 63, nn. 126–127.

[106] It is interesting to note that the interpretation of the chest as the sarcophagus of Osiris had already been suggested by N. Poussin in a letter to Chantelou in 1658, concerning his painting of the Holy Family in Egypt. In this letter he describes the procession of the Nile Mosaic in the background (see above Ch. III, n. 187). He calls it "le coffre nommé Soro Apin ou estoint enfermés les reliques et ossemens de Serapin leur dieu" (see Whitehouse 93, n. 39; Blunt, *o.c.* Ch. III, n. 187; 310 ff.). The background to this idea has been traced to a mistaken derivation of Sarapis from *soros* (sarcophagus) and Apis (see Dempsey *o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 187, 109 ff., esp. 112, n. 18). This derivation is given by Augustinus *De Civ. Dei* XVIII, 5, who attributes it to Varro. It had been made accessible to scholars and artists of antiquarian interest, by the many editions of V. Chartari, *Imagines deorum qui ab antiquis colebantur* (e.g. the Lyon edition of 1581, 49 f.) Poussin may have discovered this himself but it may also have been suggested to him by his scholarly friend Dal Pozzo. In that case it could also suggest that the litter was empty when the section was at Rome. Anyhow, this interpretation seems to have lingered on, thus J.P. Bellori, *Le vite di pittori, scultori, et architetti moderni* (1672) 454, speaks in connection with Poussin's painting about an ark with the body of Osiris; and in M. Graham, Lady Calcott, *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome during the Year 1819* (1821) 217, it is suggested that this scene represents Isis sending the limbs of Osiris to the various *nomes* of Egypt (cf. n. 113).

[107] For this complex see Ch. III, pp. 34 ff. Steinmayer 82, identified the complex as the promentory of Lochias at Alexandria where a temple of Isis lay, and the royal palaces which included groves (cf. Strabo XVII 1, 19). Schmidt 53, recognised in the propylon with the Anubis statue an Isis and Sarapis shrine, which was suggestive of Canopus. Bonneau 92, suggested an Isis shrine at Memphis or Cynopolis. We have seen, however, that walled groves with kiosks and towerhouses were a regular feature in Nilotic scenes, so it is difficult to ascribe any topographical identification to it (see Ch. III, pp. 35 ff., with nn. 155, 179–180, cf. e.g. figs. 50, 51.

[108] For the Hathor crown see Ch. III, n. 151. Isis-Hathor was also protectress of the dead and their tombs, see *LÄ* III, s.v. Isis, esp. 193 f., 196 f., and extensively Baum 38–85. At Philae she is named Mistress of the Abaton, the tomb of Osiris which lay on the nearby island of Bigeh, see Junker 34; Dunand 1973, I, 158, and for the Abaton below n. 111. Numerous examples of Isis wearing the Hathor crown and protecting Osiris may be found at Philae, see e.g. *Philae,* pl. XXIV; Giammarusti, Roccati 12, 13; Dunand 1973, I, pl. IV; fig. 49. On the Khasneh at Petra, which was also a tomb, we found another example of a Hathor crown as an acroterium on top of the pediment (see Ch. III, n. 151).

[109] For the Anubis statue see Ch. III, n. 181. Anubis was the helper and protector of the deceased. Thus his images may be found protecting the entrances of tombs, see *LÄ* V, 527, s.v. Schakal; see e.g. Raven 1986, 23, n. 11; Grenier, pl. VII. Strabo XVIII 1,28, calls the *dromos* to a funerary temple sacred to Anubis. For an Alexandrian loculus relief dating from the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period, depicting a tomb façade with two statues of sitting dogs, see our fig. 78; Pensabene (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 83) 95, no. 9, pl. XI,2; Pagenstecher, 123, fig. 73; E. Pfuhl, Alexandrische Grabreliefs, *AM* 26 (1901) 258 ff., esp. 294 f., no. 38. For a similar grave naiskos from the same period see Pagenstecher 22, fig. 10; Pfuhl *o.c.*, 292 f., no. 37; Adriani 1966, 118, pl. 39, fig. 141. For another grave relief see *Alessandria* III, pl. CXLV, fig. 2. Naturally Anubis may also protect the tomb of Osiris, see Junker 35, 49, where Anubis protects the tomb of Osiris at Bigeh. For pairs of sitting jackals or dogs beside Osiris depicted on statuettes of Osiris Canopus, see Raven 1986, 23, n. 10, pls. 1–2.

[110] For the gardens of Egyptian tombs see *LÄ* II, 376 ff., s.v. Garten; Badawy 1968, 495 f., figs. 205–208, 260, 261; Baum 35–85. The garden was a symbol of rebirth and eternal life and there is no strict dividing line between an ordinary garden and a funerarygarden. Strabo XVII 1, 16, describes suburbs of Alexandria with gardens which were used for the cultivation of fruit and which also contained family tombs, named ***kepotaphia***, see Fraser I, 26 f.; and *idem* in *JRS* 48 (1958) 120. Similar estates with private shrines, orchards and family tombs lay along the Canopic canal and one of these may partly have been preserved in the shrine of Ras el-Soda, see Ch. III, n. 155, and below n. 121. For the trees in such gardens see Baum 35 ff., and below n. 111.

[111] For the tomb of Osiris and the sacred grove see *RÄRG* 576 ff., s.v. Osirisgrab; *LÄ* I, 1, s.v. Abaton; *LÄ* IV, 622 f., s.v. Osireion; *LÄ* IV, 630 s.v. Osirisgrab; Junker 32 ff.; Chassinat 231 f., 257 ff., 625 ff.; Yoyotte 94 ff.; and below nn. 112–116, 128, 130. See for the tomb of Osiris as source of the Nile flood below esp. nn. 113, 116. See for Isis as protectress of Osiris and his tomb and for her connection with the Abaton n. 108. See for the various trees in funerary gardens in general and in the garden of Osiris in particular, Junker 50; *RÄRG* 82 ff., s.v. Baumkult; *LÄ* I, 655 ff., s.v. Baum, heiliger; and extensively N. Baum, *o.c.* in our Bibliography. For the Ished tree see below in this note. In the Nile Mosaic a sycamore, a number of cypresses, and perhaps a Lebbek tree are represented, see Ch. III, n. 154. The sycamore was associated with Nut, the mother of Osiris or with Isis-Hathor, his sister and wife, and was believed to feed the dead with its fruits, see extensively Baum 38 ff., figs. 10–21. The cypress was a rare tree in Egypt (see Ch. III, n. 154). Its aromatic wood was used for sarcophagi. As an evergreen it was a symbol of eternity and a popular funerary tree in the classical world, as it still is (see *RE* IV,1909 ff., s.v. Cypresse, esp. 1934; F. Cumont, *La stèle du danseur d'Antibes et son décor végétal. Étude sur le symbolisme funéraire des plantes*

(1942); cf. a walled grove with cypresses, presumably a funeray grove, depicted in a tomb at Rome (see R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, Le centre du pouvoir* (1969) fig. 233) and the grove with cypresses in the Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges (see n. 118, fig. 86). The cypress could especially be associated with Aphrodite and so, since the Hellenistic period it could also be associated with Isis, see N. Fick, La symbolique végétale dans les Métamorphoses d'Apulée, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 328 ff. For the assimilation of Aphrodite and Isis see below n. 153. As an identification of the remaining tree we suggested the Lebbek tree, which is, however, not attested for ancient Egypt (see Ch. III, n. 154). The other possibility which we have considered, the carob tree, looks rather different, and is nowhere attested in a funerary context (see resp. Ch. III, n. 154 and Baum 162 ff.). The tree which is mostly mentioned in connection with Osiris grave is the Ished tree (see figs. 79, 83). The identity of this tree has been hotly debated for a long time, while identifications varied between the persea, the tamarisc and the Balanites (see e.g. Junker 51 ff.; Chassinat 234 ff.; *LÄ* III, 182 ff., s.v. Isched baum). More recently it has been established that it must be identical with the *balanites aegyptiae*, see Germer 98 f.; Baum 265–268; Täckholm 313. The Ished tree was later called Lebakh tree by the Arabs (see Baum 266 ff., 273). Still later the *balanites aegyptiae* largely disappeared and the identity of the Lebakh tree became confused with a newly introduced tree which came to be known as the Lebbek tree (see Ch. III, n. 154; Baum 273). So one of the trees in the sacred grove in the Nile Mosaic looks like a Lebbek tree, the name of which derives from the Arab name for the sacred Ished tree, which stood beside Osiris tomb. Perhaps this curious coincidence may be an indication that the Lebbek tree was introduced in Egypt at an earlier date then has been assumed (cf. Ch III, n. 154).

[112] Fig. 79, reproduces a detail of a sarcophagus dating from the middle of the 4th century B.C. at Marseille, see R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia* (1882) pl. CCCIV; G. Maspero, *Cataloque du musée égyptien de Marseille* (1887) 51 f., no. 67. The grave is depicted as a round mound inscribed with the name of Osiris and with trees on top. Another representation of this kind with a rather steep mound crowned by trees may be found in a relief in the temple of Hibis, see Yoyotte 85, fig. 3 and 100 ff. Our fig. 80, depicts the tomb in a more symbolic way, it shows a large sarcophagus standing beside the Ished tree after a lost picture from a tomb at Hû (Diospolis Parva) presumably dating from the 2nd century B.C. (after J.G. Wilkinson,*The manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians* (reed. by S. Birch) (1878) III, 349, fig. 588; cf. Van den Broek 426, pl. I, 1, with commentary). The *benu* bird is sitting in the tree (see n. 83). See for the Ished tree n. 111. A similar representation may be found in fig. 84, reproducing a relief from Dendera, see Mariette IV, pl. 66; RÄRG 576, and below nn. 118, 129. Compare another relief from Dendera where Osiris is lying on a couch beside a tree, Mariette IV, pl. 72; Junker, fig. 15. See for other representations of the tomb of Osiris nn. 120, 132, fig. 85.

[113] See *LÄ* I,1, s.v. Abaton; *LÄ* IV, 623 ff., s.v. Osiris. Reputedly there were 16 important sanctuaries, in each of which a part of Osiris' mutilated body was kept, and many other sanctuaries in all the *nomes* of Egypt; see Junker 40; *RÄRG* 637 f.; Chassinat 75 ff.; Goyon 103 ff.; Raven 1982, 28; and extensively Beinlich *passim.* See for the Osiris temple and the Osireion of Abydos *LÄ* I, 28 ff., s.v. Abaton; *LÄ* IV, 618 ff., s.v. Osireion; David *passim.* For the Isis temple at Philae see *LÄ* IV, 1022 ff., s.v. Philae; Giammarusti, Roccati. For the importance of Philae see Junker 88; Dunand 1973 I, 150 ff.; Scholz 67; Kákosy 185 ff. At Philae and the nearby island of Bigeh where the tomb of

Osiris lay, was preserved his left leg from which the Nile flood sprang, see Junker 37 ff., 86f.; Bonneau 171, 221; Hani 337 ff.; Van der Plas 171 ff.; see our fig. 81, reproducing a relief at Philae, which represents in the centre Isis-Satet and Selket taking care of the legs of Osiris from which the Nile flood springs (see Junker 40, fig. 9; *Philae,* pl. XL) and cf. figs. 82, 83 (see App. 8). Cf. also Pap. Louvre I, 3079, where it is stated that the inundation comes forth from the mouth of the revived Osiris-Khentamenthes, see Goyon 101 ff.; and for Osiris-Khentamenthes below n. 126. Compare for the regenerative power of the efflux of Osiris' body nn. 91, 94, 96. See for the island of Bigeh and the Abaton *LÄ* I, 792 f., s.v. Bigga; Junker 32 ff.; A.M. Blackman, *The temple of Bigeh* (1915); Kákosy 191 ff.; and Appendix 8. The Abaton has not been preserved but remains exist of a temple of Isis and Osiris, notably a forecourt and a pylon dating respectively from the times of Ptolemy XII and Augustus, see Giammarusti, Roccati, figs. on 54, 97 and our fig. 89.

[114] See for Hadrian's Gate at Philae H.G. Lyon, *A report on the temple of Philae* (1908) pls. V and XII. *PM* VI, 202, 248, 254 f.; Hani, 215 f., fig. 5 U. The reliefs contain the texts of the Abaton decree which describes the rites connected with Osiris' tomb in the Abaton on the island of Bigeh and some illustrations of these rites, see figs. 81, 82; see Junker 1 ff., *LÄ* I, 1 f., s.v. Abaton; Giammarusti, Roccati 96. The only reproductions of the entire reliefs may be found in *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités,* I, pl. 19, 1–2. The reliefs date mainly from the time of Marcus Aurelius, but the text is copied after an older text and the rites described are much older, see Junker 85 ff.

[115] For this relief see the first relief discussed in Appendix 8.

[116] For this relief see the second relief discussed in Appendix 8.

[117] For the connection between the resurrection of Osiris and the rebirth of the vegetation, see above n. 96; and for the Khoiak festival below n. 126, 127.

[118] For the boat procession see App. 9–11. The relief reproduced in our fig. 84 may be found in the 3rd room of the eastern Osiris chapel on the roof of the temple of Dendera. See Mariette IV, pl. 66, and *PM* VI, 100, where it is, however, not mentioned. For the part with the tomb of Osiris see *RÄRG* 576 and above n. 112. On the left-hand side stands the sarcophagus of Osiris on a boat-shaped litter. In the centre stands a Pharaoh. His name is not inscribed so presumably he is one of the last Ptolemies. He pays homage to the sarcophagus of Osiris-Sokaris which stands on the right-hand side beneath the sacred Ished tree. It is flanked by Isis and Nephthys and before it stands a statue of Horus of Edfu. In the sarcophagus lies the mummy of Osiris-Sokaris. See for the parallelism between Osiris and Sokaris below n. 126 and for this relief further App. 10.

[119] See for this frieze Maiuri 1938, 23 f., pls. III–VI; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 124, no. 4; Peters 181, fig. 179. In an inundated Nile landcape shrines, farms, tombs, and dwarfs, banquetting or boating, and similar scenes are depicted. We have referred to these several times already, see e.g. Ch. III, nn. 80, 94, 119, 123, 130, 136. For Isis-Tyche with cornucopia see n. 83 and below nn. 154, 155, 199; figs. 92, 96. Compare for a statue of a falcon as guardian of a shrine fig. 48.

[120] For the paintings in the Casa dei Cei and the Casa di Apolline at Pompei see Ch. III, n. 155. In the case of the Casa di Apolline painting the interpretation as the tomb of Osiris is strengthened by the presence of Dionysus and Maenads (cf. Michel 86). See for the assimilation of Osiris and Dionysus below n. 157. For the canopy-like tomb structures and funerary chapels which imitate the vault of heaven, see Ch. III, n. 179, 180, cf. fig. 85,

reproducing a chapel of Osiris in the city of Tebt (Edfu), as it is depicted in the 3rd room of the eastern Osiris chapel at Dendera, see Mariette IV, 69. For similar shrines for Osiris see below n. 132; for the grove see n. 110. For the typical Egyptian altar with the pointed corners on the left-hand side in the Casa dei Cei painting, see Michel 50, figs. 275, 285; Rostovtzeff 1911, 62 ff.; Thompson 1973, 35 ff.; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 211, pl. 20, and for a preserved example Lefebvre, pl. V; cf. our figs. 48, 50, 54). See for the ithyphallic herme in the foreground of the Casa dei Cei painting Michel, figs. 277, 279, and compare above Ch. III, n. 136. Beside the temple on the right there is a rectangular base with a statue of a sphinx and a pillar. Michel 85, fig. 279, describes the latter as a column crowned with a vase with griffin-protomes. A column crowned with a vase is a common feature in sacro-idyllic landscapes (see Ch. V, n. 6). However, they usually appear freestanding in a landscape. It looks more like a pillar crowned with a statue of a griffin. See for statues of sphinxes and griffins as guardians of tombs, resp. n. 123, fig. 48, and the Nilotic scene from the Casa del Medico referred to in n. 124. See further n. 124, and Ch. VII, n. 30.

[121] In our time everybody would immediately identify a walled grove of cypresses in the Mediterranean as a graveyard. It might seem strange to find more tombs for Osiris in one scene beside each other but in reality there must have been numerous shrines for Osiris throughout Egypt (cf. n. 113). Especially the area round the 1st cataract abounded in temple islands. Besides those of Elephantine, Philae and Bigeh we can mention e.g. the island of Setis, now Seheil, between Elephantine and Philae, where there was also a sanctuary for Osiris and which the Greeks called the island of Dionysus (see *OGIS*, no. 130; esp. p. 209; *RE* 2. Reihe, II,1, 1925 f., s.v. Setis). Compare also the towns of Taposiris Magna and Parva in the Delta, which both had an Osiris temple, see Fraser I, 144 ff., 252. There were also many private shrines, like the one at Ras el-Soda, which may have been connected with private tombs (see n. 110). In fact every deceased person was identified with Osiris and so every tomb was in a way a shrine for Osiris (*LÄ* I, 611, s.v. Balsamierung; *ibid.* 667 s.v. Totenkult, Totenglauben; Beinlich 290 ff.).

[122] See Ch. III, n. 147, and compare the kiosk-like structures mentioned in n. 120. The statues of the falcon and the sphinx with the lotus bud are typical guardians of tombs (cf. Ch. III, n. 123 and n.105). For the typical Egyptian altar see above n. 120.

[123] From Athribis in the Delta and dating from the late Helenistic period, 1st. cent. B.C. See H. Philipp, *Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, Staatliches Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1967) no. 1014; Adriani 1972, 195, pl. LXVI, 1, reproducing the same unrolled design as our fig. 86 after Pagenstecher fig. 14 M; G. Barone, Osservazioni sul 'Modello' di Athribis, *BArte* 60 (1975) 50 ff., figs. 1–11; La Rocca, 14 ff., figs. 9–12, both reproducing photographs. Isis regularly led offering processions to her husband's tomb, see Junker 54 ff., above n. 116, below n. 128. See for the altar n. 120. At the left-hand side of the entrance we see the figure of a sphinx (cf. n. 121). Furthermore there is a statue of a ram standing on a high pedestal. The ram was the sacred animal of Khnum, the old god of the Nile flood. See for him and his association with Isis and Osiris n. 62, Junker 5, 39 f., and *LÄ* I, 950, s.v. Chnum, esp. 952; *LÄ* I, 1222, s.v. Elephantine; and for his asimilation with Osiris, Yoyotte 90 f.; compare the figures of Khnum flanking the tomb of Osiris in fig. 78 (see n. 111). Regrettably the shrine is not visible behind the enclosure. This could , however, also be the case in reality, compare e.g. the fine shrine of Hathor at Deir el-Medinah, which is entirely hidden from view by high walls (see Ch. III, n. 109). Plutarch *De Is.* 20 (359B) describes how

priests are hanging garlands on Osiris tomb in the Abaton (cf. Junker 73). See for garlanded tombs in general *LÄ* II, 851 f., s.v. Grabdarstellung. The enclosure in the Berlin plastercast is reminiscent of the enclosure standing on a platform in the Nilotic frieze in the Villa dei Misteri, which may also have been a shrine for Osiris, see Ch. III, nn. 102, 109. In the entrance stands a large female figure. Could she be Isis, as she is present on the Berlin plastercast and in the funerary temple in fig. 83, or is she just a priestess? She is not clearly visible in reproductions, see Ling, pl. II,2; Tybout, pl. 22. However, only a few fragments remain of this frieze which originally may have been nearly 40 m in length. A funerary temple may have appeared elsewhere in the frieze, while this enclosure may just have been any shrine like those in sections 9 and 13 in the Nile Mosaic (see for the original position of the frieze Maiuri 1931, 42 ff., 197 ff., figs. 11, 83; Tybout, pl. 21; below Ch. V, n. 10).

[124] See for the tomb of Osiris as source of the Nile flood n. 113, App. 8, figs. 81–83. For the wide distribution of tombs and shrines see nn. 113, 121. Rostovtzeff 1911, 62–72, already noted the frequent appearence of tombs in Nilotic scenes and described them as '*Gräberlandschaft*'. These tombs now appear to be an essential element in Nilotic scenes because they house the revived Osiris and are the source of the inundation and so of the regeneration of Egypt. Another painting in the Casa dei Cei, a companion piece to our fig. 50, which is rather badly damaged, is also interesting in this respect (see Spinazzola I, 257 ff., fig. 305; Michel 83 f., figs. 283–285). It shows a large Nilotic landscape populated with pygmies, hippopotami, crocodiles etc. In the centre there is a large rocky island with a shrine and a tomb which is guarded by pygmy soldiers. It is undoubtedly Osiris' tomb, the source of the Nile flood, lying in the area of the 1st cataract (cf. below Ch. VII, n. 30). A Nilotic landscape from the Casa del Medico at Pompeii to which we also have referred several times, shows pygmies in various exotic occupations associated with hippopotami and crocodiles (see Ch. III, nn. 114, 116, 195; McDaniel, pl. IX; Peters, 180 f., fig. 178; Picard, pl. LVI; *Collezioni Napoli* 69). In the centre there is an island with a shrine beneath a large tree. Here we may also recognise the tomb of Osiris and the source of the Nile flood. For other pictures of islands with shrines from the Iseum of Pompeii, see n. 119; Elia, figs. 9, 11, 14, pls. I, III, C; *Alla Ricerca di Iside,* pls. IV, VI, IX, XI, XII, XV; XVI.

[125] The building depicted is the kiosk of Trajan and is actually a landing station for processions. See *Egypt and Nubia from drawings made on the spot by David Roberts with historical descriptions by W. Brockedon, lithographed by L. Haghe* (I–III) (1846–1849) II, pl. 22. While in antiquity the temple island of Philae was a more densely built up area, it is the 19th century overgrown state which gives us an impression of the Abaton at Bigeh and grave islands in general (cf. figs. 50, 51). See for the character of Osiris and the Abaton nn. 83, 113, 115 and App. 8.

[126] See for the ritual of the mystery of Osiris in the month Khoiak besides n. 98, extensively Chassinat 1 ff., with summaries on 41 ff., 69 ff.; further Goyon 89 ff.; David 248 ff.; Barguet 15 ff.; *LÄ* I, 958 ff., s.v. Choiakfeste; Raven 1982, 27 ff.; Beinlich 58 ff.; Cauville 23 ff.; below n. 128. The ritual is inscribed on the walls of the outer room of the eastern Osiris chapel on the roof of the Hathor temple of Dendera, see *PM* VI, 97; Chassinat, pls. I–IX; Cauville, 23 ff. Illustrations of the ritual may be found all over the two roof chapels, see Mariette IV, pls. 24–90, and Cauville figs. 1–6. The fact that the cartouche for the Pharaoh's name has been left empty suggests that the reliefs and inscriptions of the chapels were applied in the troubled times of

the last Ptolemies (see n. 118; figs. 77, 84, 85). See for some illustrations of the ritual nn. 98, 127, 129. Many aspects of the ritual still remain obscure (see Chassinat 1 ff., Raven 1982, 27 f.). In the first place the rituals of different cultcentres are described together and it is not always clear whether the text refers to aspects which were common to all or which were local variations (see Chassinat 91 ff.). In the second place the described ritual actually concerns two parallel rituals, i.e. that of Osiris-Khentamenthes, who is represented by a mummy with the head of Osiris wearing the White Crown, and of Osiris-Sokaris, who is represented by a mummy with a falcon head (see Chassinat 41 ff.; our figs. 77, 84). See for the parallelism between Osiris and Sokaris, an old god of Memphis, *LÄ* V, 1060 ff., s.v. Sokar VII; and for the assimilation of Osiris and Khentamenthes, an old god of Abydos, *LÄ* I, 964, s.v. Chontamenti. The Dendera inscription sometimes refers to one and then to the other, and it is not always clear whether and in how far the rites coincided (see Chassinat 16 f.). In the third place the described ritual appears to show considerable differences with the real cult practices in daily life, as it appears from archeological evidence (see Raven 1982, 28 ff.). Thus some mummies of Osiris-Khentamenthes which have been preserved appear to have been encased in sarcophagi with the falcon head of Sokaris (see Raven 1982, 26 f., 29, 31, pls. 2–4). So in these cases the rites seem to have fused. As long as the inscriptions and reliefs in the other rooms of the Dendera chapels and of the chapel at Philae have not been studied comprehensively, many aspects of the ritual remain obscure. Moreover, we must reckon with local differences (see further below nn. 128–130, 133).

[127] For the symbolism of the ritual see nn. 94, 96; Goyon 101; Raven 1982, 30 ff.; Cauville 34 f. The proceedings of the ritual of which not all details are as yet clear and which in practice may have varied considerably (cf. n. 126) have been reconstructed by Chassinat 41 ff., 69 ff.; Beinlich 281 ff.; Raven 1982, 28 f.; Cauville 23 ff. See for the Corn Osiris, a modern name for Osiris-Khentamenthes, further *LÄ* I, 964 f., s.v. Chontamenti; *LÄ* III, 744 ff., s.v. Kornosiris; *LÄ* IV, 622 ff., s.v. Osiris, esp. VI and X. For representations of the sprouting of the corn-mummy see Raven 1982, 27, 29 f.; this is *inter alia* depicted in reliefs in the Osiris chapels at Dendera (Cauville, fig. 1; Chassinat, pl. I) and at Philae (see our fig. 81; Beinlich, fig. on p. 278; *Philae*, pl. XV; Giammarusti, Rocati 98) and in a vignet in the Papyrus Jumilhac (see above n. 91) Vandier 1961, pl. III; see also Lanzone (*o.c.* in n. 115) pl. CCCIII.

[128] See Appendix 9.

[129] See Appendix 10.

[130] See Appendix 11.

[131] See Ch. I, n. 37; Ch. III, n. 190. The spit of land on which the women in section 16 are standing seems to run obliquely to the upper right-hand corner, as if continuing the direction of the quay which connects the pavilion and the propylon. When continued the spit of land would reach section 11 in the centre of the Egyptian temple. There is now no indication that it actually touched the piece of land on which the Egyptian temple stands and this would create an awkward composition, but the imaginary line will have strongly suggested a connection between the funerary complex and the temple. A boat lying to the right-hand side of section 16 and beneath the temple would also seem to come from it (see for the possible presence of a boat and a boat procession n. 130).

[132] Egyptian representations of the tomb of Osiris vary considerably. It is often represented simply by a sarcophagus to which two Djed pillars may be

added (see Chassinat 227, 264, 618 f., cf. Mariette IV, pls. 71, 88, or a tree symbolising the grove, see n. 112, figs. 80, 84. Sometimes the grove is represented, see nn. 112, 115, figs. 79, 81. Frequently representations of kiosk-like chapels may be found in which all kinds of rites take place, see a fine example in the 3rd room of the eastern chapel at Dendera, depicting Osiris at Edfu (see n. 120, fig. 85). For similar funerary chapels and their symbolic meaning of the heavenly vault see Ch. III, n. 179 and, above n. 120, figs. 50, 51. Compare also the description of the House of Life, i.e. the shrine for the revived Osiris, given in the Magical Papyrus Salt 825 (Brit. Museum, no. 10051). It consisted of a pavilion covered with a heaven, in which the mummy of Osiris lay, protected on four sides by Isis, Nephthys, Horus and Thot. Furthermore, it was surrounded by a wall and could be surrounded by various buildings serving different purposes such as administration-offices and store rooms etc. (see Derchain 48–53, fig. XIII b; E.A.W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri, 2nd Ser., Magical Papyrus Salt 825* (1923) 9 ff., pl. XXXVI; the illustration is purely schematic and does not represent realistic architecture). The lay-out of the grave area in the Nile Mosaic is more complex and may be summarised as follows. It consists of a landing quay with a propylon or landing station. This leads to a forecourt which opens out towards the waterfront and on the other side there is a ceremonial pavilion or kiosk. These features were usual for Egyptian funerary temples (Badawy 1968, 415 ff.; *LÄ* II, 826 ff., s.v. Grab, esp. 834). The connection between the pavilion and the forecourt seems somewhat strange. Perhaps the artist misunderstood his model or changed it in order to depict the proceedings more clearly (cf. fig. 54, where we look into the court of a temple). The complex also lacks the typical Egyptian axial symmetrical plan, but that may be found with other pictures of funerary islands from the Roman period (cf. figs. 50, 51, 86) and with the shrine at Ras el-Soda, see n. 121; Ch. III, n. 155. Behind the forecourt lies a walled grove to which the procession is heading. In it we may imagine the tomb consisting of a chapel and a crypt (cf. nn. 116, 128). Because of the limited space this will have been a simple shrine, cf. the shrine in fig. 85 with those in figs. 51, 52. This might even have been depicted in the missing part between sections 13 and 20 (see Ch. I, n. 34; fig. 8). However, nothing is visible in the grove in fig. 86, so also in the case of the Nile Mosaic we may imagine the tomb among the trees (cf. figs. 79, 80, 84). See for sanctuaries combining Egyptian and Greek architectural elements, Pensabene 35 f.

[133] See Junker 32 f., and the aerial photograph in Junker 1958, pl. I. See for our fig. 88, Roberts (*o.c.* in n. 125) I, pl. 26. See for the architectural remains at Bigeh above n. 113. It seems that in the Nile Mosaic we have a situation which is similar to that which existed at Philae, i.e. the great funerary procession going from the temple to the funerary island. However, there is a difference because at Philae as well as at Dendera the ritual with the corn-mummy was performed in a special chapel within a temple of Isis or Isis-Hathor. In the Nile Mosaic the Egyptian temple seems to be dedicated to Osiris himself because of the Osiris statues and the symbolism of the eagle (see above nn. 80–83). Such a situation existed in other sanctuaries like Canopus and Abydos (see resp. nn. 84 and 113; David 245 ff.).

[134] Cf. Whitehouse 81, n. 22. See for an identification with Elephantine or Memphis above nn. 57, 58. The pavilion has been identified with a temple of Isis at Memphis by Marucchi 1895, 31, and Witt 163 f. Schmidt, 61, suggests the Serapeum of Alexandria. Castiglione 1970, 45, connects it with Canopus (cf. n. 136). In the cases where the arrival of a historic person is suggested it is often assumed to take place at Alexandria (see n. 57). This is

more explicitly assumed by Steinmayer 82, fig. 38, who, referring to Strabo's description (XVII 1, 19), recognises in the harbour in section 17 the Royal Harbour of Alexandria lying between the island of Antirrhodos and the promontory of Lochias. In her opinion the island with the farm on the right-hand side represents the island of Antirrhodos, while the grove complex and the pavilion represents the promontory of Lochias with the royal palaces and gardens and the temple of Isis Lochias.

[135] See for the pavilion and the grove complex Ch. III, pp. 35 ff.; for the harbour scene and the farm-island Ch. III, pp. 17 f. See for the Royal Harbour, the promontory of Lochias and the island of Antirrhodos, Fraser, I, 22 ff; and for the Serapeum of which only the foundations have been preserved, Fraser I, 268 ff.; Adriani 1966, 90 ff. The frequently suggested connection between Roman harbour scenes and the harbour of Alexandria has been proved untenable by Bailey (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 199). If the artist intended to represent Alexandria one should expect at least a representation of a famous Alexandrian building such as e.g. the Pharos (cf. the representations of Alexandria mentioned in n. 61, where in both cases the Pharos is depicted). See for the Pharos Fraser I, 17 ff.; M.H. Quet, Pharus, *MEFRA* 96 (1984) 789 ff. Steinmayer 82, explains the absence of the Pharos by assuming that the Nile Mosaic depicts the Royal Harbour and not the common harbour of Alexandria, and furthermore by assuming that the model of the Nile Mosaic was created before the construction of the Pharos. The Pharos was, however, already begun by Ptolemy I, see Fraser *l.c.* There is nothing in the Nile Mosaic which could suggest any of the famous monuments or the royal palace of Alexandria. It seems unlikely that an ancient artist would choose to represent one of the most brilliant centres of the Ancient World to a Roman public by depicting two small islands with simple and common structures.

[136] For historical interpretations see n. 57. In the generic view the soldiers are simply taking part in the inundation festivities, see Schmidt 61, and Castiglione 1970, 45, who suggests that the officer is one of the last Ptolemies taking part in these festivities at Canopus. See for the date of the mosaic Ch. II, pp. 17 ff., and for the armour Ch. III, nn. 162, 163.

[137] See Ch. III, pp. 36 f., esp. nn. 159, 161, 166.

[138] See for section 14 Ch. III, p. 37 and for its position Ch. I, n. 33, fig. 8.

[139] For parasols in general see C. B. Hase, G. Dindorfius, L. Dindorfius, H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linquae* (1848–1854) VII, 383 f., s.v. Skiadeion ; *DS* V, 583, s.v. Umbella ; *RE* 2. Reihe IX a, 1, 585 ff., s.v. Umbella ; 952 ff.; s.v. Ouraniskos ; and more especially Cüppers 57 ff.; Klimowsky; Schramm; Weber 1990, 85 ff.

[140] For fans see *LÄ* V, 1104, s.v. Sonnenschirm; Weber 1990, 86 f. These were used especially for gods and for the Pharaohs, so they were an attribute of power. The common type of sunshade consisted of a rectangular piece of cloth carried on a stick, see *LÄ l.c.*, fig. 1. See for parasols W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* II (1935) pls. 18, 81, 82, 176. In all these cases a parasol is fixed to the front of the royal chariot of Ramses II at the battle of Kadesh. Also two parasols are mentioned to have come from the tomb of Tutanchamun, see Cüppers 57, n. 123; Weber 1990, 86, n. 460. A parasol made of palm-branches is placed on the chariot of a Nubian princess in a wall-painting in the tomb of Huy at Thebes (14th cent. B.C.), see Michalowski, fig. 114.

[141] For parasols in the Near East see Cüppers 57 f.; Klimowsky 53 ff.; figs. 2, 5, 6; Weber 1990, 88 ff., 204 ff., S 7–23; figs. 163–177. U. Magen, *Assyrische Köningsdarstellungen, Aspekte der Herrschaft* (1986) 39, 131. For some examples

from Asia Minor see *OudheidMeded* 25 (1944) 1 ff., pl. 1a, fig. 3; *EAA* II 636, fig. 865; *AJA* 75 (1971) 248, pl. 52. See for the parasol of the Persian Kings, Weber 1990, 92; 210, S 25–27, figs. 179–182; cf. also Plutarch, *Themistocles* XVI, 3; Athenaeus II, 48 f. The parasol above a local prince in a frieze from the Nereid monument at Xanthos will belong to the same princely tradition, see *EAA* , Atlante (1990), pl. 283; Weber 94 f., 211, S 30, fig. 183. The tradition of the parasol as a royal attribute continued in later times as may be seen by the example of Herod Agrippa I (see below n. 143, fig. 90) and the use of it by the Sassanide kings (Klimowsky 65, fig. 13; Weber 1990, 93, 211, S 28–29. The parasol had also been introduced to India, where it became an attribute of the Buddah and of princes, and from there it reached the Far East where it remained a symbol of power untill well into this century, see Cüppers 59, n. 139; Klimowsky 65 ff., nn. 34, 35; Schramm 576, pls. 15, 16b (representing Queen Elisabeth II on a visit to India); Weber 1990, 93, n. 487. Also the parasol of the calyphs of Baghdad, the Abyssinian emperors, and the sultans of Morocco will ultimately go back to the same eastern tradition, cf. Cüppers 59, n. 139; Schramm 578 ff., pls. 21–23; Weber 1990, 93 n. 488, and below n. 145.

[142] The parasol may be found already in the Mycenaean world, possibly under Eastern influence, see J. Crouwel, A Note on Two Mycenaean Parasol Kraters, *BSA* 71 (1976) 53 f.; *idem* in *BSA* 68 (1973) 343 ff., esp. nn. 106 and 112–114, fig. 1 on p. 331; Klimowsky 53, fig. 3; Weber 1990, 209 f., S 24, fig. 178. See for the classical period Cüppers 58 f., Klimowsky 53 f.; A. Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (1939) 122. In general it was a woman's article and so it may also be found with Aphrodite (see e.g. F. Brommer, *Der Parthenon Fries* (1977) 119 f., pl. 179; *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite, no. 1404; Weber 1990, 95 f., 212, S 31, fig. 184. In an exceptional case it may have had a religious function, see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932) 46 n. 13, 49 f., 120, 132 f. Occasionally it may be found with a man as in the case of Anacreon, where it was a sign of effeminate Eastern luxury (Athenaeus XII, 534a). A parasol was also found in the household of Alcibiades but it may of course have belonged to a woman (see *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 209, 11). A large number of parasols may be found on South Italian vases, see A.D. Trendall, A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia* (1978), Index, 1289 f., s.v. Parasol; A.D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (1967) pls. 34,1, 176,3. In many cases the person beneath the parasol is a woman. Sometimes she may hold the parasol herself when she is sitting, but mostly it is held by a maid. Usually the woman is a mortal woman but in several cases Aphrodite is represented although this cannot always be recognised (see e.g. Trendall, Cambitoglu I, pl. 50,3, pl. 156,4; II, pl. 326,1, 331,1; Suppl., pls. XXX,3, XXV,1; and for uncertain cases *ib.* II, pl. 183,1; Suppl., pl. III,1). In some cases the lady is a mythological heroine like Trendall, Cambitoglu, pl. 327 (Hippodamia), 500, no. 58 (Cassiopeia), and 267, no. 49 (Helen) (see in each case the illustrations referred to by Trendall). Also on the frieze from the Heroon of Gjölbaschi-Trysa Helen is seated beneath a parasol, see Weber 1990, 214, S 39, fig. 187; *EAA*, Atlante, pl. 270. Very occasionely a parasol is shown with a man, like in the case of Trendall, Cambitoglou,149 (slave accompanying Pelops); 496, no. 42 (over dead body of Achermos), 212, no. 149. Once it appears with Dionysus (see A.D. Trendall, *The red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (1967) 114, no. 590, pl. 59,5. However, that may have been the case more often, because the parasol was especially associated with the effeminate Dionysus, cf. Pollux X, 127, and below n. 144.

[143] See for women with parasols e.g. a Macedonian stele in Weber 1990, 216, S 44; S. Reinach, Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains (1909–1912) 2, 292,5; and a Centuripe vase, with a fine specimen, U. Wintermeyer, Die polychrome Reliefkeramik aus Centuripe, *JdI* 90 (1975) 136 ff., esp. 226, no. 52; P.E. Arias, M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst* (1960) pl. LII (col.); Charbonneaux, fig. 193 (col.). See for Alexander assuming the royal attire of Darius, Curtius Rufus VI, 6, 4–6, and in general A. Alföldi, Gewaltherrscher und Theaterkönig, in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honour of A. M. Friend* (1955) 15 ff. The use of the canopy for kings is attested, see *RE* 2. Reihe, IXa,1, 952 ff., s.v. Ouraniskos, but the parasol is not mentioned specifically anywhere. Weber 1990, 96, n. 513, refers to Plutarch Alexander 37,7 where it is stated that Alexander took place on Dareius' throne beneath a golden *ouraniskos*, which she, however, incorrectly translates with parasol. See for the coin of Herod Agrippa I, which dates from 41–44, *BMC Palestine* 236, nos. 1 and 7; pls. 26, 1–2 and 39, 15; Cüppers 59, pl. 12,1; Klimowsky 54–56, fig. 9; and *idem*, Herod Agrippa I as Basileus Megas, Recent Studies and Discoveries in Ancient Jewish and Syrian Coins, *Publications of the Israel Numismatic Society* 7 (1954) 91 ff., (reprinted in *Publications of the Israel Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies and Researches* VII (1974) 101 ff.); M. Weber 1990, 97, 215, S 40, fig. 188.

[144] See for examples from southern Italy n. 142. Parasols had been attested in Etruria since the Orientalising period, see J. Macintosh, Representations of Furniture on the Frieze Plaques from Poggio Civitate (Murlo), *RM* 81,1 (1974) 15 ff., esp. 32 f., pls. 3,3; 4,1; 6,2; 7; 8,1–2; 14,1. In all these cases the parasol is seen with persons riding in a chariot as was the case in many Eastern and Egyptian examples, see nn. 140,141. For parasols in Greek mythological scenes on Etruscan mirrors see Weber 1990, 213 f., S 37, fig. 185 (Helen); 214 f., S 38, fig. 186 (Calypso). In the Roman world parasols are mostly found in mythological scenes and especially with Aphrodite. See for some examples in wall-paintings from Pompeii, Maiuri 1938, 22 f., pl. II; Peters 133, pl. XXVIII, fig. 113, and 142, pl. XXXI, fig. 128; Helbig no. 697; for North African mosaics see J. Lassus, Venus marine, in *La mosaique gréco-romaine* (I) (1965) 175 ff., figs. 3 and d; Dunbabin, pl. LVIII, fig. 149; for sarcophagi with the marine thiasos see Rumpf (*o.c.* in n. 142) 122, n. 350, figs. 81, 86, 169; Weber 1909, 212, S 32–33. In some other cases a parasol may be found with a mythological heroine like Helen (see G.E. Rizzo, *Le pitture dell'Aula Isiaca di Caligola* (*Palatino*) (1936) figs. 14–16, 18–19, pls. 6–7, where the parasol stands on a boat; Peters 48 ff., pl. XII, fig. 39) and a female figure which represents Alexandria or Dido in a Pompeian wall-painting, which we shall discuss in nn. 147–149, see our fig. 91. In some cases a parasol may be found in connection with Dionysus (cf. n. 142), see Matz 2, no. 88, pls. 110, 112; R. Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain* (1969) pl. II, fig. 4. An exceptional case on an Arretine bowl shows Heracles in women's attire with a parasol, which refers to his relation with Omphale, see *BJ* 138 (1933) 81 ff. In a few cases a parasol may be found in a realistic scene, such as with walking women (see Tran tam Tinh, *Cataloque des peintures romaines du Musée du Louvre* (1974) 89, no. 70, fig. 82; and S. Reinach *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* (1922) 387,4) and in the case of a servant holding a parasol on a funerary altar in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme at Rome (see A. Giuliano ed., *Le sculture* (1980) 263, no. 161; Klimowsky, fig. 15). Exceptional is the case of the parasols which protect the stone of Emesa on coins of Caracalla and Elegabalus, see Cüppers 59, pl. 12,2; Klimowsky 68, figs. 19–20; Weber 1990, 97 f., nn. 20–21; J.R.A. van der Vin, Sacerdos sancti dei Solis Elegabali, *Hermeneus* 46 (1974–75) 129 ff., fig. 6. We have already mentioned

the parasol with a tasseled fringe on the coin of Herod Agrippa, see n. 142, fig. 90. A similar parasol appears together with a finger ring as controlmark on a coin of L. Roscius Fabatus from 64 B.C., see Crawford, pl. LXIX, no. 112. It is not clear whether the parasol and ring are simply common woman's articles or are perhaps symbols of royalty (cf. n. 143, and especially Curtius Rufus VI, 6, 6, for Alexander using the attire and signet-ring of Darius). According to Bonneau 344, and F. Imhoof-Blumer, Fluss- und Meergötter auf griechischen und römischen Münzen, *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* XXIII (1923) 173 ff., esp. 377, no. 503, pl. XV, 25, a parasol is also held by the female figure of Alexandria beside Neilus on a coin of Trajan. Although that example would be of special interest to us, the interpretation of the object seems doubtful. It looks like a triangle on a stick and has two long ribbons attached to it. It is rather small and it lacks the conspicuous fringe of other parasols on coins, which we have just mentioned. The same object appears on several other coins, where it is always held by Alexandria or the emperor and there it is usually called a *vexillum* (see *BMC Alexandria*, pl. XXVII, nos. 508, 870; *LIMC* I, 2, pl. 370, figs. 13, 19. So, although I do not know of other examples of triangular *vexilla*, the object under discussion also seems to be one.

[145] For the parasol in late antiquity and the middle ages see *Thesaurus graecae linguae* (*l.c.* in n. 139) where *inter alia* is referred to G. Pachymeres, *De imperatore et proceribus* 7, 21, and to *Catalog. Reg. offic. Palatin.* For the parasol as a symbol of royalty in European historical painting (e.g. with Alexander, Dareius and David) see Schramm, pls. 31–38; Weber 1990, 97, n. 515 and 99 f., 218, 550. For the parasol as attribute of the Popes and the basilicas of Rome, see Weber 1990, 99 f.; Schramm 583 ff., pls. 26–30, 39.

[146] See the examples of parasols with Aphrodite and Dionysus given in nn. 142, 144. The only exception of which I know are the four parasols on the procession wagon of the stone of Emesa, see n. 144.

[147] Naples MN, Inv. no. 8898, from the Casa di Meleagro, Pompeii VI 9, 2. See Helbig, no. 113; Schefold 1957, 111, dating it to the time of Vespasian; col. pls. in A. de Franciscis, *Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (1963) pl. XLVIII; *L'image du noir*, 218 fig. 282. See for it further Catani 385 ff., where it is incorrectly dated in the 1st half of the 1st century, and the literature given in nn. 148–149. The lady is dressed in a white chiton and a green *chlamys*, a slip of which she holds in her hands. She certainly does not hold a *situla* (with Nile water) as is stated by Catani 396. She has a melon-type coiffure ending in curls in her neck, see for this coiffure which was fashionable in the Hellenistic period Thompson 1973, 27 f. In the course of the 3rd century the waves became flatter and more numerous and the hair in the neck changed from a large disk to a small knot at the nape, cf. Thompson 1973, e.g. pl. LXV, no. 277, Arsinoe III. Helbig describes the parasol as pink-red. Now it is greenish but a small piece of pink is still visible at the top and that colour may have covered the whole surface. Although red was a popular colour for parasols, green parasols also existed, see Helbig no. 697, and Juvenal IX 50. Traces of a row of tassels are still visible. The lady's feet rest on a footstool. For the rich Hellenistic throne see Richter 1966, 98, figs. 479–481. The woman on the left is dressed in a long white chiton, with elbow-length sleeves. Her dress has slipped off her shoulder (see for this feature Ch. III, nn. 81, 131). Her skin is dark brown and clearly much darker than that of the other ladies. She has a wild crop of black curly hair. The woman on the right is dressed in a yellowish chiton with brown borders and with a low cut V-neckline (see for this feature Thompson 1973, 108 f.). See for the elephant-scalp head-dress n. 148.

[148] Different interpretations have been suggested for this painting. Helbig, no. 113, described it as Europa sitting between Asia on the left and Africa on the right. Others have suggested Alexandria between Asia and Africa (see G.E. Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana* (1929) pl. LXXXIII; *EAA* I, 108, s.v. Africa; *LIMC* I, 1, 250 ff., s.v. Africa, no. 51). We may object to these interpretations that the figure of Europa is only known from scenes depicting her abduction by the bull and that there are no certain representations of Asia which show an elephant-scalp or elephant tusk (see resp. *EAA* II, 542 ff., s.v. Europa, and *LIMC* II, 1, 858, s.v. Asia). The woman standing on the left-hand side has recently been identified with reasonable certainty as the personification of Libya (see Catani 396 ff.). Originally Libya was the ancient name for North Africa but in course of time its meaning narrowed down roughly to Cyrenaica. The arguments for this identification are her dark skin and the mass of curly black hair which is strongly reminiscent of the corkscrew locks which characterise other representations of Libya (see Catani, figs. 3, 8–11; cf. *LIMC* II, 1, 858, s.v. Asia, n. 3) and the one elephant tusk which she carries and which is attested as her attribute by Julius Onorius (see Catani 399, *Geogr. Lat. Min.* (ed. Reise, 1878) 46,1). A fine parallel for this figure may be found in the African woman depicted in the great hunt mosaic at Piazza Amerina which has the same dark complexion and head-dress and also holds one elephant tusk (see Catani 398; Dorigo, col. pl. VIII). This figure is usually identified as Africa (see *LIMC* I, 1, 254, no. 54). The identification of this figure with India because of the presence of an Indian elephant and a tiger (in Carandini 229) cannot be upheld since Mielsch 1989, has shown that the hunting scene combines animals of various origins. See for an unique but uncertain representation of India, which shows a different figure *LIMC* V, 1, 654 f., s.v. India; V, 2, pl. 439. The woman on the right-hand side wears the attribute of the elephant-scalp head-dress, but regrettably this could be used by different figures. Originally deriving from Alexander it was already adopted by Ptolemy I and became an attribute of Alexandria. In the later Hellenistic period it was also adopted by other African kings, like those of Libya and Mauretania and so it eventually became the attribute of the Roman province of Africa, which occupied roughly Tunisia and the western part of modern Libya. (see Scullard 75 f., 81; Rice 84; *LIMC* I, 1,488 ff., s.v. Alexandria; Catani 392 f.). The elephant-scalp head-dress may therefore refer to Alexandria as well as to other parts of North Africa, especially to the Roman province of Africa, and in practice it is often difficult to decide who is represented. See for some cases which probably represent Alexandria, Spinazzola I, 155 ff., and 624, n. 143; *EAA* I, 217 f., s.v. Alessandria; *LIMC* I, 2, pls. 369 ff.; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 226, 238, pl. 31, no. 101, and the figure of the Semasia in our fig. 94, see below n. 179. See for some examples of Africa with elephant-scalp head-dress, Spinazzola I, 157 f.; *EAA* I, 108 ff., s.v. Africa; *LIMC* I, 1, 250, s.v. Africa, I, 2, pls. 184–190. Several cases, however, remain uncertain. A relief published in *JdI* 99 (1984) 209 f., fig. 12, probably represents Alexandria before the victorious Augustus but the figure with the elephant-scalp head-dress which is depicted in it has also been called Africa (*LIMC* I, 1, 252 f., no. 30). The woman with the elephant-scalp coiffure on the famous silver plate from Boscoreale is usually called Africa but all her other attributes are typical for Alexandria (see A. Linfert, Die Tochter-Nicht die Mutter, Nochmals zum "Afrika" Schale von Boscoreale, in *Alessandria* II, 351 ff.). So on her own the woman with the elephant-scalp head-dress in the Casa di Meleagro painting could represent Alexandria as well as Africa. Her identity depends, therefore, on that of the woman sitting in the centre. The

identity of that figure has also been discussed but the two most probable identifications are Alexandria or Dido (see n. 149). If she represents Alexandria then the woman with the elephant-scalp head-dress must represent Africa. In that case Alexandria would be represented as queen of Libya and Africa. If, which is more probable, she represents Dido, the woman with the elephant-scalp head-dress probably also represents Africa, because Africa was originally the area of Carthage and its hinterland and traditionally the kingdom of Dido. The figure of Libya would be appropriate in either case because that name could cover Cyrenaica which was governed by the Ptolemies, as well as Africa which was Dido's kingdom.

[149] The sitting lady who is clearly the mistress of the two others is often identified as Alexandria, see e.g. Rizzo *l.c.* in n. 147; De Franciscis *l.c.* in n. 147; *EAA* I, 217, s.v. Alessandria; *LIMC* II, 1, 250 ff., s.v. Africa, no. 51. However, she lacks the usual attributes of Alexandria, like the elephant-scalp coiffure or mural crown, see *LIMC* I, 1, 217 f., s.v. Alessandria; Catani 396. One could also think of Isis, but even in Roman representations of Isis as a Hellenised goddess she is clearly recognisable by some of her Egyptian attributes, see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 88 ff., e.g. pl. VI. If the lady was really meant to represent Alexandria it would be in the form of Tyche or Aphrodite (cf. below n. 153). The boat in the background could be an allusion to the naval power of Alexandria (cf. Daszewski n. 151). However, the identification of the lady with Alexandria does not reckon with the fact that there exist some other Pompeian paintings which are closely related to the Casa di Meleagro painting. The first of these is no longer extant but is known from old reproductions and originally came from the so-called Accademia di Musica (Pompeii VI 3, 7; see Spinazzola I, 157 f., figs. 197–198; F. Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei designati ed descritti* (1854–1896) III,2, pl. 33; G.E. Rizzo, L'Eneide e l'arte antica, *BollStM* I (1938) 6 ff., 12, pl. IV, fig. 6; F.L. Bastet, M.L. de Vos, *Il terzo stile pompeiano* (1979) 85, pl. XLV, fig. 81). It depicts Dido mourning, sitting on a throne which is very similar to the one in the Casa di Meleagro painting, while the dagger with which she will kill herself lies in her lap. She is surrounded by several women including one with an elephant-scalp head-dress, who looks at her in sad expectation. The ship of Aeneas is in the background. Since Dido was queen of Africa the woman with the elephant-scalp head-dress can only represent Africa. The second painting, which is in bad condition, may be found in the Casa degli Amanti (Pompeii I 10, 11; see Schefold 1957, 48; *AA* 1935, 569 f., fig. 15; *JdI* 70 (1955) 69 f., fig. 7). It shows a lady sitting between two standing women. The one on the left-hand side carries an elephant tusk, the one in the right-hand side wears an elephant-scalp head-dress. A third woman stands in the background and holds her hand to her mouth as a sign of intense expectation. The similarity between these three Pompeian paintings is such that all three must represent the same scene. The painting from the Accademia di Musica belongs to the Third Style and may be dated c. 35–45 A.D., and therefore is older than the other two paintings, which belong to the Fourth Style and may be dated to the last two decades of the existence of Pompeii. Since the interpretation of the Accademia di Musica painting can not be doubted, the other paintings must be variations on the same motif and also represent Dido (thus Spinazzola I, 155 f.; L. Richardson Jr., *Pompeii, The Casa dei Dioscuri and its Painters* (1955) 141; Schefold 1957, 111; M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell'antica Pompei* (1979) 181). A difference with the painting from the Accademia di Musica is that there Dido is clearly mourning, whereas in the other two paintings she simply rises in a majestic way above the two personifications. However, in all three paintings the figure of Africa

looks at Dido with the same expression of sad expectation. The figure of Libya in the last two paintings seems to be an addition in order to achieve a more symmetrical and majestic composition. Finally, in the case of the Casa di Meleagro painting, the identification with Dido seems the more probable also because the other paintings in the same atrium depicted other mythological heroines, i.e. Pasiphae and Thetis, see Schefold 1957, 111; and for similar thematic cycles R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives, Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (1984) 67 ff.

[150] Since the story of the affair between Dido and Aeneas seems to have been of late invention, if not by Virgil himself, an old iconography of Dido will not have existed (see the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (ed. 1961) 279, s.v. Dido; *EAA* III, 92 ff., s.v. Didone). J. Lindsay, *Cleopatra* (1971) 439 f., elaborates on the impact which that other African queen Cleopatra VII may have had on Virgil's creation of Dido. The African queens 'par excellence' in the Hellenistic period were of course the Ptolemaic queens, who also reigned over Cyrene (Libya). Moreover, the princess Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, had been married to Juba II, king of Numidia and Mauretania. While Numidia was united to Africa in 25 B.C., their son Ptolemy reigned in Mauretania until his death in 40 A.D. For these reasons it was quite natural to associate a Ptolemaic queen with other North African kingdoms. For the Ptolemaic character of the coiffure and the dress of the figures see n. 147. For portraits of Ptolemaic queens in general see Brunelle *passim*; Thompson 1973, 82 ff., Daszewski 152. Copies of a portrait of Berenice II have been recognised in mosaics from Thmuis, see Daszewski 151 f., pls. A, B, 32, 33, 42 a. See for the possible influence of a portrait of a Ptolemaic queen S. Besques-Mollard, Un portrait de Cléopatra I dans les terres cuites de Smyrne, *RA* (1968) 241 ff., who (248 f.) also relates the figure of Libya on the Cyrene relief in London to her; cf. Catani 388 ff., fig. 3. In Rome an image of Cleopatra VII and the snake seems to have figured in Octavian's triumph (see Thompson 1978, 120; Prop. *El.* III 11, 52 ff.; and a gold statue of her stood in the temple of Venus Genetrix (see Cassius Dio LI 22, 3; cf. J. Carcopino, *Passion et politique chez les Césars* (1958) 57 ff.). Portraits of the Ptolemaic queens also circulated in the Roman world in the form of smaller luxury objects, like the Tazza Farnese (see J. Charbonneaux, Sur la signification et la date de la tasse Farnèse, *MonPiot* 50 (1958) 85 ff., esp. 91 ff.; Thompson 1978, 116 f.; La Rocca 8 ff.), the silver African plate from Boscoreale (see Linfert, *o.c.* in n. 148), and a rock-crystal (or glass) painted with the portrait of an Arsinoe (referred to in the *Anth. Gr.* IX 776 (ed. Budé, VIII, 1974); Brunelle 57).

[151] For the parasol used by Aphrodite and by women in general for protection against the sun see the examples given in nn. 142–144. For the parasol with Dionysus see the examples in nn. 142, 144. For the parasol as symbol of royal power see the examples in nn. 140, 141, 143, 145, and fig. 90. The Ptolemies were devoted to Aphrodite. The Ptolemaic queens had been assimilated with Aphrodite since the admiral Kallikrates dedicated a shrine to Arsinoe-Aphrodite-Akraia or Zephyritis at Cape Zephyrion between Alexandria and Canopus, where she became the marine Aphrodite, the protectress of the sea-power of the Ptolemies and the model for Isis Pelagia, see Fraser I, 197 f., 238 f., 245; *RE* 2. Reihe X, 230 ff., s.v. Zephyritis; Malaise II, 217 ff. See for the assimilation of the Ptolemaic queens and Aphrodite in general Fraser I, 197 f., 238 f.; Dunand 1973, I, 35, 98, 132, 154 f.; Thompson 1973, 57 ff.; Brunelle 57; Rice 121. The basic older literature is: L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Un concurrent du christianisme. Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation graeco-romaine* (1957) 198, 200, 216; J. L. Tondriau, Princesses

ptolemaiques comparées ou identifiées à des déesses, *BSAA* 37 (1948) 12 ff.; J.L. Tondriau, Les souveraines lagides en déesses au IIIe siècle av. J.C., *Etudes de Papyrologie* 7 (1948) 1 ff. Some recent contributions to the subject have been made by D. Burr Thompson, More Ptolemaic Queens, in *Eikones, Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis, Hans Jucker zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (1980) 181 ff., esp. 183 f.; W. Neumer-Pfau, *Studien zur Ikonographie und Gesellschaftlichen Funktion hellenistischer Aphrodite-Statuen* (1982) 56 ff.; A. Krug, Ein bildniss der Arsinoë Philadelphos, in *Alexandria* I, 192 ff. Actually Weber 1990, 96, supposes that Cleopatra was seated beneath a parasol when she received Antony at Tarsus in 41 B.C. in the disguise of Aphrodite (see below n. 158). Although this supposition would support our hypothesis she incorrectly translates the word *skias*, which in fact means canopy.

[152] In this respect it is interesting to consider the parasol on the boat of Helen in the painting from the Aula Isiaca (see n. 144). The Ptolemaic queens were assimilated not only with Aphrodite but could also be assimilated with Helen (see n. 151; Diod. I 19; Strabo XVII 1, 16; Tondriau, in *BSAA* 37 (1948, *o.c.* in n. 151) 17; LLoyd II, 165). The wall-paintings in the Aula Isiaca are crowded with Egyptian motifs and also the Helen paintings shows Alexandrian influences (see K. Schefold, Helena im Schutz der Isis, *Studies presented to D.M. Robinson,* 2 (1953) 1096 ff.). So here we may have another example of a queen with a parasol, with an Alexandrian background. Actually it seems to me that, for the ancient beholder, the figure of Dido in the Casa di Meleagro painting may have been reminiscent of Arsinoe-Aphrodite-Zephyritis (see n. 151).

[153] See for these assimilations, besides the literature given in Ch. II, n. 37, and above n. 151; Fraser I, 239 ff., 257 ff; Dunand 1973, I, 35 ff., 67 ff., 92 f., 180 ff.; Thompson 1973, 51 ff., 121; Brunelle 53 f.; Bonneau 264 ff., 323; *LÄ* I, 337, s.v. Aphrodite; J. Quaegebeur, Reines ptolémaïques et traditions égyptiennes, *Das Ptolemaische Ägypten* (1978) 245 ff..; L. Kákosy, Isis Regina, *Studia Aegyptiaca* I (1974) 221 ff.; J.J. V. M. Derksen, M. J. Vermaseren, Isis Kosmokrateira, *Alessandria* III, 430 ff.; H. Jucker, Zwei hellenistische Isisköpfe aus Ägypten, *Alessandria* I, 185 ff.; A di Stefano, Un manico d'orso dalle necropoli di Lilibeo, *Alessandria* II, 391 ff., esp. 393, pl. LXX; H. Diez, Isis-Alexandreia auf dem grossen Fries von Ephesos, *Alessandria* I, 155 ff.; Daszewski 153; Scholz 46, 63 ff. The syncretistic character of Isis-Tyche-Aphrodite was also known in the Roman world where she was associated with Fortuna and Venus, the patron-goddesses of Sulla, Pompey and Ceasar, see A. Alföldi, The Main Aspects of Political Propaganda, *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to H. Mattingly* (1951) 81 ff.; R. Schilling, *La réligion romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste* (1954) 276 ff.; Kajanto 522 ff.; Malaise II, 364; Champeaux II, 215 ff.; Meyer 266 f.; Dunand 1979, 70 f., 181 f. See for the Venus of Pompeii especially Spinazzola, I, 195 ff; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 77 ff., 83; below Ch. V, n. 49. For the case of Cleopatra VII see n. 158.

[154] See for the mythical passion of Osiris and its symbolism n. 96. See for the connection of Osiris and Sarapis Fraser I, 250 ff.; Kákosy 186 ff.; Griffith 1970, 400 ff.; Vidman 10 ff. See for the connection of Isis and Osiris-Sarapis with the Nile flood above nn. 94, 96; Fraser I, 246 ff., 252 ff.; Bonneau 243 ff., 319 ff.; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 77 ff.; Charbonneaux 1957, 131 ff.; Dunand 1973 I, 153 ff., 217 ff.; Malaise II, 221 f.; Alföldi 11 ff. At Philae Isis and Osiris are named Lord and Lady of the Nile flood and the Abaton (see n. 156). It seems that in general Isis and Sarapis were higher powers than the Nile, while Osiris represented the power immanent in the waters of the flood. They may be found in several Roman inundation scenes. A large wall-painting of an inundation scene in the Casa delle Amazzoni at Pompeii served as

background for a shrine with Isis with cornucopia, Sarapis and Harpocrates (see fig. 92; after a *tempera* by F. Morelli from 1812; Schefold 1957, 94; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 127 f., pl. XIX; Pompeii 1748–1980 (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 85) 135 (ADS 130, col. pl.); Zanker 507, fig. 40; Fröhlich 275, L58). Figures of Isis with Hathor crown and Osiris in Pharaonic dress appear in the inundation scene in the Herakleitos mosaic in the Vatican Museum (see De Vos 29 ff., no. 17; Nogara, pl. V; cf. above n. 80). In the Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges a shrine with a statue of Isis-Tyche with cornucopia stands before the tomb of Osiris, the source of the Nile flood (see n. 119, fig. 86). The same figure appears in the Yellow Frieze in the Casa di Livia at Rome (see Rostoftzev 1911, 20, pl. I c; Rizzo, pl. VII) and in a lost pygmy landscape in Pompeii (IX 6, see Schefold 1957, 266). Another example of Isis in an inundation scene may be found in a mosaic from Merida, see A. Garcia y Bellido *Les réligions orientales dans l'Éspagne Romaine* (1967) (*EPRO* 5) 123, no. 57, pl. XLV. On the Nilometer column in the mosaic from Leptis Magna the words *agathe tyche* are inscribed, see Bonneau 345, 347, pl. VI. Compare also the picture described by Philostratus (*Imag.* I, 5) depicting the Nile and Aethiopia and the deity who presides over the Nile flood (see Ch. III, n. 52; Bonneau 338). See for Tyche and the Nile flood also Bonneau 1976, 7, n. 41.

[155] See for the position of the Pharaohs in general G. Posener, *De la divinité du Pharaon* (1960) 37 ff.; W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs* (1975) esp. 131 ff.; *LÄ* III, 462 ff., s.v. König-Gott-Verhältnis; G. Grimm, Die Vergöttlichung Alexanders des Grossen in Ägypten und Ihre Bedeutung für den ptolemäischen Königskult, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (1978) 163 ff.; E. Winter, Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln,*ibid.* 147; H. Heinen, Aspects et problèmes de la monarchie ptolémaïque, *Ktema* 3 (1978) 177 ff.; L. Koenen, Die Adaption ägyptischer Königsideologie am Ptolemäerhof, *Egypt and the Hellenistic world* (1983) 143 ff.; F. Dunand, Culte royal et culte impériale en Égypte, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten* (1983) 47 ff. See for the connection of the sovereigns with Isis and Osiris-Sarapis and their patronage of the flood besides the general literature given in nn. 151, 153, 154, Posener 47 ff.; Bonneau 273 f., 306 ff., 319 ff.; Bonneau 1969, 141 ff.; Merkelbach 24 f., 46 ff.; Charbonneaux 1957, 131 f.; Charbonneaux (1958, *o.c.* in n. 150) 90 ff.; Dunand 1973 I, 217; Malaise II, 221 ff.; Barta 112; Alföldi 10 f.; Van der Plas 182 ff.; and below pp. 74 ff. The title of the Ptolemies, *euergetai*, benefactors, indicates their ability to let the Nile efflux and bestow fertility on the country, see Bonneau 312. This is also indicated by their favourite attribute, the horn of plenty of Tyche, the symbol of *truphe*, be it single or double, see Möbius 26 ff.; Thompson 1973, 31 ff.; 51 ff.; Heinen 120; above nn. 83, 154 and below n. 166. Compare the examples of Isis-Tyche with cornucopia given in n. 154, and fig. 92. The queens may also wear the crown of Hathor or the lotus bud diadem, see for their symbolism Ch. III, n. 105; Ch. IV, n. 108, and for examples our fig. 93; *RA* (1968) 247, fig. 11; Meyer 253 ff.; La Rocca 22 ff., figs. 16, 28, 33; Kyrieleis, pl. 100, figs. 2–9.

[156] The Pharaohs, as mediators between the gods and men, were officially high priests, see for the Pharaoh taking part in the Osiris ritual at Dendera above n. 129. Naturally they could not be present everywhere at the time of the inundation and so they were represented by court officials or local priests (see Chassinat 18; Bonneau 391; *idem* 1971, 157; *idem* 1969, 141 ff. In many instances the king and queen are attested as taking part in processions and bringing offerings on the feast of the beginning of the new year and the inundation ceremonies e.g. at Edfu, see Alliot I, 303 ff., 358 ff.). See for representations of the king and queen taking part in the procession of

Hathor on the 1st day of Tybi, the beginning of the germination season, our fig. 93; *Dendara* VII, pls. 1174, 1188; VIII, pls. 1257, 1293; *PM* VI, 91 f.; Alliot 226; Borghouts 5, 11 f., and further below nn. 174, 184, 186, 201. See for representations of the Pharaoh taking part in the Khoiak ritual at Dendera, Mariette IV, pls. 31, 33, and 61; our fig. 84; above n. 129. Although the Ptolemies will usually have attended the various ceremonies at Alexandria several visits of the sovereigns to Philae are attested, see A. Bernand, *Inscriptions Grecques de Philae* I (1969) no. 4, Ptolemy III; no. 8, Ptolemy V; no. 17, Ptolemy VIII; Dunand 1973, I, 154 ff.; for Ptolemy VI see Ch. III, n. 4; for Ptolemy VIII see Ch. III, n. 80; IV, n. 167; for Ptolemy IX see App. 12. Many representations of the Pharaoh taking part in ceremonies may be found there, see *Philae passim*, and e.g. our fig. 49, and Junker 1958, 263 ff., 271 ff., figs. 155, 159, where Ptolemy VI and his wife Cleopatra are depicted bringing offerings to Isis and Osiris, Lord and Lady of the Nile flood and the Abaton. In the temple of Opet at Thebes Ptolemy VIII and his wife Cleopatra and his sister Cleopatra are described and depicted as bringing offerings to the revived Osiris, see De Wit III, 51; II, pl. 4. The royal couple could make a ritual marriage at the time of the beginning of the flood symbolising the union of Isis and Osiris, see n. 96; Barta (*o.c.* in n. 155) 112; Van der Plas 155 f., 184 f.; Bonneau 1969, *l.c.* When the flood was at its height the Pharaoh could, like Horus, triumphantly sail down the Nile (see Merkelbach 19 ff.; D. Bonneau, Le souverain d'Egypte voyageait-il sur le Nil en crue, *CdE* 36 (1961) 373 ff.; and below n. 179. Very illustrative is the pilgrimage of the young Ptolemy IX Soter II, and his mother and joint ruler Cleopatra III to Assuan in 115 B.C., to take part in the inundation ceremonies at Elephantine. He also visited Philae and the source of the Nile at Bigeh and afterwards there was a banquet in the temple of Satet at Elephantine, see Appendix 12; Bonneau 391, 416; Merkelbach 67; and below n.167.

[157] For the assimilation of Isis-Aphrodite and the Ptolemaic queens see nn. 153 and 155. For the assimilation of the Ptolemies with Dionysus, from whom they claimed descent, and Sarapis, see Fraser I, 197 f., 202 ff., 236, 255 f., 263 f., 267 f.; II, 332 f., n. 53.; Plutarch, *De Is.* 35; Griffith 1970, 429 ff.; Tondriau 149 ff.; Stracmans 211 ff.; Lauer, Picard 30 ff., 246 ff.; Schefold, 167 ff.; P. Grimal, Le dieu Sérapis et le genius de Messala, *BSFE* 53–54 (1969) 42 ff.; Heinen 123 ff.; Rice 84 ff.; Dunand 1973 I, 114; Hani 344; Wrede 102 ff. Compare the island Setis in the area of the 1st cataract which had an Osiris sanctuary and was called the island of Dionysus by the Greeks, and the painting in the Casa di Apolline at Pompeii where we see Dionysus and Maenads near the tomb of Osiris, see n. 120, fig. 51. Compare a statuette of Dionysus with portrait features from the *euripus* in the Casa di Loreius Tiburtinus at Pompeii which is rich in Nilotic associations, see Spinazzola 399, fig. 455. The portrait features of the statuette are reminiscent of the late Ptolemies, see A. Krug, Die Bildnisse Ptolemaios IX, X, and XI, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (1978) 9 ff., figs. 13–20. Ptolemy XII, the father of Cleopatra VII, was officially styled Neos Dionysus.

[158] See for Cleopatra and Aphrodite-Isis and Antony and Dionysus-Osiris, Fraser I, 204 f., 244 f., 298, 300; II, 348 f., nn. 121, 122, 124; 363, n. 20; Tondriau 160 ff.; Cerfaux, Tondriau, (1957, *o.c.* in n. 151, 295 ff.; H. Volkmann, *Kleopatra. Politik und Propaganda* (1953); Sonnabend 49 ff.; J. Quaegebeur, Cleopatra VII and the cult of the Ptolemaic queens, in *Cleopatra's Egypt* (Exh. Cat. New York, Metr. Mus. (1988)) 41 ff.; Heinen (1978, *o.c.* in n. 155)192; J. Becker, *Das Bild der Kleopatra in der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur* (1966). When Cleopatra received Antony at Tarsus in 41 B.C. she presented herself as Aphrodite and the rumour went that Aphrodite had

come to revel with Dionysus for the happiness of Asia (Plutarch, *Antonius* XXVI; C.B.R. Pelling, *Plutarch, Life of Antony* (1988) 186 ff.). At Antony's triumph over Armenia in 37 she appeared in the guise of Isis and she was addressed as Nea Isis (Plutarch, *Antonius* LIV 6; Pelling 251 f.). Dio Cassius L 53, even reports that Antony and Cleopatra posed for portrait paintings and statues, he represented as Dionysus or Osiris, and she as Selene or Isis. See for Cleopatra's interest in Nubia the homeland of Isis, and the Trogodyte country, Scholz 92 f.; and above n. 52. She spoke the language of both countries (Plutarch, *Antonius* XXVII,3) and even planned to flee there with Caesarion. See for Antony and Cleopatra also below n. 197.

[159] One could consider the possibility that a divine figure appeared beneath the parasol but we have seen that a parasol was nearly always held above a living person, the only exception being the stone of Emesa (see n. 144). For a divine image one would rather expect a canopy. See for the parasol as a symbol of power nn. 140, 141, 143, 145, and for the parasols with Aphrodite and Dionysus nn. 142, 144. In this connection it is of particular interest to consider the descriptions which have been preserved of the meeting between Ptolemy VIII and the embassy of Scipio Aemilianus to Alexandria in 140/139 B.C. (see Diod. XXXIII 28a, 1–2; Athenaeus XII 549 d–e; Justinus XXXVIII 8, 8–11; Heinen 116 ff., 125 ff.). Ptolemy was dressed in a transparant chiton which clearly showed his monstruously fat body. The Roman visitors were shocked by what they assumed to be a token of decadent effeminacy. However, it has been convincingly argued that Ptolemy's outfit was modelled after Dionysus and was intended to illustrate the Dionysiac *truphe,* luxuriousness and bliss, of which Ptolemy was the embodiment (see Heinen *l.c,* and compare a mosaic with Dionysus in a similar attire at Delos, Bruneau 240 ff., no 214, fig. 182; Ch. V, 44; Charbonneaux 185, fig. 192; see for the Ptolemaic ideology of the *truphe* below n. 199). It is easy to imagine that a parasol, which we have found in other cases in connection with Dionysus, would be part of such an effeminate attire (see nn. 142, 144). Anyhow, a Ptolemy in Dionysiac attire would be very appropriate for the situation in the Nile Mosaic (see below n. 199). Compare also the painting in the Casa di Apolline at Pompeii, where we see Dionysus and Maenads at Osiris' tomb, see nn. 120, 157, fig. 51. The queen may have been singled out by a cornupia which she carries in many representations, see Thompson *passim* and compare nn. 154, 155, 166.

[160] See for the reconstruction of the mosaic Ch. I, p. 6, nn. 32–35. See for other examples of Isis and Osiris in Nilotic scenes n. 154.

[161] See for the scene at Dendera n. 129. The Nile Mosaic seems to present more stages of the proceedings, i.e. the burial procession heading for the tomb of Osiris (see n. 130) and, in the foreground, the Pharaohs taking part in the festivities which concluded the ritual. See for representations of the souvereigns bringing offerings to Osiris, Lord of the Abaton n. 156. Thus when Ptolemy IX and Cleopatra III had taken part in the inundation ceremonies at Elephantine and had visited the source of the Nile at Bigeh, they took part in a banquet in the temple of Satet at Elephantine, see n. 167, App. 12. So it seems as if the Nile Mosaic portrays two stages of the Khoiak festival between which, in reality, some time will have elapsed, i.e. the funeral procession and the ensuing festivities, while the Pharaoh may have taken part in both (see also n. 162). The combination in one scene of two events which differ in time may seem somewhat unexpected, but, as we shall see below, the whole Nile Mosaic actually combines many elements which do not go together in time and thus it has a strong symbolical character, see below nn. 183, 185.

[162] Steinmayer 80 f., assumes that the galley is leaving the harbour because of its oblique position immediately in the foreground which gives the impression that the boat is sailing out of the picture. However, if placed somewhat higher on the right-hand side of the figures beneath the parasol, the galley would give the impression that it followed in the trail of these figures and was about to land (cf. Ch. I, n. 34; Ch. III, n. 198; fig. 8). In general the composition of this scene, with water and the obliquely placed boats in the centre, surrounded by land on both sides and in the background, is very similar to a harbour scene in a wall-painting at Oplontis, which has a Nilotic character because of the tower houses (see A. Barbet, *La peinture murale romaine* (1985) 60 f., fig. 29). The galley may only illustrate in general the festive boating at the time of the inundation. However, the Ptolemies were of course escorted by their guards when they took part in boat processions and other ceremonies, and naval parades were an important part of many religious ceremonies (cf. fig. 70; Alliot I, 483 ff.; *Edfou* IX, pls. 122, 126; XIII, pls. 462, 463, 471; Bonneau 309 ff., 418 f.; Bonneau 1961, *o.c.* in n. 156; Castiglione 1970, 40 ff.; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 98 ff.). With regard to the trumpeter on the prow, it may be noted that the height of the flood was announced by Egyptian priests blowing trumpets (cf. the Leptis Magna mosaic, Bonneau 345, pl. VI). However, here we are concerned with a Macedonian soldier and it seems more likely that he is announcing the arrival of the sovereigns (cf. Ch. III, nn. 165, 196, 197). The scene may have been suggestive of the arrival of the Pharaoh after his triumphant sailing on the Nile like the new Horus (cf. n. 156). However, the pavilion seems to belong to the grave-complex which rather suggests that the Pharaoh is taking part in the funeral ceremonies and the ensuing festivities (see nn. 161, 167). In reality, however, the festivities may not have taken place in the direct neighbourhood of the tomb but elsewhere (cf. Junker 21 ff.) so that other boat trips between temples and tombs etc. may have been involved. Compare the visit of Ptolemy IX to Elephantine, Philae and Bigeh, which was concluded by a banquet at Elephantine (see n. 167, Appendix 12). We have noted before the somewhat illogical connection between the pavilion and the tomb enclosure (see n. 132, Ch. III, n. 147). Perhaps the artist tried to combine two stages of the same festival in one scene, i.e. the procession and the ensuing feast (cf. n. 161).

[163] For the officer see Ch. III, n. 162. He is the only soldier who wears a wreath and he seems to be closely involved in the festivities. If his red or purple *chlamys* really was reserved for persons of royal breed (cf. Daszewski 149) he might be a Ptolemy as is suggested by Castiglione 1970, 45. In that case only the queen would have appeared beneath the parasol and the sovereigns would have appeared on either side of the priestess. However, the red or purple *chlamys* was by no means restricted to persons of royal breed but was used also by magistrates and military commanders (see Ch. III, n. 162). The most important Alexandrian magistrate, the exegete, wore a purple robe, see Fraser I, 96, Strabo XVII 1, 12. Military commanders, *strategoi*, played an important part in the Ptolemaic administration (see Fraser I, 107). Thus the district commander, the *strategus* of the *nome*, was the first to be informed when the flood reached its full height (see Bonneau 1971b, 63). When Ptolemy IX visited the area of Assuan in 115 B. C. he was undoubtedly accompanied by the local governor who was the *strategus* and *epistrategus* of the Thebaid (see Appendix 12). The officer in the Nile Mosaic may well have been a similar official.

[164] See for the Ptolemaic army Ch. III, nn. 162, 163 and 165, cf. fig. 52. One of the funerary islands depicted in the Casa dei Cei is guarded by

pygmy-soldiers, wearing Hellenistic armour (see n. 121; Spinazzola I, 276, fig. 305). The rocky landscape in that scene gives the impression that it is located near the 1st cataract. In this respect it is interesting to consider once again the devices which the soldiers have on their shield, i.e. a star and scorpions. We have seen already that the star is probably the Ptolemaic star and that the scorpion was a common apotropaic shield device (see Ch. III, n. 164). However, in Egypt the scorpion was the attribute of the goddess Selket, guardian of grave-yards and of the tomb of Osiris (see *LA* VII, 189, s.v. Selket; Junker 66, fig. 24). The star could allude to the dog-star Sirius or Sothis, which was identified with the goddess Satet in Egypt. The rise of Sothis, around the 19th of July, announced the beginning of the inundation (see below n. 173). In a relief at Philae, Isis-Satet wearing a star and Selket wearing a scorpion on her head make the flood come forth from Osiris' legs (see fig. 81, central scene, n. 113). Of old Satet had her own temple at Elephantine, and it was there that Ptolemy IX took part in a banquet after the ceremonies connected with the inundation (see nn. 167, Appendix 12). So the star and the scorpion would be fitting devices for a town-garrison in the area of the first cataract or with a sanctuary of Isis and Osiris in general, just like the statue of Anubis and the Hathor crown are appropriate features of a funerary complex (see nn. 108–109). In general, however, shield devices do not seem to have had such a specific meaning in antiquity and because of the wide use of a star and scorpion as shield devices their appearance in the Nile Mosaic may be casual (see Ch. III, n. 164).

[165] See for a palm-branch as a symbol of victory over death and of revival in the cult of Isis and Osiris, Ch. III, n. 158. Palm-branches were carried in the procession with the new Nile water (see Bonneau 397; above n. 88) and they are carried in the procession in section 16 (see fig. 24). A palm-branch lays on the altar of Harpocrates in a wall-painting from the Iseum at Pompeii, see Elia, figs. 6–7; compare the palm-branch beside the libation bowl in section 13 (see Ch. III, n. 145). Palm-leaves were laid on the 365 altars surrounding Osiris's tomb in the Abaton (see Junker 18). A palm-branch was also carried by the figure of the Semasia, which in the Roman period announced throughout the country that the flood had reached a sufficient height (see below n. 179, fig. 94). Also the figure of Isis-Hathor-Aphrodite reproduced in fig. 95, which probably illustrates the festive mood of the inundation period carries a palm-branch (see n. 180). Besides being a festive token of the triumph of the flood the palm-branch which the lady in the Nile Mosaic carries may perhaps indicate that she, like the figure of the Semasia in the Roman period, announces the height of the flood (see further below n. 179).

[166] See Castiglione 1970, 44 f. See for the *simpulum* Ch. III, n. 159. It could be used for the ritual pouring of water and for pouring wine, cf. Lefebvre, pl. VIII, where servants are carrying a large crater, a *simpulum* and drinking cups, similar to those used in the pergola scene (see Ch. III, n. 133). For the drinking horn which the officer holds, and for the others standing on the buffet-table see Ch. III, n. 161. It is the *keras,* which was the origin of the horn of plenty (see Athenaeus XI, 497 C; Fraser I, 232, 241 ff.; Rice 203 ff., Thompson 1978, 31 f.; above nn. 83, 155). Similar horns are held e.g. by the figure of the Nile in the Tazza Farnese (see Thompson 1978, 116, figs. 104–105); by the figure of the Nile on a coin of Septimius Severus (Bowman, fig. 2) and by the statuette of Isis-Aphrodite reproduced in our fig. 96 (see n. 165 and below n. 180). The way the officer holds the horn may be compared to the way the figure of the Nile holds out the horn on the Tazza Farnese, in expectation of the moment when it will be filled with Nile water (see

Thompson 1978, 116, figs. 104–105; *AJA* 96 (1992) 249 ff., pl. 4a). It could also be held high in the way of a toast, as in section 19 (see fig. 20) and by the figure of Isis-Aphrodite in our fig. 95. The Dionysiac artists honoured Ptolemy II and his wife by drinking a toast out of the *dikeras*, see Athenaeus XI, 497 C.; Thompson 1978, 54 f. Except for the presence of the soldiers the banquet scene may be compared with the banquet scene on the faience vase at Varna reproduced in fig. 45. There we see people feasting beside a tomb and a buffet-table with a similar crater and drinking horn (see Ch. III, nn. 166, 133; Ch. IV, n. 180).

[167] See for Satet nn. 164, 173. See for the feasting and banquets at the time of the inundation Bonneau 413 ff.; Van der Plas 181 f.; below n. 180). Banquet scenes in pergolas and the like are a frequent motif in Nilotic scenes see Ch. III, nn. 130, 136. After Ptolemy IX had taken part in the inundation ceremonies at Elephantine and had visited Bigeh there was a banquet in the temple of Salet at Elephantine (see Appendix 12). The area of the 1st cataract, the source of the Nile flood, was a favourite pilgrimage resort (see for pilgrimages to Philae, Dunand 1973, I, 155 f.; Merkelbach 67, n. 23; above n. 165). There is an interesting inscription on the basis of the obelisk of Ptolemy VIII, from the Isis temple at Philae, which contains a complaint by the priesthood of Philae about the high costs involved in the entertaining of the *strategoi*, court officials, and their attendants, who visited Philae, see Ch. III, n. 80; Dunand 1973, I, 188; Iversen (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 80) II, 65 f. The unusual architecture of the pavilion may perhaps be compared to the ceremonial kiosks of Egyptian temples and the porticoed dining halls of classical temples, see Ch. III, n. 147, and in general Studniczka; E. Will, Banquets et salles de banquet dans les cultes de la Grèce et de l'Empire Romain, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (1976) 353 ff. One may compare the temple of Isis-Satet at Elephantine, where Ptolemy IX took part in a banquet after the inundation ceremonies (see Appendix 12). In front of the temple stood a large kiosk, similar to Trajan's kiosk at Philae, and in front of that there was a large terrace overlooking the Nile (see Jaritz 45 ff., fig. 1, pls. 49–50, and cf. our fig. 88). One can easily imagine a banquet being held there. Although this temple and the kiosk were in the Egyptian style and probably date from the Roman period, the general arrangement is reminiscent of that in the Nile Mosaic. Private shrines and family tombs also had rooms for family meetings, as in the case of the shrine at Ras el-Soda near Alexandria (see Ch. III, nn. 85 and 155). Compare also the Varna vase with a banquet scene beside a tomb (see Ch. III, n. 166, fig. 45).

[168] See for associations of the pergola scene with Canopus: Marrucchi 1904, 266 f.; Castiglione 1957, 214 ff.; Steinmayer 82 ff. Similar pergolas with banquet scenes are a popular motif in Nilotic scenes, see Ch. III, nn. 130, 136. See for pavilions and the licentious life at Canopus Ch. III, n. 139, and Strabo XVII 1, 16–17, describing the pavilions along the Canopic canal where men and women engaged in revelry (see Fraser I, 200, II, 338, n. 82; Juvenalis *Sat.* VI 82 ff.; XV, 44 ff.; Seneca *Ep.* LI 3–4) See also below nn. 196, 197.

[169] See for the ritual killing of hippopotami and crocodiles which represented Seth, the brother of Osiris who had killed him, at the time of the new year and the inundation, *LÄ* IV, 501 ff., s.v. Nilpferd, esp. 504; *LÄ* III, 795 f., s.v. Krokodil; *LÄ* V, 275 s.v. Rituale, no. 7; Merkelbach 21 ff., 50 ff., esp. 52; Dunand 1973, I, 242 ff., fig. 10; Alliot II, 677 ff.; *Edfou* IX, pls. 146–148; XIII, pl. 494–531. In the temples, however, this ritual was usually performed on the sacred lake of the temple and not with live hippopothami but with miniature models. See also below nn. 170, 180.

[170] See for the hunters which we have supposed to be cleruchs, Greek settlers, Ch. III, n. 113. For the obnoxious habits of hippopotami and crocodiles, which were the cause of these animals frequently being hunted , see *LÄ* IV, 501 ff., s.v. Nilpferd; Diod. I 35, 10–11; *LÄ* III, 792 ff., s.v. Krokodil. See for the frequent appearence of hippopotamus and crocodile hunts in Nilotic scenes Ch. III, nn. 114, 116, and below n. 180. This may suggest that their symbolic value was well-known (see n. 169 and compare the case of the mongoose and the snake, see Ch. III, n. 74).

[171] See above n. 60, below n. 180 and the discussions of the various subjects in Ch. III, nn. 138, 144 *etc.*

[172] See pp. 57 ff., nn. 94, 96.

[173] See for the progress of the flood Bonneau 23 ff.; Bonneau 1971a, 39 ff., figs. II–V; *LÄ* VI, 831 ff., s.v. Überschwemmung. See for the rising of Sothis and the beginning of the new year *LÄ* V, 1110 ff., s.v. Sothis; Bonneau 23, 33 f., 263 ff.; Dunand 1973, I, 217; Merkelbach 14 ff.; cf. above n. 164, and see further below n. 178. See for the Khoiak festival above n. 126; Bonneau 368 ff.; Merkelbach 33 ff.; and below n. 174.

[174] For the Egyptian calendar in general see *LÄ* III, 297, s.v. Kalender; R. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (1950); W. Barta, Die Entwicklung des ägyptischen Kalenderwesens, *ZÄS* 110 (1983) 16 ff. For the relationship between religious festival dates see S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (1950); Merkelbach 9 ff.; Borghouts 4 ff.; *LÄ* II, 173 ff., s.v. Feste. For the shifting of the date of the Khoiak festival in respect to the inundation period see especially Merkelbach 12 ff.; 33 ff., 57 ff., Bonneau 38 ff., 368 ff.; Castiglione 1970, 40 ff.; Dunand 1973, I, 213 ff., 227 ff.; Malaise II, 231 ff.; Hani 347 ff. About 300 B.C. the Khoiak festival had shifted from November to the beginning of March and the end of February. An attempt to halt the shifting of the calendar was undertaken in the calendar reform issued in the Canopus decree of Ptolemy III in 238 B.C., by means of the introduction of an intercalary day every four years (see for the Canopus decree below n. 193, Appendix 12; *LÄ* III, 321, s.v. Kanopus dekret; *OGIS* 91 ff., no. 56; cf. *SEG* 39, 1683; W. Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text der Priester-dekrete von Kanopos und Memphis (Rosettana) mit den hieroglyphischen und griechischen Fassungen und deutscher übersetzung* (1922); Bonneau 39 f.; Bonneau 1971a, 126 ff.; Merkelbach 37, 57 f.; A. Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs* (*MIFAO* XCI) (1970) 1, 3, 989 ff.; F. Dunand, Fête, tradition, propagande, les cérémonies en l'honneur de Bérénice, fille de Ptolemée III, en 238 a. J.C., in *Livre du Centenaire 1880–1980, MIFAO* 104 (1980) 287 ff). The hieroglyphic, Greek and Demotic texts, together with translations may be found in Budge to whom I will further refer. This reform appears to have been unsuccesful because, while in 238 the Khoiak festival fell in the middle of February, it had reached December by the beginning of the Roman period so that it had nearly come full circle (see Merkelbach 36 ff.; Bonneau 369). Indeed, after 1461 years, a Sothis period, a religious date would have passed through the 365 days of the year (1461 x 1/4 day) and would again fall on the original natural date. In this case this was prevented by the introduction of the Julian calendar by Augustus, when the Khoiak festival was fixed in December. So, during the Ptolemaic period the Khoiak festival fell somewhere between December and March, and never within the period of the inundation. At the time that the Nile Mosaic was made, around 110 B.C., the Khoiak festival must have fallen somewhere in the beginning of January (see for the above esp. Merkelbach 9 ff., 36 ff., 57 ff.; Bonneau 38 ff.).

[175] So originally the ritual of the revival of Oiris was connected to the germination period but in the course of time it shifted through the period of

the inundation and the period of the rising of the Nile (see Bonneau 248 ff.; Merkelbach 12 f.; Malaise II, 224). So far this offered no serious problems because the ritual remained connected to the inundation anyway, but when the festival began to fall in the dry spring period the lack of connection between the festival and the inundation must have been disturbing (see Borghouts 4f., n. 7, quoting e.g. Pap. Anastasi IV, 10, 1–2). Only as late as in the calendar reform of the Canopus decree in 238 B.C. an attempt was made to stop this by the addition of an intercalary day every four years so that, as it is explained in the decree, the beginning of the new year and the ensuing festival should remain fixed on the day that Sothis rose, the 19th of July, which then fell on the 1st of the month Payni. The reform was also made to prevent feasts which should have been held in the winter from being held in the summer, and vice versa, as had formerly happened (see for the Canopus decree, and its calendar reform n. 174, Appendix 12. See for the new year's feast, referred to here, also Appendix 12). However, the main object of this calendar reform was to fix the beginning of the new year on the date of the rise of Sothis. The Khoiak festival was fixed by this reform in February so it was not an attempt to restore the original connection between the festival and the season to which it originally belonged, but to fix the status quo. Nevertheless, this calendar reform apparently remained ineffective because in the reign of Augustus the Khoiak festival had shifted to December, see n. 174. Relicts of the festival rotation may be the rituals concerning the Nile flood which in the Roman period took place in the month Khoiak and the following month Tybi, i.e. December-January. (see Bonneau 368 ff.; Bonneau 1971b, 52, 59, 60).

[176] For the Egyptian calendar see n. 174. In the course of time eight variations of the two calendars may be distinguished, see Borghouts 5; Barta (*o.c.* in n. 174) 25 f. The confusion may best be illustrated by the various dates which in the course of time were adopted for the beginning of the new year (see Borghouts 5 f.). Officially the new year began on the 1st of Thot, the 1st month of the inundation season, which originally coincided with the rising of Sothis and ideally with the beginning of the flood around the 19th of July (see n. 173; Borghouts 4 f.; *LÄ* IV, 466 ff., s.v. Neujahr; *LÄ* II, s.v. Feste, esp. 174; and Appendix 12). In spite of the gradual removal of the 1st of Thot from the inundation season, it remained the beginning of the new year according to the official calendar, which was especially adhered to in the temples. However, the rise of Sothis and the beginning of the flood naturally did not pass unnoticed but remained to be recognised as the beginning of the new year in civil life, and another feast came to be celebrated at that time which is mentioned in the Canopus decree (see Appendix 12; Bonneau 365 ff.; Borghouts 4 f.). In the calendar reform of Augustus the 1st of Thot and the official beginning of the new year was fixed on the 29th of Augustus (see Merkelbach 9 f. and below n. 182). Besides this, there was another date which was often accepted as the beginning of the new year, i.e. the 1st of Tybi, which was the first day of the germination season and immediately followed to the Khoiak festival (see Borghouts 5; *LÄ* II, esp. 176, s.v. Feste; and below n. 184). Furthermore, several temples may have had their own reasons for using a different beginning of the new year (see Borghouts 5, n. 15). So the use of different calendars resulted in that seasonal feasts were held at different times, i.e. on the official calendar date and on the natural date. A similar confusion may have existed regarding the Khoiak festival. Officially it shifted through the years with the official calendar (see n. 174). But its essential connection with the inundation and germination seasons naturally remained generally known. Therefore similar rites may have

been repeated at the time of the inundation. In the Louvre Papyrus N. 3176 (5) it is stated that the procession of Osiris-Sokaris should take place during the inundation season (on the 22nd of Thot) and during the germination season (on the 22nd of Tybi), see Barguet 13 f. In a festival calendar in a private tomb at Thebes mention is made of a repeated ritual of the corn-mummy, as part of the mortuary rites, in the week before the beginning of the new year and presumably before the flood (see Bonneau 254; Borghouts 16; R. Hari, *La Tombe thébaine du père divin Neferhotep* (TT 50) (1985) 54, col. 211, pl. XXXIX; J. Assmann in *MDAIK* 40 (1984) 285, 287 f. Rituals concerning the Nile flood are attested in the months Khoiak and Tybi in the Roman period, which then fell in December and January. So it seems that rituals concerned with the Nile flood were repeated after the flood had receded in October. They would seem to be survivals from a period when the Khoiak festival actually fell during the inundation period, see n. 175. In this respect it is interesting to note that the only date which at Philae seems to refer to the great burial procession, is the 12th of Epiphi, the eleventh month of the year (see above n. 128, Junker 28). In the Ptolemaic period this date shifted through August and July, until it was fixed on the 6th of July in the Roman period (see Bonneau 373 ff.). So in the Ptolemaic period this date was never far from the beginning of the flood and it was indeed the purpose of the procession to let the Nile efflux (see Junker 28, 39 f., 57, and the quotation at the beginning of this book.

[177] See for the feasts which marked the most important stages of the inundation especially Bonneau 1971b, 56 ff., where she essentially revised her views expressed in 1964, 364 ff., and more generally Merkelbach 14 ff.; Van der Plas 179 ff.; *LÄ* IV, 498 ff., s.v. Nilopfer. It must be noted that the ancient sources concerning the rites and festivities which accompany the inundation often only connect these to the inundation in general and do not distinguish between the different stages of the inundation. However, Bonneau, *l.c.* above, has demonstrated that different rituals and feasts may be distinguished celebrating the beginning and the height of the flood. The lack of distinction in the ancient sources may be explained by assuming that the whole initial phase of the inundation from the beginning till the height of the flood at the end of August was perceived as one festive period. Thus Ptolemy IX may have spent this whole period in the area of Assuan in 115 B.C. (see Appendix 12).

[178] See Appendix 12.

[179] See for the dates of the high flood n. 173. See for the feast of the high flood especially Bonneau 1971b, 58 ff., where she corrected her view expressed in 1964, 375 ff., that the feast was connected with the beginning of the flood; Van der Plas 180 f.; *LÄ* IV, 498 ff.' s.v. Nilopfer, esp. 499. A flood level of 16 cubits was considered to be sufficient for a succesful crop. This level could be indicated on the Nilometers by the *semeion* which could be the figure of Ankh, life, an appropriate sign for a new crop, or a piece of stone encrusted in the wall (see Bonneau 1971a, 36, 63 f., n. 261). When the flood had reached the mark this was rapidly announced throughout the country (cf. Netzer, Weiss 40, fig. opp. 38). The dikes, which blocked the irrigation canals, were cut, the countryside was flooded and a period of feasting began. Since 165/166 A.D. this event is represented on Alexandrian coins by a female figure on a galloping horse, holding a palm-branch, see Bonneau 353, pl. VII; our fig. 94; *BMC Alexandria*, nos. 1293, 1294, 1381. For the symbolism of the palm-branch as a sign of triumph see above n. 165. Naturally the sovereign took part in the festivities, see e.g. the stele from Assuan discussed in Appendix 12, where it is recorded that in 115 B.C. Ptolemy IX and

Cleopatra III spent the period of the beginning of the high flood at Assuan and took part in a banquet in the temple of Satet at Elephantine. Finally he may triumphantly have sailed down the flooded Nile, see n. 156. For the general festivities see n. 180.

[180] For the feast at the time of the high flood see Bonneau 377 ff., 413 ff.; Bonneau 1971b, 61 ff.; Merkelbach 15 f.; Dunand 1973, I, 217 ff.; Van der Plas 180 f., n. 945. See for the symbolism of the lotus above Ch. III, n. 105. The people indulged in boating, fishing and fowling, in eating and drinking, in dancing, making music and making love. It is also interesting to compare the description which Herodotus II 60, gives of the Bubastia, where men and women sail in boats on the river making music and making erotic gestures. (see Bonneau 417; Lloyd I, 272 ff.; Dunand 1973 I, 85, pls. XXI–XXII; *eadem* 1979, 186 f., pl. XXVII). The feast of Bastet was an old fertility feast and in the Ptolemaic period it happened to fall very appropiately during the time of the inundation (see Appendix 12). It is this festive mood which is described by the ancient sources and which is also characteristic for many Nilotic scenes of the Roman period (see for examples n. 119; Ch. III, nn. 130, 136). The people could hunt hippopotami and crocodiles, possibly in imitation of the Pharaoh-Horus (see nn. 169, 170, and Ch. III, n. 119). During the banquets the people would dance and make love (see Bonneau 418; above Ch. III, n. 130; e.g. La Rocca, De Vos 214 (Casa di P. Cornelius Teges at Pompeii); Schefold 1962, fig. 144; our fig. 47, see H. Riad (*e.a.*) *Alexandria, An archeological Guide to the City and the Graeco-Roman Museum* (n.d.) 155, fig. 36). This festive mood was associated especially with Canopus, see nn. 168 and 196. In connection with the inundation festivities it is interesting to consider a number of terracotta figurines representing Aphrodite-Hathor (see our fig. 96; Dunand 1979, 182 f., no. 51, pl. XXXII; and in general Dunand 1973, I, 80 ff.). The goddess is shown largely naked and wearing the Hathor crown (see n. 108; Ch. III, n. 151). She holds a drinking horn and perhaps a drinking cup like those in sections 13 and 19 in the Nile Mosaic and beside her stands an amphora (cf. n. 166 and Ch. III, n. 133). Furthermore she holds a palm-branch which presumably indicates the triumph of the flood (see nn. 165, 179 and Ch. III, n. 158). Another terracotta figurine holds a drinking cup like those in section 19; in the other arm, which is damaged, she may have held a drinking horn (Dunand 1979, pl. XXXI, no. 50). At Philae Isis-Hathor is styled not only as the Lady of Bigeh but also as the Lady of Drunkenness, of love, of singing and dancing (see Dunand 1973 I, 158). At Dendera the feast of Hathor is called the feast of Drunkenness (see Alliot I, 239; Lloyd I, 276; below n. 186). These characteristics are especially appropriate for the feast of the high flood. These terracotta figurines of Isis-Hathor-Aphrodite perfectly illustrate the licentious mood of the population at the time of the inundation (see for the assimilation of Isis with Hathor and Aphrodite above nn. 108, 153, and Ch. III, n. 151). Another interesting object in this respect is the vase at Varna which we have discussed before (see fig. 45; Ch. III, nn. 134, 145, 161, 166; Ch. IV, n. 166). In view of the similarities in details with the feasting scenes in the Nile Mosaic, it is tempting to connect this vase to the inundation festivities as well. The fact that the feast on the vase takes place beside a tomb does not contradict such a suppostion because we have seen that the tomb of Osiris and tombs in general were an essential feature of Nilotic scenes and festivities (see above nn. 121, 124, figs. 50, 51). Moreover, mortuary rites, including the Khoiak ritual, and banquets at family tombs were part of the rites around the beginning of the new year and of the Nile flood and mention is made of dancing and making music, playing the

harp, making offerings and holding banquets (see n. 176; Borghouts 16; LLoyd I, 276; Stracmans 211 ff.; *LÄ* VI, 645 ff., s.v. Totenfeste). All this is very reminiscent of the decoration of the Varna vase and therefore the banquet depicted on it may perhaps be connected to the feasts of the Nile flood and the new year (see for the relation between these two feasts n. 183).

[181] Compare the examples of Nilotic scenes given in n. 180. See for the woman with the palm-branch and the *simpulum* above nn. 165,166; and compare the palm-branch which is held by the figure of the Semasia (see n. 179, fig. 94), and the palm-branch which is held by the figure of Isis-Hathor-Aphrodite discussed in n. 180, fig. 96). The latter holds a rhyton in the same way as the officer in section 13 (see n. 166).

[182] See for the substantial connection between the Khoiak festival and the inundation above nn. 94, 96; and for the symbolic character of the Nile Mosaic pp. 74, 78. For the possibility that the Khoiak ritual was repeated at the time of the inundation, see n. 176.

[183] For the beginning of the new year see n. 173. For the shifting of the 1st of Thot see n. 176, and for its fixation on the 29th of August in the Augustan calendar reform see n. 174; Bonneau 40 ff.; Merkelbach 9f. For the progress of the flood see n. 173. The maximum height of the flood was reached at Assuan around the 28th–30th of August, and in the Delta around the 7th–10th of September. So in this way the original connection between the flood and the beginning of the new year was more or less reestablished. We may wonder whether the scenery of the Nile Mosaic was also suggestive of the beginning of the new year for the ancient beholder, and – if this suggestion existed – whether it reflected a real situation. In reality the beginning of the high flood and the new year would both fall on, or around, the 29th of August at Assuan from c. 30 B.C. onwards. In the Delta the beginning of the new year would have coincided more or less with the beginning of the high flood from 80–70 B.C. So the falling together of these two events in reality occurred later than the date we have established for the Nile Mosaic, c. 110 B.C. (see Ch. II, p. 00). Still the 1st of Thot would have fallen within the period of the high flood, i.e. September, already from the middle of the 2nd century B.C. At the time that the mosaic was made it would have fallen between the 15th and 18th of September, only very shortly after the height of the flood was reached in the Delta. Therefore, it was only natural to associate the high flood with the beginning of the new year. Moreover, the substantial connection between the Nile flood, the Khoiak festival, the sovereigns, and the new year (see n. 178) was common knowledge, and in itself justification enough to depict them together (see Appendix 12). The Nile Mosaic also shows the results of the flood which in reality would not yet have been visible and is therefore symbolic in this respect (see n. 185). The same symbolic combination may be found in the Dendera relief reproduced in fig. 93, where the king and queen are depicted together with the two Nile Gods and the Field Goddess, and are taking part in the new year's procession .The latter is carrying the fruits of the flood while the new year's procession actually seems to have taken place in January, so remote from the actual inundation period (see nn. 184, 186).

[184] See for the connection of the Pharaohs with the 1st of Thot as new year's day and the beginning of the Nile flood nn. 155, 156, 179. See for the Pharaohs and the 1st of Tybi, the Nehebkaou feast, the 1st day of the germination season, above nn. 155, 176, fig. 93; Bonneau 370 ff.; Merkelbach 346, 46, 57 ff.; David 250, 255; Lloyd I, 97; Borghouts 5. Actually the sovereigns were gathered at Canopus together with many priests from all over the country to celebrate the Khoiak festival and the feast of the 1st of Tybi, when

shortly later they issued the decree of Canopus (see n. 174). It immediately followed the burial of the old Osiris on the 30th of Khoiak, when the Djed pillar was erected, which symbolised the rebirth of Osiris, and the triumphant Horus succeeded his father Osiris (see n. 128; David 248 ff.; *LÄ* I, 1100 ff., s.v. Djed pillar; cf. our fig. 81). So its symbolism was very similar to that of the 1st of Thot and it was also a favourite date for coronation jubilees. In this respect the Khoiak festival was closely related to the beginning of the Nile flood, to the civil new year's day on the 19th of July, and to the time of the high flood and the official new year's day, which in the later Ptolemaic period had shifted to September (see nn. 176, 178, 179). See for the 1st of Tybi as new year's day also n. 186.

[185] In general Roman Nilotic scenes often depict a rich vegetation, aquatic birds etc., and, especially when these scenes are of small size, one could take them simply as pictures of the easy life in the marshes of the Delta during the soft winter season, (see for the lakes near the mouthes of the Nile Herodotus II 93; LLoyd II, 377). However, the emphasis on the amount of water and the feasting of the populaton, which is characteristic for Nilotic scenes, clearly refers to the time of the high flood (see nn. 167 and 180). Moreover we have seen several cases where Isis and Sarapis, the gods of the Nile flood, are depicted in Nilotic scenes (see n. 154 and fig. 92). See for Osiris as god of the vine Ch. III, n. 135.

[186] For the Canopus decree see n. 174 and Appendix 12, and for the Bubastia, *ib.* and n. 180. See for the Dendera relief above n. 156; Borghouts 10 f.; *Dendara* VII, pl. 1174, cf. pl. 1188; and for the date in the late Ptolemaic period n. 126. It seems that the new year's procesion which is depicted in the Dendera relief was actually the feast of the 1st of Tybi, i.e. the Nehebkaou feast which immediately followed the Khoiak festival and which during the Ptolemaic period shifted through the months February and January (see nn. 155, 174, 184; Alliot 226; Merkelbach 35 f.; Borghouts 5, 12). However, the symbolism of the ceremony and the representation in the relief are obviously identical to that in the Nile Mosaic and refer to the inundation period (cf. n. 184). The Pharaohs are accompanied by the Nile Gods who take care of the inundation of Egypt and by the Field Goddess, who presents the fruits of the new vegetation. See for this symbolism and the Field Goddess further below n. 201.

[187] See for the perception of the Nile Mosaic as a kind of map, rendered in bird's eye view, of Egypt and the Nile from Aethiopia up to the Delta, above nn. 2 and 58. It has also been supposed that the lower part represents only one area, e.g. that of Elephantine and the 1st cataract (see Barthélemy 526; Dal Maso, Vighi (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 60) 203) or Memphis (Pieralisi *l.c.* above n. 57) or the Delta with Canopus (Castiglione 1954, 214 ff.; 1970, 42 ff.).

[188] See for the Alexandrian bone tesserae and coins nn. 78, 83; Ch. III, n. 103, figs. 41, 42. See for the image of Osiris Canopus nn. 78, 79, 89, and figs. 55, 72. It is believed that the name Canopus for this type of image had only been used since the beginning of the 17th century (cf. Raven 1986, 21 ff., esp. 23). Therefore, it has been assumed that this cult image in reality was not characteristic for Canopus, but could exist anywhere in Egypt (see E. Panofsky, "Canopus Deus", The Iconography of a Non-existant God, *GazBA* 57 (1961) 193 ff.; Griffith 1975, 227 ff.; Wild 101 ff., 113 ff.). However, since the publication of the bone tesserae with the inscription Canopus the special connection of the so-called Canopic image with Canopus can hardly be doubted (cf. n. 78; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 218). There are some other indications that this connection really existed (see for the following N. Genaille in *RHistRel* 200 (1983) 299 ff., esp. 305). The use of the name Canopus in antiquity,

besides being a name for the place, is attested by an inscription from Beneventum where a Canopum is mentioned, which presumably refers to a shrine (see *CIL* IX, no. 1685; Müller (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 80) 22, 26). Rufinus of Aquileia actually attributes the origin of the Canopic cult-image to Canopus (see Rufinus *Hist. Eccl.* II, 26–27; Thélamon 207 ff.). Pausanias II 4, 7, distinguishes at Corinth between a sanctuary of Sarapis and one of Sarapis of Canopus, which is only understandable if the latter refers to Osiris Canopus (Tran tam Tinh 1971, 35, n. 1; Fraser I, 253).

[189] The aspect of Egypt at the time of the inundation, notably that of a sea with the land rising from it like islands, which was a popular topic with classical authors (see above n. 60, fig. 67), will in reality have existed not so much in the rocky area of the 1st cataract and in the comparatively narrow Nile valley but in the Delta (see for the rocky character of the area of the first cataract n. 64). In the Nile valley the flood will rarely have reached a width of more than several kilometers. This did not change until after the beginning of the Delta at Memphis, where the width increased to some 200 kilometers (see Bonneau 87 f.; Lloyd I, 93). The Delta was the most important agricultural area of Egypt and produced large corn-supplies (*LÄ* I, 1043 ff., s.v. Delta; e.g. Diod. I 36,4). Also the large number of buildings in the Greek style seems more suggestive of the Delta which was more Hellenized than Central and Southern Egypt. Thus in the area of the 1st cataract all the sanctuaries of which traces remain were in the Egyptian style (see nn. 62, 65; except for the temple of Augustus in Philae, see Ch. III, n. 85). In the late period hippopotami will in reality only have been found in flat watery areas like the Fayum and the Delta and certainly not in the rocky area of the 1st cataract. Pliny *NH* XXVIII 121, states that all hippopotami which were brought to Rome came from Sais in the Delta (see *LÄ* IV, 501 ff., s.v. Nilpferd, esp. 502).

[190] See for the fact that the Nilometer and its surroundings seem to have been suggestive of Assuan above pp. 52 f. with nn. 64, 66, 68. Because of this it may seem tempting to interprete the whole lower part as the area of Assuan (see n. 187). If that is the case one could furthermore consider the possibility that the Nile Mosaic depicts the visit of Ptolemy's IX and Cleopatra III to Assuan at the time of the inundation in 115 B.C. (see Appendix 12). The date of this visit would coincide with the date which we have established for the Nile Mosaic, c. 110 B.C. (see Ch. II, p. 19). However, the pilgrimage of Ptolemy IX was not an isolated case. Pilgrimages of the sovereigns to the area of the 1st cataract were quite usual and the fact that this visit in particular is recorded must be coincidental (cf. nn. 156, 167). Given the symbolic character of the Nile Mosaic in general (see nn. 183, 186) it seems to depict not so much a particular historical event but rather the general and fundamental relationship between the sovereign and the flood. Any spectator may have associated the scene with the reigning sovereign of his day. Still, we can not deny the possibility that some historical event lay at the origin of the Nile Mosaic.

[191] It must be admitted that the area depicted in the lower part of the Nile seems to border directly on the rocky mountain landscape of the upper part, not only because of the rocks in the section with the Nilometer, but also because the Egyptian temple rises in front of the rocks in the background. However, besides in the Nilometer area, rocks are notably absent anywhere else in the lower part which for the rest depicts a flat landscape which is typical for the Delta. The combination of the Delta landscape and the presumed temple of Canopus must have been strongly suggestive of the Delta. The way the flood is rendered in the Nile Mosaic, as if spreading fan-wise

from the upper left-hand side, seems somewhat reminiscent of the way in which the inundation really spread over the Delta from Memphis (cf. n. 189). At Memphis there was traditionally an important Nilometer from which the inundation of the Delta was measured (see *LÄ* IV, 496 ff., s.v. Nilmesser, Memphis; Diod. I 36, 11; Burton 136 ff. However, the aspect of the Nilometer and its rocky surrounding is not suggestive of Memphis but of Assuan (see n. 190). Moreover, an identification with Memphis would create an abrupt transition from Memphis to Nubia. In the Nile mosaic the impression is created that the flood originates from the area of the 1st cataract.

[192] See for Canopus *LÄ* III, 320 f., s.v. Kanopus; E. Breccia, *Le rovine e i monumenti di Canopo, Monuments de l'Egypte gréco-romaine* I (1926); *PM* IV, 2; A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien d'après les texts grecs* (1970) (*MIFAO* 91) 153 ff., 273 ff., 306 ff.; Fraser, Index s.v. There probably was a temple for Sarapis already in the 1st quarter of the 3rd century B.C., because before 270 Arsinoe and the admiral Kallikrates dedicated a shrine there to Isis and Anubis which strongly suggests the existence of a Sarapis temple (see Fraser I, 271 f.; II, 406 f., nn. 526, 527. It was probably in the Greek style and surrounded by a portico (see Fraser II, 406, n. 526; 421, n. 634). The famous temple of Osiris, of which only the golden foundation plaque remains, was founded by Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice in 244 (see Fraser I, 253; II, 401, n. 486; *OGIS* 60; *BMI* 1063; Breccia 52, no. 3, pl. XVIII,3). It was in the Egyptian style and is probably depicted on the Alexandrian bone tesserae and coins discussed above (see nn. 78, 84, figs. 41, 42). See for the eagle n. 83. Because serious interest on the part of the Ptolemies in Egyptian religion began with Ptolemy III, the building of the Osiris temple may perhaps be seen as an attempt to emphasize the Egyptian Osiris aspect of Sarapis (see Ch. VII, n. 38). In the Canopus decree a temple for the sovereigns, the *theoi euergetai,* is mentioned in which the decree was issued (Budge 18, 39, l. 4; 158 f., l. 7).

[193] For the Canopus decree and the calendar reform see nn. 174, 175 and Appendix 12. For the connection of the sovereign with the Nile flood and the new year see p. 68, n. 156. For the coronation feasts at Canopus see Merkelbach 57 f.; Dunand (*o.c.* in n. 174). See for the importance of the temple of Osiris at Canopus, for the Khoiak festival and the boat processions the following quotation: "the temple of Osiris in Canopus which is not only among those most honoured by the king and all in the country, ... the procession of the sacred boat of Osiris from the temple at Herakleion to the temple of Osiris at Canopus takes place every year on the 29th of Khoiak" (Budge 30, 67, ll. 25–26; 170 f., ll. 50–51) and "when the Kikellia are celebrated in the month Khoiak before the boat procession of Osiris" (Budge 33, 77, l. 32; 176 f., l. 64). Compare for the procession also the coin depicting a boat-shaped procession wagon carrying a shrine with the figure of Osiris Canopus referred to in n. 89. See further Merkelbach 37 ff., 58 f.; Dunand 1973, I, 232 f.; Chassinat 614 f.

[194] See for this material extensively Fraser I, 263 ff.; II, 415 ff., nn. 584, 593. Osiris is not often mentioned in this period, but the character of Neilus was closely related to Osiris, just as Sarapis was (see above n. 154). Sarapis' name not only derived from Osiris (i.e. from Osiris-Apis, in Egyptian Osor-Hapy) but also his main qualities since he was the god of the underworld and the vegetation, and so of the inundation, and he is justly called the Greek interpretation of Osiris, see extensively Fraser I, 250 ff. For Osiris and Neilus see Fraser I, 263; *RÄRG* 527 f., 571; Bonneau 243, 319 ff. For the sovereigns and Osiris and Isis see above n. 155.

[195] Naturally the association of Isis and Osiris-Sarapis with the sovereigns will have existed in other sanctuaries, like those near the first

cataract (cf. e.g. n. 156), and in the Serapeum of Alexandria. There are indications that around the famous temple of Isis and Sarapis at Alexandria, there were shrines for the ruler cult, and for Harpocrates and Anubis, so a collocation of gods similar to that at Canopus (see Fraser I, 263, 268 ff.; and cf. above n. 192). However, Canopus was a famous pilgrimage and holiday resort renowned for its easy way of life and seems to have been favoured especially by the Ptolemies (see nn. 192, 196, 197, cf. also the connection with the Ptolemaic eagle which may have been characteristic for the Osiris temple of Canopus, see above p. 54, with nn. 78, 83). The relationship between the Pharaohs and Canopus appears, not only from the dedications referred to in n. 194, but also from some portrait statues which have been found at Canopus. There is a granite head of a Ptolemy (IV?) (Kyrieleis 44 f., D2, pl. 32); a colossal granite head of Ptolemy VI (Kyrieleis 59 ff., F2, pls. 48–49,1), furthermore there is a base belonging to a statue of Arsinoe III dedicated by a priest of the Nile (see Bonneau 382; Fraser II, 415, n. 584). We may also refer to other places in the Delta, such as Taposiris Magna and Parva, lying respectively to the West and the East of Alexandria. In these places there were also tombs of Osiris, and festivals were held there similar to those at Canopus (see Fraser I, 144 ff., 252; Strabo XVII 1, 14). However, Canopus became far more famous, see nn. 196, 197.

[196] See for the Canopic way of life Strabo XVII 1,16–17; Fraser I, 200; II, 238, n. 82; and further above n. 168; Ch. III, n. 139. Compare also the festivities of the Bubastia, see n. 180. In Roman literature Canopus became the symbol of Alexandrian licentiousness, see Sonnabend 53, and e.g. below n. 197.

[197] See for the assimilation of Cleopatra and Antony with Isis and Osiris above n. 158. Propertius III x 1, 39 ff. is very illuminating in this respect:

scilicet incesti meretrix regina Canopi
una Phillipeo sanguine adiusta nota
aura Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim
et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas. (cf. Sonnabend 56).

The quotation from Cassius Dio L 27, 1–2, is a summary. (cf. Sonnabend 52 f.). The denomination cymbal player refers to the Dionysiac thiasos see nn. 159, 199, Ch. III, n. 189.

[198] See n. 56; Ch. II, n. 35. For Isis and the Nile Mosaic see Witt 163. For Isis as Mistress of Egypt, see Müller 19 ff. For Isis-Tyche and the inundation see above nn. 153, 154. Compare Philostratus *Imagines* I,5, who describes a picture showing the Nile as well as Aethiopia, and the Great Deity who presides over the inundation (see above n. 52). For other examples of Isis in Nilotic landscapes see n. 154. For Isis as Lady of Aethiopia and the Abation see nn. 52, 156; Ch. III, n. 4; *LÄ* III, s.v. Isis, 186 ff., esp. 195, 198; Dunand 1973, I, 159, 205. See for Isis as giver of fruits, Müller 31 ff., 61; Bonneau 271, above n. 96. Compare the putti bringing fruit and fowl in the Sepphoris mosaic, Netzer, Weiss, fig. opp. 37. See for the horn of plenty as a symbol of *truphe* and as attribute of Isis-Tyche, and the sovereigns as benefactors and spenders of the Nile flood above nn. 83, 154, 155; compare the flowers and fruits which the Field Goddess carries in fig. 93, see n. 201. Cf. also Goyon 101 ff., quoting Pap. Louvre I, 3079, where it is stated that the vegetation begins to blossom and the people live because of the inundation, which comes forth from the mouth of the revived Osiris-Khentamenthes (cf. n. 116). Similar allegorical pictures of *truphe* can be recognised in the large Nilotic mosaics from El-Alia and Sepphoris, see resp. Foucher, fig. 4 and Netzer, Weiss, *l.c.*

[199] For the affluence, *truphe*, which Osiris-Sarapis, the Ptolemies and the Nile flood give the country see Heinen 116 ff.; Wrede 103 ff.; Tondriau 149 ff.; *idem* La tryphè. Philosophie royale ptolémaique, *REA* 50 (1948) 49 ff.; Bonneau 129 ff., esp. 131 n. 6, 271; Alföldi 4, 12; Wild 86 ff.

[200] As in the cases of the procession and the tomb of Osiris, see above pp. 59, 62 f., 68, nn. 99, 118, 124, 161, figs. 77, 84. For reliefs from Edfou and Philae see nn. 83, 113, 115, 116, 120; figs. 70, 81, 82, 83, 85 and 203.

[201] See for the Dendera relief above nn. 156, 186, and for its date in the end of the Ptolemaic period n. 126. Actually the procession depicted here does not belong to the new year's feast of the 1st of Thot but to the alternative new year's feast of the 1st of Tybi; the Nehebkaou feast, which immediately followed the Khoiak festival and at the time of the relief will have taken place in the beginning of January. However, the symbolism of both feasts is essentially identical because in both cases it is based on the inundation and the revival of the vegetation (see nn. 184, 186). See for Sekhet, the Field Goddess and the two Nile Gods *LÄ* V, 778, s.v. Sechet; J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (1985) 205 f. She is the personification of the flooded countryside, the patroness of the pastimes of the inundation, such as fishing, fowling, hippopotamus hunting, and of the gifts of the flood. Compare the putti bringing fruit and fowl in the Sepphoris mosaic, Netzer, Weiss, fig. opp. 37. In the Graeco-Roman period Sekhet and a Nile God may represent Isis and Osiris and may be associated with the sovereigns.

[202] For the symbolic character of the Nile Mosaic see above p. 74. It may actually have been the case that also in the Nile Mosaic the figures of the Nile Gods and the Field Goddess accompanied the sovereigns in the missing part of section 14 (see above pp. 65 ff., figs. 8, 23). However, in view of the realistic character of the Nile Mosaic in general it seems more probable that only real people appeared in the scene before the pavilion. Perhaps such figures were impersonated by disguised actors (cf. the famous painting from Herculaneum, the pendant to our fig. 71, with a dancer acting as Bes, or perhaps Neilus-Bes, see Bonneau 397, pl. IV; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 27 ff., pl. XXIV; Tran tam Tinh 1971, 31 ff., pl. XXVIII, fig. 41; Malaise I, 252 f., pl. 36; col. pl. *L'image du noir*, fig. 289). However, the meaning of the Nile Mosaic is quite clear without them.

[203] Another example of an Egyptian relief showing a range of thoughts related to that of the Nile Mosaic may be found in a relief of the Isis temple at Philae where are represented Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra offfering Nubian products, and exotic animals to Osiris and to Isis, Lady of the South, Philae, and the Abaton, to which is referred in Ch. III, n. 4.

Notes to chapter V

[1] See for earlier connections between Italy and Egypt G. Hölbl, *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien* (1979) (*EPRO* 62); F. de Salvia, Un ruolo apotropaico dello scarabeo egizio nel contesto culturale Graeco-arcaico di Pithekousai (Ischia), *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren* III (1978) (*EPRO* 68) 1059 ff.; see also some examples of scenes with pygmies fighting herons, from Etruria given in Ch. III, n. 17., which, however, are not really Nilotic scenes.

[2] For the various opinions with regard to the Nile Mosaic see Ch. IV, pp. 50 f.; for the problem in general Malaise II, 17 f. A religious interpretation for Egyptianising scenes in general as pictures of the sacred land of Isis has been assumed by K. Schefold, *Pompejanische Wandmalerei, Sinn und Ideengeschichte* (1952) 64 ff.; *idem* 1962, 29 ff., 47, 77 f., 197 ff.; A. Alföldi, Die

alexandrinischen Götter und die Vota Publica, *JbAChr.* 8–9 (1965–66) 52 ff., esp. 60 ff., speaking about '*Kirchenkunst* '; Witt 34 f. The decorative aspect is emphasized by M.F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* (1962) (*EPRO* 3) 34, n. 1; Whitehouse 1977 64 f.; De Vos 1980, 75 ff., 90 ff.; Rostovtzeff 1911, 71, and Boëthius, Ward Perkins 461, who have compared these scenes to the genre of Chinoiserie (cf. also Ch. IV, n. 55 and Phillips 37, 50).

[3] See for the interpretation of the lower complex as a sanctuary of Fortuna or as a group of secular buildings respectively Ch. II, pp. 11 ff. See for the assimilation of Fortuna with Isis-Tyche Ch. II, n. 36; Ch. IV, n. 153, and further pp. 89 f., nn. 49–51.

[4] See for the nymphaea Ch. II, p. 8, n. 2. It has been suggested that the grotto with the Nile Mosaic represented the cave from which the Nile arose. Such caves may be found with Sarapis sanctuaries but these are usually an inconspicuous crypt. Furthermore, such an assumption does not take into account the grotto with the Fish Mosaic (see Ch. II, p. 13, n. 41).

[5] See for the Fish Mosaic Ch. II, n. 6. None of the fish mosaics from Pompeii and Populonia, which are based on the same model as the Palestrina Fish Mosaic, shows anything other than fish and fishermen in fishing boats. If the original model showed some divine figure one would expect some reflection of it in any of the mosaics which derive from it (see Meyboom 1977, 64; *idem* 1978, 213; App. 18). The assumption that the fragmentary human figures in the foreground of the mosaic are not fishermen but shipwrecked sailors lacks all foundation (see Ch. II, n. 35).

[6] The Fish Mosaic of Praeneste shows on the shore a shrine which consists of a sacred column with an altar before it, standing within a semicircular wall. A trident, a rudder and a shield are attached to the column (see Gullini 1956, pl. VIII, 2). In the fish mosaic *AA–1941* a shrine consisting of two columns stands on the shore (see Meyboom 1977, fig. 15). The identification of the column in the Palestrina Fish Mosaic with the Pharos lighthouse of Alexandria by Marucchi 1904, 271, has rightly been rejected by Delbrück I, 59, because it has no fire on top but a golden vase (see for the Pharos Ch. IV, n. 135). This shrine has been attributed to Poseidon by Delbrück *l.c.*; Vaglieri 1909, 235; Steinmayer 98; Riemann 1986, 396 f. Lauter (1983, *o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 37) 290, suggests that it is a trophy for an admiral. Schefold 1962, 197, Coarelli 1987, 81, and Lavagne 245, associate the shrine and the Fish Mosaic with Isis Pelagia. Shrines consisting of one or more columns are a common motif in Roman landscape paintings (see Rostovtzeff 1911, 40 ff.; Peters 44 f., 145 f.; e.g. Steinmayer, pls. I–III). The objects, i.e. votive-offerings, which are attached to the column in the Fish Mosaic refer to the sea in general. The trident is an attribute of Poseidon but also indicates fishing in general (see e.g. Meyboom 1977, fig. 22). The rudder is an attribute of Isis-Tyche (see Kajanto 518 f., e.g. our fig. 97) but also suggests seafaring in general. Shields may be found with similar columns in numerous examples (see e.g. Steinmayer, pls. I, III). So the shrine may be connected to any divinity associated with the sea and it is difficult to draw a conclusion. A statue of Poseidon stands beside a bay with a fishing scene in the White Frieze from the Roman villa beneath the Villa Farnesina at Rome (see Peters, pl. XIV, fig. 45; Bragantini, De Vos (*o.c.* in Ch. VII, n. 18) pl. 216) and in the centre of a fish mosaic in the Casa dell'Orso at Pompeii (see Ch. II, n. 40). See for a statue of Isis-Fortuna near a fishing scene Bendinelli 17, pl. VII,1. See for Isis-Tyche as goddess of the sea, when she is surnamed Pelagia, Pharia, or Euploia, Ch. IV, n. 151; Ch. II, n. 40; Ph. Bruneau, Isis Pélagia à Delos, *BCH* 85 (1961) 435 ff., *BCH* 87 (1963) 301 ff.; *BCH* 98 (1974) 333 ff.; Ch. Picard, Lampes d'Isis Pélagia et Euploia de

Délos et d'ailleurs, *RA* 1962, II, 228 ff.; Müller 41 f., 61 ff.; Merkelbach 39 ff., 57 ff.; Castiglione 1970; Malaise II, 180 f, 219 f.; Dunand 1973, I, 111, 114, and for ships named Isis 187, n. 2; Meyer 256 f., 266 f. For Isis-Aphrodite see Ch. IV, n. 153. See further below n. 51.

[7] For the frequent appearance of fish and fishing scenes and Nilotic scenes in nymphaea see Ch. II, n. 40, and for the same in summer *triclinia*, baths and gardens, Whitehouse 1977, 65; De Vos 1979b, 90 ff.; Zanker 504 ff. In Rome parts of two fish mosaics have been preserved which iconographically show a close relationship to the group of Pompeian fish mosaics. The first, which may be dated to c. 90–80 B.C., comes from an unidentified building, which may have been a private baths complex or a nymphaeum, near San Lorenzo in Panisperna (see Meyboom 1977, 57, nn. 87–89; Gullini 1956, pl. VI). The other which is dated to c. 70 B.C. comes from a private baths complex near the Via Sistina (see Fiorini (*o.c.* in App. 18, n. 8) figs. 2–3, pls. IIa, IIIb. See for these further App. 18.). As Pompeian examples may be cited the summer *triclinium*-nymphaeum with a comprehensive Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges at Pompeii which we have frequently mentioned before (see Ch. IV, n. 119, fig. 86; Zanker 500 ff., figs. 33, 34); the pygmy landscapes in the summer *triclinium*-nymphaeum in the *praedia* of Julia Felix at Pompeii (see Whitehouse 1977, pls.XVIII–XX; Rakob (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 40) figs. 2–6); and the friezes with fish scenes in the summer *triclinium*-nymphaeum in the Casa del Centenario at Pompeii, see Zanker 510 ff., fig. 44; Meyboom 1977, 57, figs. 12, 14; Andreae, pl. 47. Very similar fish scenes may be found in the baths of Herculaneum (see Meyboom 1977, 57, fig. 7; A. Maiuri, *Ercolaneo* (1936) 97, fig. 75).; and in the Terme Suburbane at Pompeii (see L. Jacobelli, Terme Suburbane. Stato attuale delle conoscense, *RStPomp* 2 (1988) 202 ff., fig. 56). Furthermore we must mention the large wall-paintings with Nilotic landscapes, which we have discussed before and which decorate garden walls at Pompeii, notably those in the Casa dei Cei, the Casa d'Apolline and the Insula Occidentalis (see respectively Ch. III, n. 155, figs. 50, 51; and Ch. III, n. 23, fig. 31). All these examples from Pompeii and Herculaneum date roughly from the 3rd quarter of the 1st century A.D.

[8] See for the fertility aspect of grotto-nymphaea Webster (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 40) 163 ff., referring to Theocritus I, vii and x. Lavagne does not specifically discuss this aspect of nymphaea, but see for grottoes with springs the references in his Index s.v. Sources, e.g. 30, 74 etc. See for the symbolism of the Nile Mosaic Ch. IV, p. 78.

[9] Naples Mus. Naz., Inv. no. 10323, measuring 5,50 m and 0,45 m. See Pernice 167 f., pl. 68; Charbonneaux, fig. 167 (col.) and below Ch. VI, n. 5. Originally it decorated the threshold of the Alexander exedra, see Lancha, fig. 19; A. Nicolini, *Quadro in musaico scoperto in Pompei a di 24 ottobre 1831, descritto ed esposto in alcune tavole dimostrative da Antonio Nicolini* (1832), pl. IX; *Real Museo Borbonico* VIII (1832) pl. XLIV; Laidlaw 192 ff. The tesserae are coarser than those of the best mosaics from the Casa del Fauno and less bright. The combination with the Alexander mosaic must have produced an overcrowded effect which suggests that it is a later addition. Moreover the column bases on the threshold have been cut into in order to fit with the sections of the frieze (see Pernice 167). For these reasons it seems to have been made somewhat later than the Alexander mosaic, i.e. c. 90–80 B.C., see Meyboom 1977,73 f., n. 286, and further below n. 71, and Ch. VI, n. 5.

The existence of the hippopotamus and crocodile was not unknown in Italy but they must have been exotic animals because the first live specimens were not brought to Italy until 58 B. C., see Ch. III, nn. 114, 116. De Vos

1984, 133, supposes that the frieze as well as the other figural decorations of the Alexander exedra were meant to be allegories for the victory of good over bad. This seems, however, farfetched (cf. Ch. III, n. 74). Around the Alexander mosaic and its frame originally lay a zone of plain white mosaic, which was c. 0,55 m wide on the entrance side and c. 1,10 m at the other three sides (cf. the plate by Nicolini reproduced in Lancha). Similar plain white borders around a central mosaic in a room may be found in many contemporary examples at Delos; they usually indicate the place where the *klinai* were placed so they are a typical feature of a *triclinium* (see Bruneau, e.g. figs. 49, 55, 177, 184, 204). In the case of the Alexander exedra the white border also offers ample space for the placing of *klinai*, except of course on the entrance side. So the Alexander exedra probably served as a summer *triclinium* (see for it Pernice 93 f., Laidlaw 192 ff.). The house may have belonged to the family of the Satrii, a prominent Campanian family, see App. 17.

[10] See for this frieze Maiuri 1931, 197 ff., 235, figs. 11, 83, 84; Beyen I 54 f., 61 f.; Peters 7 ff., pl. I, fig. 1; K. Fittchen, Zur Herkunft und Entstehung des 2. Stils, *HiM* II, 539 ff., esp. 547, 563; Ling 7, pl. II, 2; De Vos 1980, 77; Tybout 340 ff., pls. 21, 22, 1. The frieze is usually dated in the beginning of the Second Style, c. 80–70 B.C., because it belongs to a stage of Second Style decoration, which precedes the actual decoration of the atrium which may be dated to 70–60 B.C. (see Beyen I, 55; Peters 7; the date given by Ling *l.c.* i.e. 60 B.C., therefore, seems somewhat late). Five fragments have been preserved of this frieze scattered over the northern, eastern and western wall of the atrium. If it also stretched along the southern wall it would have had a length of c. 39 m. The height may have been 1–1,5 m. In spite of the fact that the shape of the frieze is very different from that of the Nile Mosaic the position of the pieces of land alternatingly in the fore- and background of the watersurface and rendered in a bird's eye view is similar to that in the Nile Mosaic. Also the tall human figures with the small heads are reminiscent of some figures in the Nile Mosaic such as the women in section 8 (see our fig. 15). In the frieze an enclosure on a platform may be recognised, which resembles the temple precinct in the Nile Mosaic (see Ch. IV, n. 123). The other fragments show less Egyptian details than the Nile Mosaic but they form only a small part of the original frieze. See for the effect of a view through an open upper zone of the atrium walls on the Delta landscape Fittschen *l.c.* Della Corte ascribes the ownership of the villa to Augustus and Livia (Della Corte 354 ff.; cf. D'Arms 79, n. 32, 149, n. 153). Be that as it may, nothing is known about its owners in the Republican period.

[11] For this development in general see Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 55 ff.; Ling 7 ff.; Leach 96 ff.; Tybout 339 ff. Similar monochrome landscapes of a small size may already have appeared in an early Second Style wall in the Casa del Fauno (see A. Mau, *Gechichte der dekorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* (1882) 154, 162; 263 f.; Peters 10). The traditional date is c. 70–60 B.C., but it may perhaps be dated somewhat earlier c. 80 B.C. (see resp. Peters 10 and Tybout 52, n. 198, below Ch. VI, n. 4). Anyway, the character of these landscapes is not certain because Mau *o.c.*, 264, only speaks about figures. Good examples are the frieze panels from the small *triclinium* of the villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, now in the Museum of Mariemont (Morlanwelz-Mariemont, Belgium) which may be dated c. 50 B.C. (see Beyen I, 225 ff., fig. 86a–b; Peters 10 ff., figs. 4–5; *Les antiquités égyptiennes, grecques, étrusques, romaines et gallo-romaines du Musée de Mariemont* (1952) 149, nos. R 59–60 (98,1–2) pl. 54; *Rome, ses origines et son empire. Trésors inconnus du Musée de Mariemont* I (1966) 31, nos. 47, 48, col. pl. III; Tybout 342; V. J. Bruno, The

Mariemont fragments from Boscoreale, in (E.M. Moormann ed.) *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting.* (Proc. of the Fifth Int. Congress on Ancient Wall Painting (1994) 225 ff., pls 7, 8). In general it may be disputed whether such landcapes really are Nilotic landscapes. However, what distinquishes them from other landscapes, even if they are monochrome, is the flatness of the landscape, the large amount of water and the number of islands with shrines (cf. Ch. IV, n. 60, and our fig. 67). Moreover, some typical Egyptian elements may be found. Thus one of the frieze panels from Boscoreale shows a typical Egyptian altar (see Peters 10, cf. above Ch. IV, n. 122, figs. 48, 50, 54). In the same way in the Yellow Frieze in the Casa di Livia on the Palatine in Rome the Delta landscape is apparent from the large amount of water, the many islands with shrines, the revellers and travellers and some Egyptian details, like a dromedary, a palm-tree and, among other statues, one of Isis-Tyche, the goddess of the inundation (see Ch. III, n. 39; Ch. IV, n. 154, Peters 35 ff.; Ling 8 f.; Tybout 343, n. 1247). The same may be said of the White Frieze from the Roman Villa below the Villa Farnesina at Rome (see Tybout 343, n. 1247 and below Ch. VII, n. 18). In the Iseum of Pompeii there is a series of small panels with similar landscapes of which several but not all show tombs of the typical Egyptian type (see Elia, figs. 9–15). So, even if Egyptian elements are not obviously present in such scenes they still seem to derive from Nilotic landscapes (see Rostovtzeff 1911, 55 ff.; Tybout 342 f.). Della Corte 358 f., attributes the ownership of the villa to a Roman Fannius family but there is no evidence of who the owners were in the Republican period (Della Corte 358 f.; H. Bloch, in Lehmann, *o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 84, 214 ff.).

[12] See Tybout 342, pls. 52, 53; col. pl. in *Conaissance des Arts* 264, février 1974, pl. on 52 f. The *pinakes* form part of the wall decoration of the large *oecus* 15, see plan in Tybout, fig. 20. The assumption by Leach 104 f. that these are not *pinakes* but mirrors which reflect the coastal landscape to the west of the Villa of Oplontis is absurd. In antiquity mirrors were made of metal and not of glass and such large sizes did not exist. Furthermore, the practice of hanging large framed mirrors on walls originated in 17th century Europe. The interpretation as mirrors is perhaps inspired by the fact that the perspective of the landscapes does not agree with the position of the panels. This must, however, be attributed to ignorance of the artist. See for such framed panel paintings in general A.W. van Buren, "Pinacothecae" with Special Reference to Pompeii, *MAAR* XV (1938) 70 ff. The Egyptian character of these landscapes is not apparent and may only be surmised from the large amount of water and the alternation of water and patches of flat land which will have been suggestive of the flooded Delta (cf. n. 11). However, even if one should doubt the Nilotic character of these landscapes they suggest that such landscape paintings did exist. The ownership of the Villa of Oplontis has been ascribed to the *gens* Poppaea on very meagre grounds (see A. de Franciscis, La Villa romana di Oplontis, *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* (1975) 9 ff., esp. 15 ff.; and for the Poppaei at Pompeii, Della Corte 244 ff., Castrén 209, no. 320. Anyway, there is no evidence at all about the ownership of the villa in the Republican period.

[13] See for the frieze from the Casa del Toro (V 1, 7) Beyen II, 1, 72 ff., pl. 20 c; Schefold 1962, pl. 44, 1, both reproducing an old drawing. The original fragment in question has been preserved in the Antiquarium of Pompeii, see De Vos 1979b, 91, n. 88. The frieze ran above the main zone of the wall decoration. Its height was considerably less than that of the frieze in the Villa dei Misteri which may explain why the landscape has been reduced to a minimum. This is the earliest extant example of dwarfs in a Nilotic scene,

but compare the mosaic frieze from Privernum, see below n. 16 bis. However, we have already seen that scenes with pygmies, usually fighting cranes or herons, appeared in Central Italy much earlier (see n. 1, Ch. III. n. 17). See for the various ways in which dwarfs and pygmies may be depicted in Nilotic scenes Appendix 13. At one time the house may have been inhabited by a member of the Pontius family, an old Pompeian commercial family which had close connections with Puteoli and is also attested at Praeneste, see Della Corte 102; Castrén 206 f., no. 317.

[14] See for the frieze from the Casa dello Scultore (VIII 7, 24) A. Maiuri, Una nuova pittura nilotica a Pompei, *MemLinc*, Ser. 8, Vol. 7 (1955) 65 ff., pls. I–VI; Peters 34 f., pl. VII, fig. 24; De Vos 1980, 91, n. 88. The frieze which dates from c. 40–25 B.C. decorated the dado of the wall surrounding the peristyle. It had a height of c. 1,20 m and was c. 50 m long. It depicts negroes and pygmies with large penises, in all kinds of activities characteristic for the inundation period, like dancing, boating, and hunting. Herons and crocodiles were also depicted. The plain river landscape shows some towerhouses, huts and palm-trees.

[15] See Appendix 13.

[16] For the marsh scene in the *caldarium* of the Casa del Criptoportico see Spinazzola 466, fig. 531; Beyen II, 1, 87, 118 f., fig. 267, dating it to 30 B.C., whereas Schefold 1957, 22, incorrectly dates it to c. 70 A.D.; De Vos in *Meded Rome* 37 (1975) 70. More examples of such simple aquatic or marsh scenes exist. A frieze with an aquatic scene with fantasy birds on a yellow background may be found in the Casa di Caesius Blandus (see Beyen II,1, 243, fig. 97; Peters 27). Nilotic aquatic scenes may also be used to decorate the dado of a wall, a motive which derives from nymphaeum buildings (see Tybout 259 f.). Examples may be found in the Casa di Livia and in the Aula Isiaca, both on the Palatine in Rome (see respectively Peters 47; NSc 1957, 111 f., fig. 35, and Peters 50; Rizzo (*o.c.* in Ch. IV, n. 144) 26 ff., fig. 28; and another example in a wall-painting from Ancona, see *EAA*, Suppl. 1970, pl. opp. p. 56, which may be dated to 30 B.C.

[16 bis] For the mosaic in the Casa del Menandro see Pernice 59, pl. 23,6; col. pl. in La Rocca, De Vos 176; for the mosaic in the Casa di Paquius Proculus, see Pernice 96, pl. 412,4; Spinazzola 297, 313, fig. 355. Pernice dates the first mosaic in the period of the Second Style. The other mosaic was later added within a Third Style surround. It may have been removed from an earlier pavement and may also date from the Second Style period. H. Whitehouse dates both mosaics to the early Augustan period (see H. Whitehouse, Shipwreck on the Nile – A Greek Novel on a 'Lost' Roman Mosaic? *AJA* 89 (1985) 129 ff., 133). See for these mosaics further Ch. VI, nn. 15, 17, 21. The cabin boats are reminiscent of the one in the Nile Mosaic because of the long curved stern (cf. Ch. III, n. 112) and the hippopotamus head in the second mosaic is also reminiscent of the one in the Nile Mosaic. Recently a nilotic mosaic frieze has been discovered in a house at Privernum, see R. Righi in *AL* 6(1984) 181 ff., figs. 5–6, where it is dated to the late Republican period. It depicts a flooded landscape with a cabin-boat, dwarfs fighting crocodiles etc., and a village in the background. Several details like the boat, the ducks and fish are reminiscent of the Nile Mosaic. The style, however, is entirely different and suggests the late Republican or early Augustan period. Nevertheless F. Zevi dates it to the late 2nd century B.C., which seems improbable (see *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Quinto Appendice 1979–1992 (1993) 161, pl. XXXVI). Because of this lack of certainty it seems better to wait for a more thorough publication.

[17] A comprehensive study of Nilotic scenes in Roman art has not yet been

published. De Vos 1980, has studied the Egyptian motifs which may be found in the early Imperial period but did not include Nilotic landscapes. These are rare in the 1st half of the 1st century A.D. but they became popular again from the middle of the 1st century onwards, as may be seen from several examples which we have discussed before (see figs. 31; 34, 35, 50, 51, 86, and other examples given in n. 7). See for this genre further McDaniel; Schefold 1962, 197 ff.; Whitehouse 1977; De Vos 1979b, 91 f.; Zanker 460 ff.; Michel 83 ff.; Spano (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 85); Foucher; Balty, and *idem, o.c.* in Ch. III n. 74; H. Whitehouse, *o.c.* in n. 16 bis; Leclant, *o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 17; Lancha, and *eadem, o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 17.

[18] The absence of ritual scenes may be coincidental in the cases of the Nilotic friezes of the Villa dei Misteri and the Casa del Toro, of which only small parts have been preserved (see nn. 10, 13). They are lacking, however, in all the other examples which we have discussed and in Nilotic scenes in general as may be illustated by the case of the Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges which otherwise shows a strong similarity with regard to contents to the Nile Mosaic (see Ch. II, n. 119, and in general above n. 17). Occasionally the religious aspects of the Nile flood may be indicated by the presence of the tomb of Osiris, the source of the inundation, or tombs in general, and by statues of Isis and Sarapis, the gods of the inundation (see respectively Ch. IV, nn. 119, 120, 121, 124, figs. 50, 51, 86; and Ch. IV, n. 154, fig. 92). Representations of Egyptian rituals do not usually show Nilotic landscape surroundings, see e.g. the famous scenes from Herculaneum or the wall-paintings from the Iseum at Pompeii (see respectively figs. 75, 76, Ch. IV, n. 87, and Elia *passim*; and in general the studies of Tran tam Tinh 1964.; Tran tam Tinh 1971; Malaise I, De Vos 1980.

[19] All the motifs and varieties, which occur in later Nilotic, Egyptian or Egyptianising scenes may be found in some way in the Nile Mosaic. The only exception are pygmies and dwarfs. Earlier examples of these usually show them fighting herons and cranes (see n. 1, Ch. III, n. 17). Their appearance in Nilotic scenes may not only be explained as an attempt to offer a ridiculous and exotic picture of Egypt but also by the fact that they were considered as symbols of fertility and so could illustrate the fertilising power of the inundation. (see Appendix 13). The fact that the main motif of Nilotic and Egyptianising scenes is the inundation, explains why such characteristic Egyptian subjects as e.g. the pyramids never appear. Nilotic scenes depict the Nile flood and its aspects, and they are not topographical pictures of Egypt. See for Egypt, the Nile and the flood as amazing phenomenons, the characteristics of which are diametrically opposed to the northern Mediterranean, Herodotus II 19; Lloyd I, 142. The fact that the few early examples of Nilotic scenes from Pompeii already show such a variety in character suggests that these are only reflections of a development which took place elsewhere (cf. below n. 43).

[20] The examples of Nilotic scenes which are discussed here come from all kinds of rooms and spaces in Pompeian houses, like the atrium, (summer) *triclinium, cubiculum,* peristyle and baths, where they decorated walls and floors. All the houses which have been discussed are larger town houses and their owners must have had a considerable social status. Devotees, real or presumed, of the Egyptian cults are attested at Pompeii only from the Imperial period onwards, see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 41 ff.; Malaise II, 82 ff. Only in the case of the Casa del Fauno do we know that its owners might have belonged to the families of the Satrii or the Spurii, both old Pompeian families, see App. 17. At Delos a dedication has been preserved to Sarapis by a Roman Lucius Spurius from the 2nd half of the 2nd century (see Malaise II,

295, no. 69). It seems unlikely that this person belonged to the Pompeian family because the family name derives from a surname and so more families with this name may have existed. But even if there was a connection, a dedication to Sarapis by a member of the family at Delos could hardly have had a connection with the presence of the purely decorative Nilotic frieze in the Casa del Fauno from 90–80 B.C. (see n. 9). Nevertheless, the first Iseum of Pompeii had already been established already c. 100 B.C., so there must have been devotees at that time. These may, however, have been foreign merchants and slaves (see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 30 f.).

[21] Thus a good parallel for the Nilotic frieze in the Villa dei Misteri (see n. 10) may be found in the case of the Odyssey frieze from the Esquiline in Rome which dates from 50–30 B.C. (see Beyen II, 1, 260 ff., figs. 102–108; B. Andreae, Der Zyklus der Odysseefresken im Vatikan, *RM* 69 (1962) 106 ff.; Von Blanckenhagen 1963, 100 ff., pls. 44–53). It also presented an outdoor view in the upper zone of the wall and presumably bordered the room. The composition with a bird's eye view and a strip of sky above is strikingly similar to that of the Nilotic frieze in the Villa dei Misteri, see n. 10. A good parallel for the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Toro (see n. 13) may be found in a frieze depicting dwarfs acting as mythological heroes in the baths of the Casa del Menandro, dating from the same period (see A. Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria* (1932) 127 ff., figs. 59 ff.; Beyen II,1, 146 ff., figs. 59, 61a). A parallel for the Nilotic mosaic from the threshold of the Alexander exedra in the Casa del fauno (see n. 9, fig. 28) may be found in a mosaic frieze showing a garland decorated with theatrical masks and headbands for banqueteers which decorated the entrance to the atrium of the Casa del Fauno (see Pernice 90, 173, pls. 73, 74, and above Ch. III, n. 132). The purely decorative character of the Yellow Frieze in the Casa di Livia at Rome appears from the fact that in a parallel room with a similar wall decoration a similar yellow frieze is visible in the same position, but the latter only shows grotesque figures and ornaments (see n. 11, and Rizzo, figs. 8, 9, pls. B and IV; Beyen II, 1, figs. 230, 231). With regard to the yellow background, both these friezes are reminiscent of the aquatic frieze in the Casa di Caesius Blandus, which on the other walls of the room, was continued by a garland on a yellow background (see n. 16 and Beyen II, 1, figs. 96–70).

[22] See Whitehouse 1977, 65; De Vos 1980, 75 ff., esp. 78 f., who with regard to the Egyptian motifs used in the early Imperial period concludes that these are mainly exotic ornaments appealing to a cosmopolitan taste. In the period of the Fourth Style larger Nilotic landscapes became popular again and they were used, especially though not exclusively, for outdoor spaces like gardens, summer *triclinia* and the like (see De Vos 1979b, 91 f.; above nn. 7, 17, and our figs. 31, 34, 35, 50, 51, 86). Cf. the fact that of the c. 20 Nilotic scenes which have been preserved from the period of the Fourth Style at Pompeii more than 3/4 may be found in gardens, peristyles, rooms opening onto gardens, baths and nymphaea. See also P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains* (1969^2) 296 ff., 304 ff.; Zanker 470 ff.

[23] See Appendix 14.

[24] See Appendix 14.

[25] See Appendix 15.

[26] See Appendix 14.

[27] For the introduction of the Egyptian cults, which were mainly concerned with Isis and Sarapis, Anubis and Harpocrates, in Italy and Rome, see Vidman 95 ff.; Malaise II, 255 ff., Coarelli 1984, 461 ff., 472. In the original stage the Egyptian cults will have been practised by Egyptians who

occasionally stayed at Rome, as in the case of the Alexandrian Demetrius the *topographus* who accomodated Ptolemy VI when the latter fled to Rome in 164/163 B.C. (see below n. 31). At Delos the cult of Sarapis was already introduced at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. by a Greek priest from Memphis named Apollonios (see Dunand 1973 II, 85 ff.; Malaise II, 275 f.). The second stage was that sanctuaries were built for these cults which, however, remained private. Thus, the Serapeum A at Delos was built in the later part of the 3rd century by Apollonios, grandson of the former, and before the end of the century Serapea B and C had been built (see for the Serapea at Delos P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* (1916); Dunand 1973 II, 83 ff.; Malaise II, 275 ff.). Originally these sanctuaries served Alexandrian merchants and sailors but soon other foreigners and the local population became interested. Thus already in the beginning of the 2nd century Italians made dedications to Sarapis and Isis (see Vidman 96; Malaise I, 292, no. 49, 295, no. 69 bis). The Italian interest in the Egyptian cults at Delos will have increased together with the flourishing of the trade with Delos, especially when it became the trading port for the Eastern Mediterranean in 166 B.C. As early as 164 the Senate ordered the Athenian administration of the island to allow the priest Demetrius, presumably a descendant of Apollonios mentioned above, to reopen his Serapeum and to practise his cult untroubled (see R.K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus consulta and epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (1969) 37 ff.; Dunand 1973 II, 91 f.; Sherk (*o.c.* in Appendix 16, n. 3) 27, no. 28). The Roman trade with Delos increased enormously after the destruction of Corinth in 146 and after Asia had become a Roman province. From then on most of the merchandise from the Eastern Medditerranean and especially enormous numbers of slaves came to Italy via Delos (see Strabo XIV 5, 2; Fraser I, 155 ff.; Vidmann 95 ff.; Malaise II, 269 ff.; F. Coarelli, "L'agora des Italiens" à Delo: il mercato degli schiavi, in *Delo e l'Italia* (1982) 119 ff. Naturally this attracted numerous merchants from Rome and Italy to Delos and in the course of time these made many dedications to the Egyptian gods especially around the turn of the century (see Malaise II, 283 ff., listing 114 dedications). See for the Italians and Romans in the Eastern Mediterranean n. 29. A result of the familiarisation of the Italian merchants with the Egyptian cults and the coming to Italy of merchants from the East and large numbers of slaves was the establishment of sanctuaries for the Egyptian gods at Puteoli, Pompeii and Rome (see for these n. 28). In the founding of these sanctuaries corporations may have been instrumental, like the Collegium Capitolinorum, possibly a corporation of slave traders, and the Collegium Pastoforum, a corporation of adherents of the Egyptian cults which was founded in Rome in the time of Sulla, c. 80 B.C. (see for the Iseum of Rome, Coarelli 1984, 471, and below n. 28; see for the Pastofori Malaise II, 128 f., 362 ff.; and for the case of Puteoli, Coarelli (1982, *o.c.* above) 138 f.). See for these merchants further n. 29. The third and last phase of the spread of the Egyptian cults was when they were officially recognised and public cults were established. This occurred in Rome for the first time, albeit with little success, in 43 B.C. (see Malaise II, 378 ff.; I, 187 ff.; Coarelli 1982, *o.c.* above, 63 f.; *idem* 1984, 472 ff.; and below n. 38).

[28] For Puteoli as the main harbour for Central Italy see Strabo V 4, 5–7; Fraser I, 156 ff., 186 ff.; Musti; Rickman 47, 128 ff. Puteoli had already served as harbour for Rome since the Second Punic War because Ostia could not accomodate large ships until an adequate harbour was built by Claudius. Merchandise for Rome, like corn, was transported in smaller vessels from Puteoli to Ostia or went over land (see Rickmann 18, 47). There was already

a Serapeum at Puteoli in the 2nd century B.C. This appears from the famous aedile inscription from 105 B.C., *Lex parieti faciendo.* This inscription refers to rebuilding operations in the area between the front of the Serapeum and the harbour quay of Puteoli. It seems that this area, which was decorated with shrines, statues and altars, was to serve as a kind of fore-court to the Serapeum. This suggests that the Serapeum had already existed for some time (see *CIL* X, 1781; and extensively Tran tam Tinh 1972, 3 ff., figs. 32, 33; below n. 36). The Iseum on the Capitol at Rome may have been founded around 100 B.C. (see Malaise I, 184 ff.; F. Coarelli, I monumenti dei culti orientali in Roma, in (eds. U. Bianchi, M. J. Vermaseren) *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' impero romano* (1982) (*EPRO* 92) 33 ff., 59 ff., esp. 60 f.; Coarelli 1984, 471; for the circumstances cf. n. 27). The Iseum at Pompeii also seems to have been founded around 100 B.C., see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 30 ff; Malaise I, 275.

[29] The traditional point of view was that the Egyptian cults, like the Eastern cults in general, originally appealed especially to the large masses of slaves, freedmen and unpriviliged people, who had come to Italy since the 2nd half of the 2nd century, and from which rose merchants of new wealth (see already F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (1906); further Alföldi 1 ff., and *ll.cc.* in nn. 2 and Appendix 14, n. 1; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 19 ff.; Malaise II, 67, 258 f., 365 ff.; cf. also H.S. Versnel, Römische Religion und religiöser Umbruch in (ed. M. Vermaseren) *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* (1981) (*EPRO* 93) 41 ff., esp. 56 ff., 61 ff.). More recently this view has been modified in so far that the interest and participation in these cults by people of certain wealth, usually merchants, and also of Greek and Italian origin, seems to have been larger than it had been assumed. Among the dedicators to the Egyptian gods in the eastern Mediterranean the number of slaves is small, whereas a large number is formed by persons of a certain wealth as appears already from the costs of their dedications. The Egyptian cults were brought to the ports of the Mediterranean by merchants, often united in corporations, who founded settlements in these ports and also had sufficient means to support sanctuaries for their gods in these ports. From these sanctuaries the cults spread among other foreigners and among the local population (see for examples nn. 35–37; see for the Near East in general Dunand 1973, II; *eadem,* Cultes égyptiens hors d'Egypte, Essai d'analyse des conditions de leur diffusion; in *Réligions, pouvoir rapports sociaux* (1980) 69 ff., esp. 116; *eadem,* Cultes égyptiens hors d'Egypte, *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (1983) 75 ff., esp. 83 f.). See for Italians and Romans in the Near East and especially at Delos, J. Hatzfeld, Les Italiens résidants à Délos mentionnés dans les inscriptions de l'ile, *BCH* 36 (1912) 5 ff.; A.J.N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (1966) 99 ff.; Malaise II, 269 ff.; J. H. Flambard, Observations sur la nature des *magistri* Italiens de Délos, in *Delo e l'Italia,* 67 ff.; H. Solin, Appunti sull'onomastica romana a Delos, in *Delo e l'Italia,* 101 ff.; Coarelli 1984, 470 f., who supposes that Isis was especially the patron goddess of the slave traders. The Italian merchants included large-scale entrepreneurs, the *negotiatores,* and the actual merchants and shippers, *mercatores* and *navicularii,* who formed a commercial class of traders, shippers, shopkeepers and the like (see Wilson 158 f.). They often had connections with the *negotiatores* who were closely related with money lending and banking. The *negotiatores* were often members of the municipal aristocracies who could maintain contacts with members of the senatorial class at Rome (see Wilson 5 f.,107 ff., 156 f.; Malaise II, 264 ff.; Wiseman (*o.c.* in n. 28) 65 ff.; J. H. D'Arms, Commerce and Social Standing in ancient Rome (1981) 24 ff.; Ö. Wikander, Senators and Equites II.

The Aristocracy as Agents of Production, *OpRom* 16 (1987) 137 ff.). Compare the examples of the Puteolan families of the Cluvii, and the Vestorii, members of which were friends of Pompey and Cicero, and the Granii who were related to Marius. Members of these *gentes* are attested at Delos, where they made dedications to the Egyptian gods (see below nn. 34, 35, 37; Ch. VI, n. 2). Several Roman mint masters came from the municipal aristocracies and these may have maintained relations with merchants from the East (see above n. 24; Coarelli 1984, 471, n. 86; Wiseman (*o.c.* in n. 24) 145 ff., and the Prosopography). In general however, as far as our period is concerned, interest in the Egyptian gods will have existed mainly with the merchants and shippers and will not have reached beyond the social level of the *negotiatores.* The political interest of the mass of merchants and shippers and of a large part of the *negotiatores* will have been with the *populares* (see Malaise II, 67 ff., 258 f., 363 ff.; Coarelli 1984, 470 f., n. 86; 473 ff.; below n. 38).

[30] See for the relations between Ptolemaic Egypt and Rome in general Fraser I, 89 ff., 150 ff.; Malaise II, 315 ff.; H. Heinen, Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Ptolemäerreich von ihren Anfangen bis zum Tag von Eleusis (273–168 v. Chr.), *ANRW* I, 1 (1972) 633 ff.; Van 't Dack, 383 ff. The attested individuals who travelled between Italy and Alexandria are listed by W. Peremans, E. Van 't Dack, Sur les rapports de Rome avec les Lagides, *ANRW* I,1 (1972) 660 ff.

[31] See for these relations Appendix 16.

[32] Compare the descriptions in Herodotus II, Agatharchides, Diodorus I, and Strabo XIII, to which we have frequently referred, see Ch. III, n. 205. Compare also the lost description of the land and the customs of the Egyptians by Hecataeus of Abdera, of which substantial excerpts have been preserved in Diodorus I, and the lost work "A journey up-river from Memphis" by Amometus, which seems to have had an entertaining character (see resp. Fraser I, 496 ff., and 521, and below Ch. VII, n. 21). It is interesting that such an early writer as Plautus, *Pseudolus* II, 11, 14, refers to colourful Alexandrian carpets, which consequently must have been quite common at that time, i.e. around 200 B.C. (see below Ch. VII, n. 3). See for Demetrius the *topographus* n. 31. The nature of his art has been discussed because the word *topographus* can refer to a topographical writer as well as to a topographical painter (see Fraser II, 213, n. 221; Ling 14, n. 55). However, Valerius Maximus V 1, 1, clearly calls him an Alexandrian painter. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* I 1, 5, uses the word topography with the meaning of a pictorial art (see App. 21). The name *topographus* is presumably used for a landscape painter at Delos (see J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin Épigraphique* (1983) no. 475; *SEG* XXXIII, 632; Beyen II, 311, n. 2; Tybout 344, n. 1250, with earlier literature). The nature of his art shall be discussed in Appendix 21. See for Serapion Pliny *NH,* XXXV 112; *EAA* VII 207, s.v. Serapion, and for scenography Tybout 195 f. It has been suggested that he was an Alexandrian painter who contributed to the development of the Second Style in Roman wall-painting (see Schefold 1962, 31, 36, and *idem* in *Antidoron E. Salin* (1962) 181). His name, however, can not be used as an indication for a direct Alexandrian origin, because it was very common in the Hellenistic world (see Solin, *o.c.* in n. 29, 107). So he could have come from anywhere including Campania and Rome. Nevertheless his name suggests some Alexandrian connection at least in origin (cf. a Serapion who was one of the envoys of Ptolemy XII, see Van 't Dack (*o.c.* in n. 30) 400; and compare Antony being nicknamed Serapion by Augustus, see Ch. IV, p. 77, n. 197). The evidence of the presence of Egyptians in Italy strongly increases from the 2nd quarter of the 1st

century B.C., and mention is made of bankers, surgeons, actors, musicians, fortune tellers, soldiers, slaves, etc. (see Fraser I, 800; Malaise II, 317 ff.; De Vos 1980, 78).

[33] Several examples of objects imported from Egypt have been preserved at Pompeii including a fragment of a stele from the reign of Psammetichus II from Heliopolis and an early Ptolemaic stele presumably from Heracleopolis Magna (see resp. Tran tam Tinh 1964, 31, n. 7; *PM* VII, 418; and Tran tam Tinh 1964, 174, no. 143; *PM* VII, 418; see further Malaise I, 274; *Alla Ricerca di Iside* 78 ff., nos. 6, 1–3). See for the mosaic in the Antiquarium Communale, Blake 104, pl. 20, fig. 3; Whitehouse 95, n. 13. Surprisingly this interesting mosaic is not included in Helbig II, nor are the fragments of the fish mosaic from San Lorenzo in Panisperna (see App. 18). The reason is perhaps that these mosaics were not on public view but were kept in the director's office. The mosaic was excavated in the area of the Via Nazionale at Rome and presumably dates from the 3rd century A.D. In spite of its late date it shares with the Nile Mosaic the unusual descriptive and detailed character. The remaining fragment shows a festive crowd and the feeding of a crocodile. A similar scene may be found on a sculptured base in the Vatican Museum, see Malaise I, 168 f., no. 310; Helbig I, 421, no. 529; Bonneau 354 f. See for the visit of Mummius Appendix 16, n. 12 and for the sacred crocodiles of the temple of Petesuchos at Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis, Dunand 1973 I, 131 ff.; *LÄ* III, 1254 s.v. Medinet el-Fajjum. See for the painted panel paintings of Oplontis above n. 12, fig. 98.

[34] The shipping route between Alexandria and Italy went either to the East along the Asiatic coast, to Greece, and then to southern Italy, or to the West along the African Coast and Sicily (see Rickmann 124, 128 ff.; Fraser I, 150 ff., 160 ff.). The ' western ' route is not so well attested as a commercial route as the 'eastern' but there is evidence that it was used more intensively than is thought. There were already intensive connections between Alexandria and Sicily, especially Syracuse, in the 3rd century (see Fraser I, 154 ff.; Malaise II, 261 ff.; E. Manni, Teossena, Una principessa fra Alessandria e Siracusa, *Alessandria* III, 480 ff.; A. Tullio, Due sarcofagi tardo-ellenistici da Cefalù, *Alessandria* III 598 ff., esp. 609). The same route was used for Alexandrian contacts with Carthage and southern Italy (see Fraser I, 154; A.M. Bisi Ingrassia, Influenze Alessandrine sull'arte punica, *Alessandria* III, 835 ff.; 135 ff.; Parlasca 135 ff.; Pfrommer *o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 133). There had been a regular connection between Syracuse and Puteoli since the 3rd century which served, among other things, the Sicilian corn supply to Rome and in the Second Punic War Puteoli became Rome's official harbour, see Malaise II, 262 ff., Musti 200. Naturally the 'western' route between Alexandria and Puteoli will have been used by everyone who had no interest in Delos and Asia. This will undoubtedly have been the case for the contacts between Rome and Alexandria which we have discussed in Appendix 16 (cf. Fraser 150 ff.; Musti 200). The direct connection between Alexandria and Puteoli is also suggested by Cicero, *Att.* 4, 10, 1 (55 B.C.): *Puteolis magnus est rumor Ptolemaeum esse in regno*' (see Sonnabend 33). One may compare the voyage which Eudoxus of Cyzicus undertook around the Mediterranean presumably in 117 B.C., a stage of which went from Alexandria to Puteoli (see Strabo II 3,4 (C 99); Fraser I, 156, 182 ff., Musti 206 f.). Around the same time Lucilius called Puteoli a minor Delos, which implies that its character was that of a major commercial town (Luc. fr. 23; Fraser I, 156; II, 272, n. 189). The Egyptian goods which were exported from Alexandria to Italy were papyrus, linen, glass and vinegar. To these may be added luxury good. Plautus, *Pseudolus* I 11, 14, referred already around 200 B.C. to Alexandrian carpets

in Italy (see further Ch. VII, n. 3). In this connection is also of interest the import from Alexandria of 'blue frit', which was *inter alia* used for the production of blue stucco paint, in which a member of the Vestorii family of Puteoli was specialised. Another Vestorius was a well-known banker at Puteoli and a friend of Cicero (see Pliny *NH* XXXIII 162; Fraser I, 156; II, 272, nn. 195, 196; D'Arms 52 ff.; J. Andriau, A propos de la vie financière à Pouzzoles: Cluvius et Vestorius, in *Les bourgeoisies municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* (1983) 9 ff.); A. Lucas, J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (1962) 340 ff.; Harris (*o.c.* Ch. III, n. 4) 340 f.; S. Augusti, *I colori pompeiani* (1967) 62 ff.; R. Baistrocchi, Ricerche spettrofotometriche sul 'blue egiziano', *StEtr* 34 (1966) 261 ff.; M.S. Tite *et al.* The technology of Egyptian Blue, in (M. Bimson, I.C. Freestone eds.) *Early Vitreous Materials* (1987) 39 ff. For the possible import of bronzes and glass see Ch. VI, n. 17. Other luxury goods, and slaves, came from the East by way of Alexandria. From the end of the 2nd century onwards, luxury goods and spices from Aethiopia and even from India came more frequently along the Red Sea connection which had been reopened in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. (see Fraser I, 156; II, 271, n. 194; Musti 206, 209; for the spice trade to the Somali Coast see especially the case of Gnaios in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., referred to in Appendix 16, n. 10; in 110/109 we find mention of an *epistrategus* and *strategus* of the Thebaid, the Red Sea and the Indian Sea, see Fraser I, 128). It would be tempting to assume that Egyptian corn was also exported to Italy in this period, compare the Roman demand for Egyptian corn in the time that Hannibal devastated Italy (Appendix 16, n. 2). However, there is no evidence that then or later in the Republican period any corn was imported into Italy from Alexandria on a regular base, and the famous Alexandrian corn fleets sailing to Puteoli, and later to Ostia, were a feature of the Imperial period (see Fraser I, 155; II, 270, nn. 186, 187; Musti 208; Rickmann 67, 123 f.). See for the trade in Alexandrian luxury goods further De Vos 1980, 91 ff. Anyway, at the time of Strabo Alexandria and Puteoli had become the two terminal points of a well-known trade route, as appears from his famous passage stating that the merchant-ships sail much more heavily loaded from Alexandria to Puteoli than back (Strabo XVII 1,7; Fraser I, 156). From the evidence we have considered here it appears that, although the connection with Delos may strongly have stimulated the rise of Puteoli as a commercial port, this was by no means its only trade connection. Puteoli must have had intensive connections with Sicily, which was a Roman province, and with Egypt in the 2nd cent. B.C. for political, cultural and commercial purposes (cf. Musti 200; Rickmann 47). See also below n. 44.

[35] As an illustrative example of a succesful international merchant we can introduce a character like Philostratus of Ascalon, with his cosmopolitan background, wide business relations and religious activity. He was born at Ascalon in Syria, had become a citizen of Naples, and between 130 and 90 was active as a banker at Delos. There he contributed to the sanctuaries of the Syrian gods, donated a portico and an exedra to the "Agora des Italiens", and was honoured with a statue by three members, or freedmen, of the Roman *gens* Egnatia (see for him G. Mancinetti Santamaria, Filostrato di Ascalona, banchiere a Delo; in *Delo e l'Italia,* 79 ff., esp. 83; M. Leiwo, Philostratos of Ascalon, his Bank, his Connections and Naples in c. 130–90 B.C., *Athenaeum* 67 (1989) 575 ff., esp. 580 ff.; *I. Délos* 1724; and for the Egnatii Ö. Wikander, Senators and equites IV, The Egnatii, *OpRom* 18(1990) 207 ff.). See for the presence of Italians and Romans at Delos the general literature in n. 29. As examples of these Italian cosmopolitan commercial families we may mention the Roman Egnatii whose members and/or freedmen are

frequently attested at Delos, and whose dedication to Philostratus of Ascalon we have just seen (see Hatzfeld, *o.c.* in n. 29, 33 ff., listing some 10 cases where an Egnatius is attested at Delos; see further Mancinetti Santamaria *o.c.* 83, n. 30; *RE* V, 1993 ff., s.v. Egnatius). From Puteoli we may mention the Cluvii and the Granii, well-known families of *negotiatores*, who are described as participating in the slave trade at Delos and Rome (see nn. 29, 37; D'Arms 52 ff.; Musti 200; Coarelli (1982, *o.c.* in n. 27) 138 f.; *idem* (*o.c.* in *Soteriologia* quoted in n. 28) 51; *RE* IV, 119 ff., s.v. Cluvius; *RE* VII, 1817 ff., s.v. Granius; Andriau *o.c.* in n. 34; Hatzfeld 40 f., listing 13 Granii at Delos). See for the mixed population of Puteoli in general Musti 199 f. See for Praenestines at Delos below n. 48. Dedication inscriptions to the Egyptian gods, made by members or freedmen of many of such families, have been preserved at Delos, as in the case of the Egnatii and the Granii (see below n. 37 and in general Malaise II, 282 ff.).

[36] For the general background see n. 29. It seems probable that as early as 127 B.C. a Roman settlement existed not only at Delos but also at Alexandria. This may be deduced from the dedication of an honorary statue at Delos for General Lochus who had recaptured Alexandria for Ptolemy VIII after one of his many expulsions from the city. The dedicators were Roman shippers and merchants (*naukleroi kai emporoi* = *navicularii et mercatores)* who had benefited from this recapture. It is only logical that these traders not only had a settlement at Delos but also at the other end of the trade route, at Alexandria, which seems to have been safeguarded by Lochus' action (see *I. Délos* 1526; Fraser I, 155 f.; II, 270, nn. 190,191, with other similar evidence for the presence of Romans at Alexandria). Greeks from Egypt had already founded three Serapea at Delos in the 3rd century B.C. and a large number of dedications to the Egyptian gods (i.e. 114) by Italians, including Romans and men from Puteoli, have been preserved from the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century at Delos (see for the Serapea n. 27 and for the dedications n. 37). The Serapeum at Puteoli is mentioned in 105 B.C., but it may have been considerably older if we consider that as early as at the beginning of the 2nd century Campanians made dedications to Sarapis at Delos and that at Sicily the cult of Isis and Sarapis is already attested around 200 B.C. (see n. 28 for the Serapeum of Puteoli ; n. 37 for the case of Minatus Staius from Cumae at Delos; n. 44 for Sicily).

[37] A large number of dedications to the Egyptian gods by Italians at Delos has been preserved dating from the beginning of the 2nd until into the 1st century B.C., see Malaise II, 282 ff., listing 114 cases. An early example is the donation of a statue of Sarapis by Minatus Staius Minati, a Roman citizen from Cumae, dating from the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. The Staii were an old Sabellian *gens* in Campania which is already found at Delos in the 3rd century (see Malaise II, 296f., no. 69 bis, and for the Staii *RE* 2. Reihe III, 2136 ff., s.v. Staius; Hatzfeld (*o.c.* in n. 29) 80 f.; Castrén 224, no. 388). For other examples we may point to three dedications by members or freedmen of the Granii, a well-known *gens* of *negotiatores* from Puteoli, dating from 166 until the beginning of the 1st century (see for the family nn. 29, 35 and for the dedicatons Malaise II, 289: no. 35, Lucius Granius Publii, Roman, made a dedication in the Serapeum A, c. 166; no. 34, Licinius Granius Gaii made a dedication to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis in the temple of Isis in 131; no. 36, Publius Granius contributed to the Serapeum C in the beginning of the 1st century). Another example is a dedication made c. 100 B.C. to Sarapis, Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Hermes by Gnaeus Egnatius Gnai Heliodorus, a relative or freedman of the Egnatii whom we have already met as one of the dedicators of the honorary statue for Philo-

stratos of Ascalon, whereas somewhat later a Numerius Egnatius contributed to the Serapeum C (see n. 35, and Malaise II, 287, nos. 25 and 26).

[38] Naturally this must be seen in a general way and dividing lines can not be drawn sharply. Large *negotiatores* often sided with Sulla who also allowed the foundation of the Collegium Pastoforum (see above n. 27; Malaise II, 362 f.). We have also seen members of municipal aristocracies, or their freedmen (the distinction is not always clear) making dedications to the Egyptian gods at Delos in the 2nd century B.C. (see n. 37 and cf. n. 39). There are even a few examples of members of the senatorial class who may have been interested in the Egyptian cults. The well-known Metellus Pius built a private shrine for Isis around 70 B.C., which was known as the shrine of Isis Metellina (see Malaise II, 167 ff.; Coarelli (1982, *o.c.* in n. 27) 53 ff.;1984, 472 f.; and for Metellus also Vidman 100). Also some members of the Piso family may have had some interest in the cult of Isis (see Coarelli 1984, 472 f., and above n. 24). In general, however, the Egyptian cults remained associated with the lower classes who sided with the *populares* and therefore, the cult remained private in Rome, and was even heavily persecuted from time to time until in 43 B.C. the public cult of Isis was established, and even after that, until in the 1st century A.D. the first public sanctuary was built (see Malaise II, 258 f., 363 ff.; Coarelli (1982, *o.c.* in n. 27) 63 f.; 1984, 472 ff.).

[39] Between these two extremes there will have been a scale of possibilities depending on the origin and the social position of each individual and on the place where and the time when he lived. At Rome the introduction of the Egyptian cults met with strong opposition on the part of the Senate and involved a considerable tumult (see the literature given in nn. 29, 38). In general, however, we may assume a growing familiarity with and acceptance of the Egyptian cults which led to a full acceptance in the Imperial period. On Delos, far away from the supervision of the Senate, Romans may have felt more free to show interest in the Eastern cults (cf. Malaise II, 282). However, we may wonder in how far the dedications to the Egyptian gods at Delos (see n. 37) are tokens of individual devotion to these gods or merely a combination of syncretistic religious views and a sound feeling for foreign relations and business.

[40] See for the arbitrary way in which Nilotic scenes appear to have been used in Pompeian houses nn. 20, 21. See for religious scenes in general n. 18. Religious pictures with Egyptian gods may also be found in Pompeian houses but these usually remain restricted to the façades of shops and *lararia* and date from the Imperial period (see Fröhlich 41 f., 155 f., and for some examples below n. 49). Religious scenes may also be found on the façades of shops (see Spinazzola I, 163 ff., 189 ff., e.g. figs. 221, 222; and references to Fröhlich given in n. 49). In the case of our fig. 92, from the Casa delle Amazzoni the Egyptian gods are placed in an inundation scene in an emphatical way, which is quite unusual, see Ch. IV, n. 154. The inundation scene belongs to the genre of large garden paintings (cf. n. 7, and figs. 29, 50, 51). In this case it seems to be combined with a *lararium* dedicated to the Egyptian gods (see Fröhlich 275, no. L58).

[41] For the enormous increase in wealth in the 2nd half of the 2nd century B. C. see n. 27 and Ch. II, n. 30. In the same period many Romans and Latins, including many from Praeneste, established themselves in Campania, on the Bay of Naples and, among other places Pompeii (see D'Arms 1 ff.; Castrén 39; W. Johannowsky, La situazione in Campania, in *HiM*, II, 267 ff.; Gros (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 30) 41 ff.; and below n. 48). The wealthy citizens of Pompeii enlarged and embellished their old-fashioned

atrium houses with sumptuous peristyles and decorations like mosaics, as in the case of the Casa del Fauno. These seem to be modelled after aristocratic mansions of the Hellenistic East like those of Pella, see H. Lauter, in *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* (1975) 148. The direct models will have been the villas which the Roman aristocracy had begun to build in Campania since the middle of the 2nd century B.C., such as the villa of Scipio Aemilianus near Formia, the villa of his mother-in-law Cornelia at Misenum and the sumptuous villa which Marius built at Misenum (see D'Arms 6 ff.; Johannowsky, *o.c.*, 276 f.; Zanker 467). These have not been preserved but we may get an impression of them from very rich villas which were built only slightly later such as the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum and the Villa of Oplontis (see M.R. Woicik, *La Villa dei Papiri ad Ercolano* (1986); and for Oplontis n. 12). The rich decorations of the Roman villas in Campania were already criticized by Cato, around 150 B.C., see D'Arms 10.

[42] Cf. Fittchen, *l.c.* in n. 10, with regard to the Nilotic frieze in the atrium of the Villa dei Misteri. For possible evidence of Alexandrian connections from the Casa del Fauno, see Ch. VI, n. 17. One can imagine that Nilotic scenes decorated the villas of Scipio Aemilianus, who had led a delegation to Egypt, and his friends, see nn. 41 and Appendix 16, n. 8. A similar decorative fashion may already have existed at Alexandria, see Ch. VII, p. 100. See for the decorative fashion of Nilotic scenes and Egyptian motifs in Italy n. 43, the examples given in nn. 7, 17, and in general De Vos 1980, 75 ff.

[43] See for the control-marks and for the discussion of their possible meaning Appendix 14. We have seen there that, in general, control-marks were taken from common aspects of daily life. Therefore we can only conclude that Egyptian motifs must have been quite common at the time. Ritual objects like the Isis head-gear and the sistrum must have spread with the Egyptian cults and so will have reached Italy in the course of the 2nd century B.C. (cf. n. 27). The other motifs, like the Nilotic animals, are features of Nilotic scenes (see n. 23). We must take notice of the fact that characteristic Nilotic animals like the crocodile and the hippopotamus, which appear as control-marks in 85, 79 and 64 B.C., were shown alive in Rome for the first time during the games of Scaurus in 58 B.C. (see Ch. VI, nn. 114, 116; Pliny *NH* VIII 96; Toynbee 128 ff.). So the workers in the mint can not have seen these animals alive at Rome and must have used models. It is possible that the mint masters and the workers of the mint saw these Egyptian and Nilotic motifs in the sanctuary of Isis Capitolina which must have been quite close to the mint (see nn. 24, 27, 28, especially Coarelli *ll.cc.*). If the Iseum on the Capitol consisted of a building, and not only of a group of altars, it seems likely that it was decorated with Egyptian and Nilotic scenes, just like the Iseum of Pompeii which was rebuilt after 62 A.D. A hunting scene with hippopotami and crocodiles has not been preserved from the Iseum of Pompeii but Nilotic landscapes and an African animal scene have survived beside a large number of ritual and mythological scenes, several of which we have met in the aforegoing (see Ch. IV, n. 87, 97; our figs. 75, 76; for mythological scenes Elia *passim*; *Alla ricerca di Iside*, e.g. pls. X, XIV; for the Nilotic landscapes Elia, figs. 9–15; *Alla ricerca di Iside*, e.g. pls.IV, VI; and for the African animal scene above Ch. III, n. 46; cf. also below Ch. VI, n. 21). Still we must take into consideration the fact that the mass of control-marks were commonly known objects. This leads to the supposition that also Egyptian and Nilotic motifs were already features of everyday Roman life. Up to now, Nilotic scenes from the end of the 2nd and the 1st half of the 1st century B.C. have only been preserved at

Pompeii and Praeneste. However, the conjecture that Nilotic scenes also existed in Rome at the same time may be supported by the fact that in Rome fish mosaics have been preserved, which date from the same period and which show a close similarity to those of Palestrina and Pompeii. Similar mosaics have even been found as far north as Populonia (see for all these App. 18). A popular motif in these fish mosaics was a fight between an octopus, a spiny lobster and a moray. The same motif, or an octopus and a spiny lobster, may also be found among the Roman control-marks (see for this characteristic motif Meyboom 1977, 56 f., and for the control-marks Crawford, pl. LXVI, 28: L. Papius in 79; and pl. LXVIII, 33: L. Roscius Fabatus in 64 B.C.). Indeed it would be strange if at Praeneste and Pompeii we find both Nilotic scenes and fish scenes while in Rome at the same time only the latter genre would have existed (see for the similarity in function of these two genres above n. 7). It seems therefore that the lack of Nilotic scenes in Rome from that period must be coincidental. In the 2nd century Rome had become the political and cultural centre of Italy (see for the position of Rome, Zanker in *HiM* I, 14 f., 24 ff.; Coarelli *ib.* 314; K. Schefold, Römische Visionen, in *La regione sotterrata del Vesuvio. Studi e prospettive1979* (1981) 1 ff., esp. 6; J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (1986) 150 ff.). Even if in Rome the Senate was hostile towards luxury it may have tolerated this in the villas which the patricians built outside Rome in Campania and at the Bay of Naples (see n. 41). So it seems after all that the use of Nilotic motifs as Roman control-marks merely indicates that Nilotic scenes were a common form of decoration in Rome in that time, just as they were in Pompeii and Praeneste and presumably in the rest of Central Italy (cf. the Nilotic mosaic from Privernum, see n. 16 bis, and for Campana reliefs with Nilotic scenes, such as our fig. 38, which date from the late Republican or early Augustan period, R. Ferrini, Due Frammenti di decorazioni architettoniche provenienti dalla 'casa repubblicana', *BdArch* 8 (1991) 99 ff.). Also, the quick development of different categories of Nilotic scenes, which we noticed at Pompeii, suggests that the Pompeian examples only reflect a development which took place elsewhere, e.g. in Puteoli and Rome (cf. n. 19). If the fashion for Nilotic scenes was introduced in Rome in the time of the Alexandrian painter Demetrius the *topographus* around 165 B.C., it had existed already for a considerable period (see nn. 31, 32; Ch. VII, nn. 21; App. 21; and Tybout 344 f.)

[44] It is also of interest in this respect to note that at Delos there is no trace of Egyptian or Nilotic scenes or motifs in the large number of floor mosaics and wall decorations which have been preserved there, while three Serapea already existed there in the 3rd century B.C. (see n. 27, and for the wall-decorations and mosaics respectively M. Bulard, Peintures murales et mosaïques de Délos, *MonPiot* 14 (1908) and Bruneau. Nevertheless, in the cases of a few mosaics Alexandrian influence has been suggested. Firstly in the case of the mosaic with Dionysus riding a cheetah, because of the long-sleeved chiton in which he is dressed (see Bruneau 214 ff,, no. 240, fig. 182; above Ch. III, n. 60; Ch. IV, n. 159, and Heinen 191, n. 29). Secondly in the case of the mosaic with the winged Bacchus riding a tiger, because of his wings (see Bruneau 289 ff., no. 293, figs. 247–253, pl. C, 1–2; above Ch. III, n. 60; cf. Ch. Picard, Dionysos Psilax, *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre* (1935) 317 ff., esp. 326 ff.; J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos* (1969) 377 f. Bruneau 25, 289 ff., objects that the mosaics were made with stones from the Greek isles but that does not exclude the possibility that there were Alexandrian models. Still one may wonder whether these motifs had already become general in Hellenistic art. Perhaps the absence of Egyptian motifs could be explained by

the fact that most Delian decorations date from before the destruction of 88, a period when the fashion for Egyptian scenes in Italy seems just to have begun. However, the earliest examples in Italy appear around the same time in places which lie quite a distance apart, like Praeneste and Pompeii, which suggests that the genre was already rather widespread and must have been introduced some time before (cf. n. 43). So it does seem that at Delos the presence of the Egyptian cults and the commercial connections with Alexandria did not lead to a decorative fashion of Egyptian motifs. In general it must be observed that the wall decorations of the First Style at Delos are different in character from those in Pompeii (see Laidlaw 35 ff.). The same may be said for mosaics as may be illustrated by the different style of the fish mosaics which have been preserved at Delos and Pompeii (see Bruneau 310 f., no. 328, fig. 281, pl. C, 4; p. 320, n. 351, figs. 298–300; cf. Meyboom 1977, nn. 190, 191). At Sicily only a small number of Hellenistic wall decorations and mosaics has been preserved (see Von Boeselager). These do not show clear traces of Egyptian motifs either. Alexandrian influence has been supposed for the interesting mosaic depicting an armillary sphere from Solunto (see M.A. de Vos, Pitture e mosaico a Solunto, *BABesch* 50 (1975) 195 ff., 198, figs. 11,12; Daszewski 18). However, the connection of its inventor Hipparchus of Nicea with Alexandria is rather speculative and the mosaic seems to be a local product (see Fraser I, 422 f.; Von Boeselager 56 ff., esp. 60, pl. XV). There are, however, some mosaics which show an iconographical relationship with mosaics from Pompeii. These are fragmentary fish mosaics from Solunto and Syracuse and a mosaic with a hunting scene from Palermo which shows a resemblance to the Alexander mosaic of the Casa del Fauno (see for these mosaics App. 18; Ch. VI, n. 9). So it seems that there was some relationship between mosaics in Campania and Sicily. This would be quite natural because Sicily had been a Roman province since 210 B.C., and was largely responsible for the corn supply to Rome which went via Puteoli (see n. 34 and App. 18). On the other hand Sicily had maintained close relations with Ptolemaic Egypt since the 3rd century B.C. (see n. 34; Malaise II, 261 ff.). The existence of the Egyptian cults at Sicily has been attested since c. 200 B.C., when there was already a Serapeum at Taormina and in the 2nd century several Sicilian towns like Syracuse issued coins with figures of Isis and Sarapis, which suggests that these cults were already public (see G. Sfameni Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia* (1973) (*EPRO* 31) 104 ff., e.g. pl. IV). Given the connections with Egypt and Campania and considering that only a small number of Hellenistic mosaics have been preserved from Sicily, the absence of Egyptian motifs in this period may be coincidental. So it appears not only that the 'western' connection between Alexandria and Rome, via Sicily, was more important than it has been assumed in the past(cf. n. 27), but also that it served a more general cultural interest than the commercial connection via Delos. Moreover, the Nilotic scenes seem to have been a product of this general interest and to have come to Italy in connection with it (cf. n. 34).

[45] For the descriptive character of the Nile Mosaic see Ch. III, p. 41. For the Nile Mosaic as an allegorical picture of the opulence of Egypt see Ch. IV, p. 78. See for the exotic character of Egypt and Nilotic scenes above nn. 15, 19. The religious scenes in the Nile Mosaic are part of a very large landscape picture, whereas properly religious or ritual scenes usually form the main motifs in themselves (see n. 18, and e.g. figs. 71, 75). The simplified way in which the ritual of Osiris is represented contrasts strongly with the complicated Khoiak ritual and its parallel rites (see Ch. IV, n. 126, Appendices 9–11). However, in this way it will have been understandable for the general

Roman beholder. Although the Osiris ritual is essential for the lower part of the Nile Mosaic from a religious point of view, ritual scenes like those in the Nile Mosaic have not been preserved in other Nilotic scenes. Only now and then do we find representations of the tomb of Osiris to indicate the source of the Nile flood or the figures of Isis and Osiris or Sarapis (see n. 18). Most Nilotic scenes show nothing of this as may be seen in the examples from Pompeii discussed above (cf. however n. 10). Only in a general way can these be considered as allegorical pictures of the fecundating power of Isis and Sarapis (cf. Ch. IV, n. 124; above nn. 2 and 15; see further n. 46). See for the *truphe* Ch. IV, nn. 198, 199.

[46] The beneficial effects of the inundation are also the main theme of other large Nilotic mosaics, like the El-Alia mosaic and the Sepphoris mosaic (see resp. Foucher, fig. 4, and Netzer, Weiss, fig. opp. p. 37). See for the popularity of Nilotic scenes for summer *triclinia*, nymphaea etc. nn. 7, 22, and for the fertility aspect of nymphaea n. 8. See for the *truphe* aspect of the Nile Mosaic Ch. IV, p. 78, nn. 198, 199. See for the *truphe* character of Dionysiac motives in general A. Geyer, *Das Problem des Realitätsbezuges in der dionysischen Bildkunst der Kaiserzeit* (1977), Register II, s.v. Tryphemotivik; Tybout 368, n. 1336, with other literature. As early as 1952 Schefold assumed that the value of Nilotic scenes and Dionysiac scenes was more or less the same (Schefold,*o.c.* in n. 2, 65).

[47] For the interpretation of the lower complex as a group of public buildings see Ch. II pp. 12 ff. See for the identification of the grottoes as nymphaea above n. 4; Ch. II, nn. 2, 41. See for mosaics with Nilotic and fish scenes as a popular decoration for nymphaea and the like nn. 7, 22, and Ch. II, n. 40. See for the decorative use of Nilotic scenes in Pompeian houses nn. 20, 21; and for the probable existence of Nilotic scenes at Rome n. 43. The Fish Mosaic, which is heavily damaged, seems to have depicted a fishing scene in a bay. In this genre-scene a large number of very accurately rendered fish were included as if to present a catalogue of Mediterranean fish. This picture may be compared to the picture of Aethiopia with its exotic animals in the upper part of the Nile Mosaic (see above n. 5, and extensively Meyboom 1977, 63 ff., figs. 16a–b; App. 18). See for the possible religious associations of the Fish Mosaic above n. 6, and below n. 48.

[48] Direct contacts between Praeneste and Alexandria are not attested. However, such contacts may easily have been maintained through Rome, Puteoli and Delos. Praenestine traders were apparently very enterprising and they may be found everywhere in Campania and in the Eastern Mediterranean. At Pompeii some 13 Praenestine families are attested and some 12, among which many are the same, are also attested at Delos like the Numitorii, the Oppii and the Saufei (see Castrén 39, n. 6). Moreover, two dedicatory inscriptions to Isis-Tyche Protogeneia have survived from Delos (see Ch. II n. 37). See for the succesful trade of Praeneste which undoubtedly contributed to the building of the great temple of Fortuna Primigenia Ch. II, p. 11, n. 30; Bodei Giglioni (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 30). Harvey, *o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 19, Wilson (*o.c.* in n. 29) 109 f., 118 f.; Coarelli 1987, 66. Contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean also appear from the presence at Praeneste of statues from Thasos and Rhodes (see Ch. II, nn. 29, 43, and below n. 50). Besides, Praeneste had been in close contact with Rome since the 4th century, when it had become a *civitas foederata* after the Latin War. Connections may have developed between the Praenestine and Roman aristocracies because there are several examples of old Praenestine names in high positions in Rome, such as Cn. Anicius, legate in 168; L. Anicius Gallus, consul in 160; and P. Rupilius, consul in 132; L. Saufeius, monetal between 165–150; and C.

Saufeius, quaestor in 100 (see Bodei Giglioni 73 f., n. 239; Harvey 45 ff., nn. 35–40, with other examples, and for the Saufei Ö. Wikander, Senators and equites IV, The case of the Saufei, *OpRom* XVI (1985) 205 ff.). The cult of the Praenestine Fortuna Primigenia was established at Rome around 200 B.C. (see App. 15). Romans also came to Praeneste. A fragment of a dedication inscription by L. Quinctius Flaminius, consul in 192, has been preserved at Praeneste (see Gullini 1953, 303, fig. 417; Degrassi 111 f.). Important diplomatic missions to Rome also visited Praeneste like that of king Prusias of Bithynia in 167 and of the Athenian philosopher Karneades in 156 B.C. (see respectively Livy XLV 44, 8 f.; Degrassi 112, n. 4; and Cicero *De div.* II 41, 8 f.; Kähler 195). It has been supposed that Alexandrian influence could be discerned in some aspects of the architecture of the upper and lower complex. Nowhere, however, this can be proved and these aspects seem to belong to the development of Hellenistic architecture in general. Thus, it has been suggested that the axial symmetry of the plan of the upper complex goes back to ancient Egyptian examples, see Fancelli (*o.c.* Ch. II, n. 11) 25. This is, however, a development of Hellenistic architecture in general, as may be seen in a case like that of Lindos (see Coarelli (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 83) 193 ff.; Lauter 1986, 106 ff.; Tybout 301 f.). The porticoed hemicycle of the upper terrace has been compared to porticoed exedras like those of the Villa of Lucullus on the Pincio and the Iseum Campense in Rome, which in their turn, have been associated with exedras in Alexandrian architecture (see De Vos 1980, 88 f., n. 247; cf. Coarelli (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 83) 200 ff.; and Rakob (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 28) 89 f.). It seems, however, in the first place to derive from theaters connected with temples, which were used for religious spectacles like the example at Gabii, which dates from c. 150 B.C., see Coarelli 1987, 11 ff. Finally it has been supposed that the broken pediment which possibly adorned the façade of the apsidal hall derived from Alexandrian architecture (see Gullini 1984, 588 ff., esp. 591, pl. V; Lauter 1979, 444; Lauter 1971, 166, 175). This feature appears in Hellenistic architecture in the 2nd half of the 2nd century but its origin is unknown (see Tybout 245 f.).

[49] See for the assimilation of Isis, Tyche and Fortuna in the Hellenistic world and their relation with Sulla, Pompey and Caesar Ch. IV, nn. 153, 154 and Ch. II, n. 37 (especially for the appearance of Isis-Tyche Protogeneia in the Hellenistic East in the 2nd century B.C.). Compare also the case of Metellus and his shrine for Isis Metellina, see n. 38. See for the association of Isis-Fortuna and Venus at Pompeii Malaise II, 363 f. ; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 72 ff.; Spinazzola I, 196 ff., 250 ff., 560 ff; Fröhlich 132 ff., 148 ff. Examples which, however, all date from the 1st century A.D., include the famous painting on the façade of the *coactilia* in the Villa dell' Abbondanza (IX 7, 7–5; Spinazzola I, 196 ff., figs. 222, 228; Fröhlich, no. F 64, pl. 61,1); the painting with Venus Pompeiana and Fortuna on the facade of IX 7, 1, in the same street showing Venus with attributes of Fortuna (Spinazzola I 215 f., fig. 243; Fröhlich, no. F 63, pl. 59,1) and another example in the same street in no. III 6, see Spinazzola 564, figs. 624, 625; *NSc* 1936, 312 f., fig. 4. Venus, Fortuna and Isis may be found especially in *lararia*, see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 103 ff.; for example the procession with Venus Pompeiana (Isis?) in the sacellum of the Casa d'Ercole (VII 9, 47) (Tran tam Tinh 132, no. 24, pl. XI); the *lararium* with Isis-Fortuna-Venus in the *pistrinum* IX 3, 10–12. (Tran tam Tinh 1964, 147, no. 58, pl. XIV,1; Fröhlich, no. L 102, pl. 45,1) the *lararium* with Isis-Fortuna in the Casa di Filocalus, IX 3, 15 (Tran tam Tinh 1964, 148, no. 59 pl. XVII; Fröhlich no. L 101, pl. 47, 1); and the *lararium* with Fortuna, Anubis, Isis and Sarapis from the *praedia* of Julia Felix, (Fröhlich, no. L 40, pl. 30,1). See also Fröhlich, pls. 45,2; 46,2; 50,3). Also a large number of

statuettes of Isis Fortuna has been preserved from Pompeii, see e.g. Tran tam Tinh, pls. VII, 3; XII, 2, 4; XIV 1, 2; XVII; XVIII, 1; XX, 2; XXII, 2; and cf. our fig. 97, from Herculaneum (Naples MN 5315, Tran tam Tinh 1971, 58 ff, no. 5, pls. VII, fig. 9; Malaise I, 254 f. no. 10, pl. 39, 1st cent. B.C.).

[50] See for interpretations in this sense Ch. II, n. 37; Ch. IV, n. 56, and above n. 6. See for Isis-Tyche and her power to grant fertility and opulence to Egypt by means of the Nile flood, Ch. IV, nn. 154, 155, 198. See for representations of Isis in Nilotic scenes Ch. IV, n. 154, and for the symbolism of the cornucopia Ch. IV, n. 155. See for Isis as Mistress of Aethiopia Ch. IV, n. 52, and for Isis as Mistress of the Seas above n. 6 and below n. 51. The fruit-bringing power of Isis was visualised in the Egyptian world by the figure of Sekhet, the Field Goddess who carries flowers, fruit, game etc., the fruits of the inundation, see Ch. IV, n. 201, fig. 93.

[51] Compare the association of Isis and Fortuna with Venus Pompeiana, see n. 49. The association of Fortuna and Isis at Praeneste may also explain the existence of some Egyptianising monuments and an inscription referring to Isis-Tyche, all dating from the Imperial period and found in the centre of Praeneste. It must, however, not be forgotten that a Serapeum is also attested for Praeneste belonging to the Imperial period (see Ch. II, nn. 14, 36, 37). The Fish Mosaic may also allude to Isis-Tyche, see above n. 6. The first reference to Fortuna as Mistress of the Sea which has been preserved from Italy is Horace, *Odes* I 35, 6, directed to the Fortuna of Antium, see Nisbet, Hubbard (*o.c.* in Appendix 15, n. 23) 390 ff. The same feature may have belonged to the Fortuna of Praeneste because of the intensive commercial contacts which Praeneste maintained with the Eastern Mediterranean (see above n. 48) and because of its close connection with Antium which was actually the harbour of Praeneste and with which it shared the cult of Fortuna (see Coarelli 1987, 78; Appendix 15, n. 12; Riemann (*o.c.* in Appendix 15, n. 12) 153, 157). In connection with the association of Fortuna and Isis, it is also of interest to consider again the large statue of Fortuna which is preserved in the museum at Palestrina. Its finding place is uncertain and its original position is discussed. It may, however, have come from the lower complex and in that case one could consider the possibility that it was placed in the small niche just opposite the supposed entrance of the apsidal hall. It would be quite usual if the town hall was decorated with a statue of the town's patron goddess, just like the famous statue of Victoria later adorned the Curia in Rome (see Ch. II, nn. 29, 40, cf. fig. 3; Lauro 206, Romanelli, pl. LIII). The statue is made of grey-bluish marble while the arms and the head, which were made separately and have not been preserved, may have been of marble of a different colour, presumably white. Dark marble, granite, or basalt were used especially for statues of Isis and Osiris (see e.g. Malaise I, pls. 11, 31–34; Dunand 1973, I, pls. IX–XII,2; XV, XXXII, XXXIII, and some examples of Isis statues of dark marble with head and arms of white marble in Tran tam Tinh 1972, pls. I, II). The dark colour of Osiris symbolises the dark Nile water and its fertility, see Ch. III, n. 104. In the case of Isis it could also mean that she wears a dark dress because she is mourning the dead Osiris (compare the case of the *melanophoroi* , see Malaise II, 148 f.). For this reason it has been suggested that in the case of the Fortuna statue at Praeneste, the dark marble was chosen especially to create an association of Fortuna with Isis (see Zevi 1979, 21; Lauro 211). If so, this would offer another example of an associative choice as in the case of the Nile Mosaic. However, the use of dark marble may also be found in many cases where there is no obvious religious reason, so this supposition with regard to the Fortuna statue of Palestrina cannot be proven (Lauro 207).

Notes to Chapter VI

[1] The reconstruction of the activity of the Casa del Fauno workshop is based on a study of a group of Pompeian fish mosaics in Meyboom 1977, a summary of which is given here and to which is referred for further details (see Appendix 18). Essentially the relationship between the various mosaics is based on a number of characteristic iconographical features, notably similarities in compositions and in details, of which we shall see some examples below, see n. 5, and Appendix 18. Furthermore it has been observed that the materials of the tesserae of the Palestrina mosaics and those from the Casa del Fauno are the same. However, besides an apparent similarity in the choice of colours this is difficult to prove because all the tesserae are made of various kinds of Italian limestone (see Ch. II, n. 76, Ch. III, n. 1). For the members of a mosaic workshop, which included artists who designed mosaics and workmen who executed them, see Bruneau (*o.c.* below in n. 13) 261 ff.; M. Donderer, ***Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung*** (1989) 40 ff. See for the workshop further n. 19.

[2] For the enormous increase in wealth in Campania in the 2nd half of the 2nd century, due to the trade with the Eastern Mediterranean which had largely been occupied by the Romans, see Ch. V, nn. 27 and 41. For the Roman villas in Campania see Ch. V, n. 41. See for the Casa del Fauno and its wall decorations above Ch. II, n. 69, and especially Laidlaw 172 ff.; for the floors and the mosaics see Pernice 90 ff., and below n. 4; for the furniture etc. Fuhrmann 172, 333 f., nn. 2, 3. For the reconstruction phases in the later part of the 2nd century see the preliminary reports by Hoffmann, referred to in Ch. II, n. 69, and below n. 4. Of particular interest is the possible identity of the owners of this mansion, which is the richest of this period, the heyday of independent Pompeii. This will be discussed in Appendix 17.

[3] For the relation of the Palestrina mosaics with those from the Casa del Fauno and their date see Ch. II, pp. 16 ff., nn. 69–72, 74–77; and Meyboom 1977, 58 ff., 71 f. Both the Palestrina mosaics show comprehensive landscape scenes which appear to have been the source of inspiration for smaller mosaics in the Casa del Fauno and elswhere in an eclectic way, i.e. by selecting and regrouping separate motifs, see e.g. below n. 5 and App. 18. There is another mosaic from Palestrina which is now at Würzburg. This is an *emblema* measuring c. 84 by 84 cm, which depicts the abduction of Europa. The composition is striking and unusual and is reflected in a later mosaic from Cannes (see Wattel-de Croizant 492 ff., figs. 3 and 11). It is interesting that the water surface is rendered by means of alternating light and dark stripes, similar to some of the Pompeian fish mosaics (see Meyboom 1977, 60 ff.). Wattel-de Croizant 517 f., assumes that this mosaic comes from the area of the Via degli Arcioni and dates from the time of Sulla. It is possible that this mosaic was made by the same workshop but, since it shows no iconographical relationship with the other mosaics discussed here, I leave it out of consideration. For another mosaic possibly depicting Paris' judgement, of poor quality, see L. Quilici, Due mosaici di recente scoperti presso Roma, *RM* 89 (1982) 47 ff., col. pl. 1.

[4] See for the reconstruction and the decoration of the Casa del Fauno between 110 and 80 B.C. the references given in n. 2, and Ch. II, n. 69. The dates suggested below for the mosaics are comparative and based on a gradual change in style and technique and may need some adjustment following the full publication of the building history of the Casa del Fauno.

Towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. a large rebuilding campaign of the Casa del Fauno began with the reconstruction of the 1st peristyle and concluded with the construction of the 2nd peristyle. In connection with that an extensive decoration program took place which seems to have covered several years. In the course of this many old-fashioned floors in *opus signinum* were covered up by various new kinds of floors, made of pieces of various kinds of stones. Several of these were embellished with fine mosaics (see Pernice 90–95). The mosaic decoration seems to have begun with a magnificent production, like the Alexander mosaic in the exedra of the 1st peristyle, c. 110 B.C. (see for it n. 10). Next, between 110 and 100, the rooms surrounding the 1st peristyle were decorated with delicate *emblemata*, in most cases surrounded by rich figural borders (see nn. 6, 7, 8, 11; Meyboom 1977, n. 272). This period was the flowering period of the workshop. Subsequently, mosaic *emblemata* in general became smaller, their shape could become rectangular or circular, the execution could become coarser and instead of the ornamental borders plain black strips appear. Mosaics from this period may be found in the Casa del Fauno and elsewhere in Pompeii (see examples in nn. 5, 8, 12, and Appendix 18). This period covered the years 90–60 B.C., and included the Roman colonisation in 80 B.C., and the transition of the First to the Second Style (see Pernice 125 ff.; Strocka 100). The general decline of mosaics coincided with the beginning of the Second Style of Roman wall-painting (see n. 16). Between 110 and 80 B.C. the walls of the Casa del Fauno were decorated with First Style decorations, which included several examples of figurative painting (see Laidlaw 172 ff.). Besides these there are two rooms which show a Second Style decoration (i.e. rooms 28 and 43, see resp. Laidlaw 183 f.; Pernice 95, above Ch. V, n. 11). Traditionally the beginning of the Second Style at Pompeii is connected with the Roman colonisation in 80 B.C. This would imply that the decoration of the Casa del Fauno continued after 80 B.C. This is not impossible because the use of mosaic *emblemata*, be they of increasingly smaller size, continued in Pompeii in the early period of the Second Style (see Pernice 125 ff, 149 ff., Meyboom 1977, 51 ff., n. 71, 74; Strocka 100). Recently, however, it has been suggested that the presumed earliest example of the Second Style at Pompeii, i.e. the cella of the Jupiter temple should be dated before the attack by Sulla's troops in 89 B.C. (see Lauter 1979, 434; cf. *AA* 1986, 454 f.; Strocka 108 f., n. 487). If so, the Second Style began at Pompeii already before the Roman colonisation. In the case of the Casa del Fauno, it may be noted that room 42, which had a late First Style wall decoration and the mosaic *emblema* with the lion (see Laidlaw 199 ff., and below n. 8) and room 43, which had a Second Style wall decoration (see *l.c.* above) both have a floor made of white mosaic tesserae with some details made of black tesserae, which are identical from a technical point of view (see Pernice 42, 92, 95, pl. 57, 3; below n. 8). Therefore it may well have been that in the Casa del Fauno the First and the Second Style occurred side by side for some time and that all the wall- and mosaic decorations in the Casa del Fauno date from before 80 B.C.

[5] For the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno see Ch. II, n. 71; Ch. V, n. 9. See for the accurate rendering of the flora and fauna which is only parallelled in the Nile Mosaic Ch. II, pp. 17 ff., n. 71. The Nilotic frieze looks like some of the simple watery parts of the Nile Mosaic, like e.g. a part of the hippopotamus hunting scene or the bottom right hand area (see figs. 19, 21, 27; cf. Ch. II, n. 72). The fact that some animals like the cobra, the mongoose and the glossy ibises in the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno are depicted more accurately than those in the Nile Mosaic suggests

that the model was more detailed than the Nile Mosaic. The same observation has been made with regard to the fish mosaics from Pompeii and Palestrina. Their common model must have shown a finely rendered water surface made of stripes of varying tones of blue and grey, which was meant to indicate perspective in the water surface and which has been preserved only in the fish mosaic from the Casa del Fauno and in the fish mosaic published in *AA* 1941, see Meyboom 1977, 60 ff., figs. 1 and 15.

M. Donderer, Das Pompejanische Alexandermosaik. Ein östliches Importstück? in *Das antike Rom und der Osten. Festschrift für Klaus Parlasca zum 65. Geburtstag* (1990) 27 f., observes that large parts of the frieze had already been restored in antiquity and that the column bases on the threshold of the exedra had been cut into, in order to fit with the sections of the frieze (cf. Pernice 167). From this he concludes that the mosaic was imported from elsewhere (presumably the Eastern Mediterranean), was damaged during transport and restored when it was placed in the Alexander exedra. This conclusion seems, however, doubtful. In the first place the exceptional similarity in detail between the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno and the Nile Mosaic makes it improbable that the mosaics come from different parts of the Mediterranean. Moreover, the materials of the tesserae are the same as those of the other mosaics from the Casa del fauno, i.e. various kinds of limestone presumably of Italian origin (see n. 1, Ch. II, n. 76). Besides, the adaptation of the column bases only shows that the mosaic was brought from elsewhere, but not from how far. Finally, the ancient repairs, and the damage which made these necessary, may have taken place anywhere between 100 B.C. and 79 A.D.; one could think e.g. of the Sullan occupation of Pompeii in 89, or the Roman colonisation of 80 B.C. or the earthquake of 62 A.D. Compare also the damage to the Alexander mosaic which may have occurred at the same time, see n. 10. See for some later Nilotic mosaics from Pompeii below n. 15.

[6] See Appendix 18.

[7] Naples MN, 9992. Pernice 161 ff., pls. 62, 63,1; *Collezioni Napoli*, col. pl. on p. 32; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Storicità dell'arte classica* (1950) 220 ff., pl. 95, fig. 188; Meyboom 1977, 72 f., n. 274, dating it c. 90–80 B.C. The seemingly everyday motif of a cat catching fowl appears to be of Alexandrian origin. The cat is an African wild cat (see Haltenorth, Diller 210, pl. 42,3). The same group is known in a sculpture from Egypt and the motive probably derives from ancient Egyptian marsh-scenes (see K. Parlasca, Hellenistische und römische Mosaiken aus Ägypten, in *La mosaique gréco-romaine* II (1975) 363 ff., esp. 365, pl. CLXXIV, 1–2; Daszewski 99, pl. 46 a–b, cf. e.g. Vandersleyen, pl. XXXIII). The motif appears already on an Apulian vase from the 2nd quarter of the 4th century B.C. depicting the journey of Triptolemus to Egypt, where it is accompanied by the inscription *Neilos* (see De Vos 1984, 134; Trendall, Cambitoglou (*o.c.* in Ch. IV, n. 142) I, 193: The Iliupersis Painter, no. 6; La Rocca 68, fig. 60). In the case of the Casa del Fauno mosaic the Nilotic background is suggested by the combination with the ducks and the lotuses. The same group may be found in a wall-painting from the Columbarium of the Villa Pamphili (see Bendinelli, pl. V). An unpublished mosaic with the same group from the neighbourhood of the Bay of Naples in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden shall be published in *OudheidMeded* in the near future by the present author. The pair of ducks with the lotus flowers derives from the varous kinds of ducks which frequently appear in Nilotic scenes, as in the frieze from the Casa del Fauno (see Ch. III, n. 117; above n. 5, fig. 28). In the case of the mosaic with the cat the artist has rather unexpectedly combined a teal and a shellduck. In reality

these ducks belong to the smallest and largest kind of duck, respectively. This feature has been overlooked by the artist who therefore seems to have worked from a model instead of live birds. The fish and the shells derive from the fish mosaic from the Casa del Fauno (see Meyboom 1977, nn. 54, 72, 88, n. 274). The whinchats also appear in the Nilotic frieze from the Casa del Fauno (see fig. 28). So the artist created this mosaic as a kind of still life by combining motifs from different origins. Also this new composition became quite popular because some later variations of it have been preserved both showing only the cat, the hen and the ducks. One from Rome dating from c. 80–70 B.C. is now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (see P.E. Arias, Mosaico ellenistico dalla Via Ardeatina, *RIA* 8 (1940) 16 ff., figs. 1–2; Bianchi Bandinelli, *o.c.*, pl. 95, fig. 189; Helbig III (1969) 452 f., no. 2484; Meyboom 1977, 73, n. 275). Another mosaic of unknown provenance is now in the Vatican Museum and may date from the end of the 1st cent. A.D. (see Nogara, pl. 24, 1; Pernice, pl. 63,1; Arias, fig. 4; Bianchi Bandinelli, pl. 95, fig. 190; Helbig I 80, no. 1008; Meyboom 1977, 73, n. 276). Another copy from Ampurias (Barcelona, Archeological Museum, Inv. 4029) shall also be published in *OudheidMeded.*

[8] The lion mosaic from the Casa del Fauno, which was badly damaged and was left on the site where it gradually disappeared, is only known from a print in *Museo Borbonico* IX, pl. 55, and a description in Pernice 155; see also W. Leonhard, *Mosaikstudien zur Casa del Fauno in Pompeji* (1914) 19, fig. 4; Fuhrmann 111, 115, 123 f., fig. 8. Its frontal position and the strong foreshortening of its body is striking. In some later variations of this motif, which show the lion in the same position but reversed, it holds a prey in its forepaws. This might originally also have been the case in the Casa del Fauno mosaic but there is no indication for this in the print mentioned above. In a mosaic from Teramo which seems most closely related to the Casa del Fauno mosaic and which may be dated only slightly later, c. 90–70 B.C. the lion holds, rather unexpectedly, a snake in its paws (see Pernice 157, pls. 6 and 58,1). In a variation from Pompeii VIII 2, 34, now in Naples, which may date from c. 70 B.C., it holds equally unexpectedly a leopard, and some landscape features have been added (see Pernice 155 f.; Leonhard *o.c.*, pl. III; *EAA* V, 213, fig. 299). The same composition and motif may be found in a copy at Holkham Hall in England which is very similar to the mosaic from Pompeii. Reputedly it comes from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, but if it really should come from Tivoli it seems more probable that it was found in the Republican villa beneath Hadrian's villa. It is more likely, however, that it comes from the neighbourhood of Naples (see Pernice 156, pl. 57,1). The unusual position of the lion and the unnatural motif of a lion fighting a snake or a leopard becomes understandable when we look at a hunt mosaic at Palermo where a lion in a similar position attacks a fallen hunter (see n. 9). It seems as if the lion of the latter mosaic has been taken from its original setting and made the central motif of some new *emblemata*, with rather awkward results, as has been assumed by Fuhrmann *ll.cc.* So we see here the same procedure as in the case of the Pompeian fish mosaics, where a motif from a large fishing scene, notably the octopus group, became the central motif of a new series of smaller *emblemata* (see Appendix 18).

[9] For the hunt mosaic at Palermo see Fuhrmann 228 ff., fig. 9, pls. VI–VIII; Pernice 12 ff.; 180 ff.; *EAA* V, 872, fig. 1059; Hölscher 186 ff.; and extensively Von Boeselager 47 ff.; pl. IX–X, figs. 17–19. It may be dated towards the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st. cent. B.C. The mosaic, which is badly damaged, depicts hunters in Greek and Persian dress hunting a lion and a boar. The lion has grasped a fallen hunter with its paws (cf. for

this motif n. 8). One of the hunters, presumably the one on horseback, who comes to the rescue of his fallen companian, may have represented Alexander the Great. The subject of Alexander hunting with Greeks and Persians also appears on the Alexander sarcophagus where it is juxtaposed to a battle scene with Alexander (see Von Graeve 133 ff., pl. 25). It is interesting to note that several figures and features of the Palermo mosaic show a striking similarity with the Alexander mosaic from the Casa del Fauno, as Fuhrmann had already recognised (see Fuhrmann 264 ff., pls. VI–IX; and extensively Von Boeselager 50 ff.; Hölscher, 88 f.). An essential difference is the pyramidal composition of the Palermo mosaic and the presence of some large but non-descript trees. One could suppose that this composition was created by the artist who adapted his model to the situation on the spot. If the composition were rearranged in a more frieze-like way, like the Alexander mosaic, the result would be a picture similar to the hunting frieze from Vergina which also shows a combination of a lion and a boar hunt (see Appendix 20, n. 7; Carroll-Spillecke, 155 f.). So it would seem that the Alexander mosaic from the Casa del Fauno and the hunt mosaic from Palermo reflect two original pictures which may have been companion pictures, like the two sides of the Alexander sarcophagus. The Casa del Fauno workshop which made the Alexander mosaic seems also to have had at its disposal the model of the Palermo mosaic because it used the unusual figure of the frontal lion grasping its prey to create the lion mosaic from the Casa del Fauno (see n. 8, and furher below n. 10). See for connections between Campania and Sicily n. 6.

[10] For the Alexander mosaic Naples MN, 10020, see *Collezioni Napoli*, col. pl. on p. 34; Fuhrmann *passim*; *EAA* VI, 127 ff., s.v. Philoxenos (P. Moreno); B. Andreae, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* (1977); Hölscher 188 f.; see for its original position Pernice 93 f. and above Ch. V, n. 9; for the date c. 110–100 B.C. Pernice 94; Andreae *o.c.*, 11; Meyboom 1977, 55 f., n. 71; Laidlaw 192. Donderer (*o.c.* in n. 5) 20 f., 26 f., has pointed out several ancient restorations in the mosaic and concludes that the mosaic was damaged when it was brought to Pompeii, presumably from the Eastern Mediterranean, and was restored when it was placed in the Alexander exedra. This conclusion seems somewhat farfetched. The mosaic may have been damaged and repaired when it was in the Casa del Fauno on several occasions (see Fuhrmann 93 ff., and compare the restorations in the Nilotic frieze, see n. 5). The materials of the tesserae are the same as those of the other mosaics from the Casa del Fauno, (see nn. 1, 5). Pernice 94, has observed that the mosaic was laid directly in a thin layer of mortar which had been spread over a heavy under-layer of mortar resting on the ground, similar to the Palestrina mosaics (see Ch. III, n. 1). For these reasons the mosaic may be attributed to the same workshop as the other mosaics of the Casa del Fauno (see Fuhrmann 21, 110 ff., 277 f.; Pernice 94; *EAA* V, 212 f.; Meyboom 1977, 72, n. 271). An S-shaped strip showing unclear parts and reparations runs roughly through the middle of the mosaic on the right-hand side of the horse in the centre. One could imagine that these irregularities were caused by the procedure of the craftsmen who, working after a large model, had some difficulty in fitting the entire composition in the available space, just like they added the wide plain strip in the lower side (cf. A.W. Byvanck, in *BABesch* 30 (1955) 28 ff, fig. 3; *EAA* VI, 128, fig. 140). The Alexander mosaic was made after a famous original work of art, reflections of which have been preserved in other media (see e.g. *EAA* VI, fig. 139; Andreae *o.c.*, fig. 21). This original has been identified with a painting of a battle scene between Alexander and Darius by a certain Philoxenos of

Eretria by Fuhrmann (cf. Pliny *NH* XXXV, 110). Although this identification remains uncertain, the original was undoubtedly a famous painting from the early Hellenistic period and was perhaps a companion piece to the archetype of the Palermo mosaic, see n. 9. This early date is supported by the old-fashioned limited use of colours, notably tones of white, yellow, red-brown and brown-black, which is attested as characteristic for the classical period (Pliny *NH* XXX, 32; see Moreno *l.c.,* above, and Hölscher 159 ff., who are still in favour of Philoxenos, but compare the critical view of Rumpf, in *AM* 77 (1962) 229 ff., esp. 240; and Andreae, *o.c.* 24 f.; who among other things object that the style of the painting is quite different from the very sketchy style which Pliny attributes to Philoxenos).

[11] Naples MN, 9991; Pernice 159, pl. 59; Leonhard (*o.c.* in n. 8) 22 ff..; *Collezioni Napoli,* col. pl. on p. 32; see for the tiger Ch. III, n. 60. Variations of this motif may be found in two mosaics at Delos and it may be of Alexandrian origin (see Ch. III, n. 60; Ch. IV, n. 44, and in general Stuveras (*o.c.* in Ch. IV, n. 144) 20 f. A subject which seems closely related to this motif is that of the lion tamed by putti. A fine mosaic portraying this subject has been found in the Casa del Centauro at Pompeii and may be attributed to the same workshop, see Pernice 159 f., pl. 60; D. Costa, Dionysos enfant, les bacchoi et les lions, *RA* 39 (1952) 170 ff., fig. 1; Meyboom 1977, 72, n. 272. Variations of this picture also exist. One is a small *emblema,* possibly from the neighbourhood of the Bay of Naples, now in the British Museum, see Pernice 161, pl. 61,1; Costa 171, n. 4, fig. 3. The other is an *emblema* from Antium now in the Antiquarium Communale at Rome, see Pernice 161, pl. 61,2; Costa 171, n. 2, fig. 2.

[12] Naples MN, 27707; Pernice 176 f., pls. 76, 77. See for the copy at Alexandria which comes from Thmuis and may date from the 2nd half of the 2nd century B.C. Parlasca (*o.c.* in n. 7) 365, pl. CLXXIII,1; Daszewski 160 ff., pls. 34, 35a. It is striking that the copy from the Casa del Fauno is better in quality and seems to reflect the common model more closely as it has been observed by Daszewski *l.c.* (see also n. 17).

[13] See for the use of models which were more or less truthful copies of famous pictures or reliefs from earlier periods in general *EAA* V, 132 ff., s.v. Modello; F.H. Pairault, *Récherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques* (1972) 173; L.B. van der Meer, Archetype-Transmitting Model-Prototype. Studies of Etruscan urns from Volterra I, *BABesch* 50 (1975) 179 f.; H. Froning, Ikonographische Tradition mythologischer Sarkophagreliefs, *JdI* 95 (1980) 322 ff., esp. 324 ff., 327, n. 22; Daszewski 13, 95 f.; R. Ling, Roman Painting (1991) 217 ff. We must distinquish between the work of art which was the original model and which may be called the archetype; the transmitting model which transmitted the appearance of the original model to the artist and which may have been a sketch or a plaster cast or anything of that kind; and the model strictly spoken or the prototype, this was the design or cartoon which the artist made with the help of the transmitting model. It is obvious that depending on the character and the accuracy of the transmitting model on the one hand and the wishes of the client and the creativity of the artist on the other hand the new design or prototype could be either a relatively close copy of an original work of art (like e.g. the Alexander mosaic seems to be, see n. 10) or a new creation (like the mosaics with the cat, see n. 7) or anything in between (as we have seen in various examples, see e.g. Appendix 18). This design was in the first place used for the creation of the desired work of art, but it could also be used again and again and become an archetype in its own right, as we have seen in the cases of the fish mosaic, the mosaic with the cat, and the mosaic with

the lion, all from the Casa del Fauno (see nn. 6–8). See further Ch. VII, n. 14. For the supposed use of models for mosaics see also Ph. Bruneau, Les mosaïstes antiques avaient-ils des cahiers de modèles? *RA* 1984, 241 ff., esp. the references given in nn. 1–12. Bruneau argues that there is no evidence that collections of models for the use of mosaicists existed other than the cartoon which was made for a certain mosaic (cf. Bruneau *o.c.*, 246). His conclusion is based on the comparison of some arbitrarily chosen groups of mosaics depicting the same subjects from different periods and places. In view of this indiscriminate approach his conclusion could hardly be different. Of course models need not always have been used but it appears that they were used occasionally. One should look for mosaics, or paintings, which show a degree of similarity which strongly exceeds the thematic and schematic similarity which may generally exist, as we have seen in the case of some mosaics from Pompeii (see extensively Meyboom 1977, and the examples given above in nn. 5–12). The only case which Bruneau recognises and discusses is that of the mosaics depicting Menander scenes from Pompeii (1st cent. B.C.) and from Mytilene (2nd half of the 3rd cent. A.D.), see S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouvès. *Les mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (1970) pls. 5–6). To explain this he develops the theory that an illustrated Menander text served as model in both cases (Bruneau 244). But how can one suppose that a workshop could use a costly illustrated ms. and at the same time assume that a collection of models was beyond the reach of a workshop (cf. Bruneau 245)? And how could this ms. (or a copy) be used in such far reaching places as Pompeii, Stabiae, Mytilene and Myrina, where the same figures have been found, and in such a large timespan. Compare the terra-cotta figurines from Myrina from the 2nd century B.C. (see Bieber (*o.c.* Ch. III, n. 93) figs. 341, 342) and a wall-painting from Stabiae from the 1st. cent. A.D. (see *RM* 84 (1977) 46, pl. 11,1; Ling *o.c.*, fig. 236). The existence of these copies can only be explained by assuming that in all these cases the artists had at their disposal a series of popular Menander scenes. See for the use of models in Egypt *LÄ* IV, 244 f., s.v. Musterbuch; Vassilika 7 ff.; Ch. VII, n. 13. A model, *paradeigma*, from a royal workshop at Alexandria for a mosaic floor at Philadelphia in the Fayum is attested in one of the Zenon papyri (c. 250 B.C., Cairo Zenon Papyrus No 59665; see extensively Daszewski 6 ff., esp. 10 ff., and 13, with criticism of Bruneau's repeated opinion that mosaic workshops did not use models from elsewhere but made their own cartons independently (cf. Ph. Bruneau, Un decise de pose de mosaïques, Le papyrus Cairo Zen. 59665, in *STELE. Papers in Honour of N. Kontoleon* (1978) 134 ff.). See for an example of a copy of a famous ancient painting, which is called *apographon*, Pliny *NH* XXXV, 125. The use by the Casa del Fauno workshop of copies of famous ancient paintings as models appears from the case of the Alexander mosaic (see n. 10, and compare the hunt mosaic from Palermo, nn. 8–9). To a certain degree, like e.g. the *symplegma* scene preserved in the mosaics from the Casa del Fauno and from Thmuis, the models may simply have been a painted or sketched copy of an original picture (see n. 12). If a model was too large and complex and an exact transmission was required, use may have been made of a copy, made with the help of a grid which could be enlarged at will. See for other examples of the use of models Ch. VII, n. 41.

[14] See the examples discussed in nn. 6–8, 11. It probably also had at its disposal the model of the hunt mosaic at Palermo, because the motif of the lion grasping its prey in the mosaic was adopted for the creation of other mosaics (see nn. 8 and 9). The *emblemata* from Ampurias were probably imported from Campania (see n. 7 and Appendix 18, nn. 15–17).

[15] See for the development – or rather decline of the workshop, the iconographical connections between its products, and the changes in style and shape in the course of time more extensively Meyboom 1977, 55 f., 66 f., cf. Strocka 100. For the reasons of the decline see below n. 16.

For two small mosaics with Nilotic scenes see Ch. V, n. 16 bis. Both show pygmies feasting in a cabin boat in a Nilotic landscape with a hippopotamus or a crocodile. In both cases the composition and the cabin boat are reminiscent of the hippopotamus hunt in the Nile Mosaic (cf. Ch. III, n. 112, for the long curved stern). The same composition appears in mosaics in the Villa Albani and in the Vatican Museum in Rome, which are, however, largely if not entirely fakes based on the Nile Mosaic (see K. Parlasca, Mosaikfälschungen, *RM* 65 (1958) 155 ff., esp. 166 f.; Meyboom 1979, 64, n. 41, pl. 41, fig. 16. The mosaic in the Villa Albani actually seems to have been found in Palestrina, see Whitehouse (*o.c.* in Ch. V, n. 16 bis) 132, n. 15). See for small mosaics with pairs of ducks and fish still lifes Meyboom 1977, 73. One mosaic, now at Naples, comes from the Casa del Granduca at Pompeii (see Meyboom 1977, 73, n. 277, fig. 20; Pernice 77, 154, pl. 56,1). The other which is now at the Musée Condé at Chantilly, was part of the collection belonging to the Duc d'Aumale and perhaps comes from the Casa del Duca d'Aumale at Pompeii, or from the possession of his father-in-law, the Duke of Salerno (see Meyboom 1977, 73, n. 278, fig. 21). Both mosaics show the usual pair of ducks, cf. n. 7) and a number of typical fish which may be found swimming in the earlier fish mosaics from Pompeii (see App. 18; Meyboom 1977, 73).

[16] See for the gradual disappearance of floor mosaics in connection with the flourishing of Second Style wall-painting Meyboom 1977, 89, n. 286; De Vos 1979a, 169; Strocka 100. For instance, the Villa dei Misteri, which is famous for its rich mural paintings, does not have figurative floor mosaics, see Maiuri 1931.

[17] It may of course also have been the case that the workshop had an 'international' character and had in its collection popular models from everywhere, as one could easily expect for a cosmopolitan harbour like Puteoli (cf. Ch. V, nn. 34–37). Nevertheless the evidence given by the models suggests at least a close connection with Alexandria (see the mosaics discussed in nn. 5, 7, 11 and 12; cf. also Daszewski 18 ff.; see for an Alexandrian colony at Puteoli below n. 19). It is striking that the two copies which exist of the famous bronze statuette of the dancing faun from the Casa del Fauno, both come from Egypt (see De Vos 1984, 134; G. Grimm, Orient und Okzident in der Kunst Alexandriens, in *Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Grossstadt* (*Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 1) (1981) 13 ff., n. 28). De Vos 1984, 134, nn. 15, 16, also points at pieces of greenish and reddish opaque glass, which may be found in the floors of the *alae* and the 1st peristyle of the Casa del Fauno (see Pernice 93 and 122). In this period opaque glass was probably produced mainly in Egypt (see M. Stern, A Glass Bowl of Isings, Form 2, from the Tomb of an Ethiopian Candace, *Oudheid-Meded* 58 (1977) 63 ff., esp. 70). If this is true these pieces may have been fragments of glass vessels imported to Puteoli, which had been broken. For the position of Alexandria as a centre of mosaic art see Daszewski 18 ff. The earliest example of *opus vermiculatum* is the fine Sophilos mosaic from Thmuis, which he dates c. 200 B.C. (see Daszewski 82 ff.). Daszewski's conclusions with regard to chronology are not entirely supported by Salzmann 75–77, who assumes that *opus tessellatum* came into being only as late as the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century B.C. Thus he dates the Shatby mosaic, which Daszewski places in the beginning of the 3rd century, at the end of the 3rd

or even at the beginning of the 2nd century, cf. Salzmann 68–70; Daszewski 103–109. However, although the chronology of the development of Alexandrian mosaics can not yet be established definitely the fact remains that the earliest, preserved, examples of polychrome *opus vermiculatium* come from Alexandria. In this connection the *emblema* with the *symplegma* from the Casa del Fauno is of interest because there exists a replica from Thmuis near Alexandria (see n. 12). It seems tempting to assume that it was an early example of an Alexandrian export *emblema*. However, the tesserae seem to be made of the same kinds of limestone as those of the other mosaics of the Casa del Fauno (see Ch. II, n. 76). The workshop of the Casa del Fauno made extensive use of models and the *symplegma* mosaic may just as well have been made after an Alexandrian model. Also in the case of two small mosaic *emblemata* with Nilotic scenes from Pompeii it has been supposed that they were imported from Alexandria but their similarity with parts of the Nile Mosaic strongly suggests a close relation and consequently an Italian origin (see above n. 15, Ch. V, n. 16 bis, and Spinazzola 310). In this connection an inscription from Apateira near Ephesus dating from the end of the 1st cent. A.D. has also been considered. In it mention is made of Alexandrian mosaic *emblemata* in the inventory of a sanctuary(see Daszewski 15 ff.). It has, however, been pointed out that the word *emblemata* is in fact a reconstruction and that only the last two letters are original, and furthermore that the reconstruction is based on the assumption that Alexandrian refers to Alexandria in Egypt. The adjective Alexandrian may belong to another word and it may refer to Alexandria on the Latmos which lies not far from Ephesus (see Ph. Bruneau, Pavements "Alexandrins" ou les pièges de l'homonymie, *REG* 97 (1984) 61 ff.)

[18] See Phillips 198. Because of the heavily restored state of the mosaic it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding the original lettering. There seem to be some recurrent mistakes in the lettering, like e.g. the Y for Γ in the *tigris* and *rhinoceros* inscriptions, the Δ for A in the *agelarchos* and *arkos* inscriptions, and the A for Δ in the kameleopardalis inscription, see resp. Ch. III, nn. 60, 65, 57, 59, and 42. These errors are quite common. In other cases, however, it seems as if the craftsmen simply copied lines mechanically (see e.g. Ch. III, nn. 49, 54).

[19] See Meyboom 1977b, 74; De Vos 1979a, 168, has objected that these mosaics were not made by a single workshop and that the similarities between the various mosaics should be explained by the widespread use of the same models in the Hellenistic world. In general this observation may be true. However, I have not stated that all Pompeian mosaics were made by one and the same workshop. I hope to have demonstrated that the Pompeian fish mosaics were made after a new design which was created in the workshop of the Casa del Fauno, where also other new designs were made such as the mosaic with the cat (see Meyboom 1977; above nn. 6–7). A similar relationship may be found between several other mosaics discussed above (see e.g. n. 8). The c. 25 mosaics which up to the present have been preserved from Pompeii date for the larger part from the 1st half of the 1st century B.C. This number can not have been enough to allow the subsistence of a mosaic workshop at Pompeii during that period. On the other hand the recurrent presence of the workshop at Pompeii, as it appears from the four fish mosaics which were made or placed between 100 and 60, indicates that the workshop can not have been situated far away. Also Strocka 100, assumes the existence of a workshop at e.g. Naples or Puteoli. Replicas or variations exist of several of the other mosaics we have discussed previously. Of the small number of mythological motifs discussed by Pernice 174 ff., three are

replicas of the same motif, i.e. Theseus and the Minotaur, which all come from Central Italy (see Appendix 18). This limited number of motifs also suggests a close relation, since otherwise one would expect a larger variety of motifs. Actually, a shop with bronze ware and 2 small mosaics in stock has been preserved at Pompeii in the Casa di Ganimede, see H. Eschebach in *RM* 89 (1982) 251 f., pl. 110.

[20] For Puteoli and its position as international import harbour for central Italy see Ch. V, nn. 28, 34–36, 44; and App. 18. See for its cosmopolitan population which included colonies of foreign merchants and sailors who maintained offices, docks, warehouses and sanctuaries, Ch. V, nn. 34–37. See for the connections between Pompeii, Praeneste, Puteoli and Delos Ch. V, n. 35, 41, 48. There is evidence of Pompeians being associated in the leasing of warehouses at Puteoli for the storage of Egyptian grain in the 1st half of the 1st century A.D., see Rickmann 236 ff. See for the Serapeum of Puteoli Ch. V, nn. 28, 36. It lay by the harbour and here Sarapis was especially the patron god of sailors and merchants, see Tran tam Tinh 1972, 20 ff., 25 ff. Its existence in the 2nd century B.C. indicates that a considerable Egyptian colony already existed there at that time. A mosaic workshop working with Alexandrian models may well have been part of it. See for evidence of Alexandrian connections in the decorations of the Casa del Fauno n. 17. See for the possible presence in Ampurias of *emblemata* imported from Campania, Appendix 18.

[21] One could imagine that the Serapeum of Puteoli was decorated with Egyptian motifs and scenes and with Nilotic landscapes, cf. Ch. V, n. 43. The Iseum of Pompeii which was rebuilt after 62 A.D. was richly decorated with a large variety of scenes including religious and mythological scenes, Nilotic scenes and even an African animal scene, see Ch. V, n. 43. Similar decorations may have adorned the first Iseum of Pompeii, which was founded c. 100 B.C. (see for it Ch. V, n. 28), the Serapeum of Puteoli (see Ch. V, n. 28); and the Iseum at Rome (see Ch. V, n. 43). One could for instance imagine that the walls of porticoes surrounding these sanctuaries, were decorated with Nilotic scenes in the style of the Nile Mosaic and the Nilotic frieze in the Villa dei Misteri (see Ch. V, n. 10, and compare Vitruvius VII 5, 2, who recommended landscape paintings for the walls of porticoes because of their elongated shape; cf. Tybout 61 f., 75 f.,and below Ch. VII, nn. 25, 30, 35, 45, 46, for similar wall-paintings). Such a supposition is not contradictory to our opinion that the Nile Mosaic was not in the first place intended as a religious scene, since similar scenes would be appropriate decorations for a sanctuary for the Egyptian gods, because they illustrate their power (cf. Ch. IV, nn. 154, 198; Ch. V, n. 46). The supposed existence of Nilotic scenes in the Serapeum of Puteoli would offer an explanation for the recurrent appearence of some curious details like the 'fantastic' hippopotamus which appears in the upper part of the Nile Mosaic and in the Nilotic frieze in the Insula Occidentalis at Pompeii (see Ch. III, n. 23, fig. 31); the Asiatic onager among the African animals in the Nile Mosaic and in several cases at Pompeii (see Ch. III, n. 53 and fig. 29); the unusual form of the cabin boat with the typical end-piece in the Nile Mosaic and in some small mosaics from Pompeii (see Ch. V, n. 16 bis; Ch. III, n. 112); and the resemblance between the procession of women in the Nile Mosaic and in a wall-painting from Herculaneum (see Ch. III, n. 189). Compare also the more general similarities with several Nilotic scenes from Pompeii, such as those in the Casa dei Pigmei, the Casa dei Cei, the Casa di Apolline and the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges (see figs. 34, 35, 50, 51, 86; Ch. IV, n. 119). Naturally such recurrent details may be explained by the use of the same models, but these

must have had a common source. Considering the distribution of these scenes and motifs over Campania and Latium, Puteoli and its Serapeum would be the more probable candidate. Similar scenes may have decorated the first Iseum of Pompeii but the position of Pompeii is less central than that of Puteoli. So the ordinary Italian did not have to travel to Egypt, he could see its exotic marvels in the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods. This is not contradictory to our assumption that the fashion for Egyptian scenes was introduced to Italy by prominent Romans, who visited Egypt in the 2nd cent. B.C. (see Ch. V, n. 31). They instigated an interest which resulted in increasing contacts with Egypt, and consequently they stimulated not only the fashion for Egyptian scenes in Italy but also the spread of the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods.

Notes to Chapter VII

[1] The mosaics were laid on the spot at Palestrina. This appears from the absence of any trace of an under-layer on which the Fish Mosaic, which is still *in situ,* could have been transported. It was laid directly on two thin layers of mortar, which in their turn were laid directly on the rock bottom. The Fish- and the Nile Mosaic are identical in technical respect so the same procedure will have been followed for the latter (see Gullini 1956, 8 and 19; above Ch. III, n. 1). Also the irregular shapes of the grottoes would have made it a complicated affair to make the mosaics elsewhere, and then adapt them to the shapes of the grottoes. In the case of the Fish Mosaic the artists clearly took the irregular shape of the grotto into account for the composition of the mosaic (see below n. 12). See for the working-methods of a mosaic workshop Ch. VI, n. 1. The Egyptian animals were brought live to Italy around the middle of the 1st century B.C., hippopotami and a crocodile in 58, a rhinoceros and a *cephus* in 55 and a giraffe in 48, see Phillips 199, and the references given in Ch. III for each animal, nn. 114, 116, 65, 49, 45 respectively.

[2] For the use and the character of models for mosaics and paintings in general see the literature given in Ch. VI, n. 13; and below nn. 13, 14.

[3] See E.Q. Visconti, *Opere varie italiane e francesi* I (1827) 168, referring to Plautus *Pseudolus* I 11, 14: '*Alexandrina belvata tonsilia tappetia* ', close-cropped Alexandrian carpets with animal designs (cf. Fraser II, 243, n. 43). The same suggestion has been made by G. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani* (1895) 14 ff. referring to Claudian *In Eutropium* I 357, who mentions Judean tapestries depicting Indian monsters. Claudian is a late source for our period and a connection with the Nile Mosaic could only exist in the confusion between Aethiopian and Indian animals which we have noted before (see Ch. III, n. 32). Plautus' remark, however, is very interesting, also because it is early evidence (around 200 B.C.) of the import of Alexandrian luxury goods into Italy. Tapestries and carpets were of old imported from the Near East and are also mentioned especially in connection with Alexandria (see *EAA* VII, 600 ff., s.v. Tappeta; F. von Lorentz, *Barbaroon Yphasmata, RM* 52 (1937) 165 f; and especially Fraser I, 138). We may refer to Theocritus XV 78 ff., who mentions tapestries in the Royal Palace at Alexandria which showed very realistically rendered human figures, and to Athenaeus V 196–197, who mentions, besides various kinds of carpets and tapestries, cloaks embroidered with royal portraits and mythological scenes, decorating the Symposium Pavilion erected by Ptolemy II (see Fraser I,138, II, 242 f., nn. 42, 43). F.W. von Bissing, Raumillusion und Prospekte in der Wandmalerei.

Ihr vermutlicher aegyptischer Ursprung, *Miscellanea G. Galbiati* (1951) II, 33 ff., esp. 42 f. discusses the possible connection between figural tapestries and painted Egyptian floors showing garden scenes and the like (see for these n. 4). However, the little evidence there is about what these tapestries looked like does not show any indication that carpets or tapestries existed, which represented an overall landscape composition in the style of the Nile Mosaic and comparable to the gobelin of later European art. An impression of an Alexandrian tapestry may be offered by a painted ceiling in a tomb at Anfushy which depicts a tapestry hanging over a pergola. The tapestry is decorated with concentric friezes around a central medaillon , some of the friezes are decorated with figural scenes (see A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain 1940- 1950,* 73 ff, 112, fig. 43, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII; Bl. R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style* (1957) 53 f., fig. 2, pls. XXV–XXVII; R.A. Tomlinson, The Ceiling of Anfushy II, 2, in *Alessandria* II, 260 ff.). This pattern appears very frequently in Hellenistic floor mosaics as may be illustrated by many examples from e.g. Alexandria, Pergamum, Delos and Pompeii (see for these Salzmann; Daszewski; G. Kawerau, Th. Weygand, Die Paläste der Hochburg (1930), *Altertümer von Pergamon* V, 1; Bruneau; Pernice). So it seems that this pattern, at least originally, derives from carpets or tapestries. Friezes are a natural pattern for textiles and the motif of the turreted border is essentially a textile pattern. (see Fraser II, 243, n. 43; Daszewski 28 ff., esp. 39 , n. 56). Salzmann 55 ff., raises objections for such a derivation and proposes a derivation from painted floors. The similarity with the tapestry depicted in the Anfushy ceiling is, however, striking and there seems no reason why painted floors and floor mosaics may not both have been influenced by carpet patterns. A fine impression of an Alexandrian carpet as referred to by Plautus may be offered e.g. by the Shatby mosaic to which we have referred before and which shows a hunting scene, surrounded by a frieze depicting wild animals (see Daszewski 103 ff., pls. 4, 10–12, and above Ch. III, n. 38; IV n. 12; see for similar animal friezes in general Daszewki 56 ff.). So there is no evidence whatsoever that any carpets or tapestries existed which showed large landscape compositions. If these did exist, they probably were closely related to similar wall-paintings, the possible existence of which shall be discussed below in nn. 17, 21, 35.

[4] Cf. Von Bissing *l.c.* in n. 3; De Vos 1980, 87, n. 235; 88, 241; Badawy 1968, 83 f., col. pls. III and V. See for a few fragments of painted floors from the classical world which show only ornamental or vegetative decoration Salzmann 58.

[5] See Maspero 77 ff., with fig. on p. 78 representing a wall-painting from the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hassan (cf. P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* (1893–1894) II, pl. IV). Maspero pointed to the composition in registers, which is characteristic for Egyptian wall-paintings and to the fact that in his example and in the Nile Mosaic scenes which are taking place on the Nile were placed on the bottom register, while the scenes from daily life were placed in the centre and the desert hunt scene was placed in the top register. He supposed that this composition presented a view from the Nile over the fertile land to the desert in the background. This interpretation can not be upheld because of the presence of the Sudanese animals in the upper part. In the Nile Mosaic the upper part represents Nubia and the lower part Lower Egypt (see Ch. IV, n. 2). In Egyptian wall-painting a composition consisting of superimposed registers was an old Egyptian tradition, and was not meant to indicate perspective which was unknown in Egyptian art (see *LÄ* I, 474 ff., s.v. Aspektive, esp. 479, e.g. figs. 16, 17; below n. 16). Moreover,

the tripartition which he recognises in his example is not a general feature in Egyptian wall-paintings (cf. *Beni Hasan* I, pls. XIII, XXIX, left-hand side, where the Nilotic scene appears in the centre, and XXX) The comparison with Egyptian tomb paintings has also been made by Adriani 1972, 184 and in *Kenchraei* II, 138. However, this similarity is only superficial and is caused by the emphasis on scenes from daily life.

[6] See Schmidt 78–81.

[7] Besides the authors mentioned in nn. 6, 8 and 9, the use of illustrated texts for the creation of the Nile Mosaic or similar scenes has been supposed by Rostovtzeff 1941, 318, pl. XXXVIII; *idem* 1957, II, 615, n. 35; Beyen I, 169, n. 1; II, 1, 310; K. Schefold, Vorbilder der römischen Landschaftsmalerei, *AM* 71 (1956) 211 ff., esp. 216 ff.; *idem*, Probleme der pompejanischen Malerei, *RM* 72 (1965) 116 ff., esp. 119 f.; Whitehouse 89, n. 9; De Vos 1980, 90.

[8] See Phillips 198 ff., esp. 214 and 223. The supposed derivation of the Marissa frieze and the Nile Mosaic from an illustrated text is based on the fact that both depict the same Aethiopian animals which figure in ancient descriptions of Aethiopia (below n. 10), and several of these animals appear in ilustrated texts, be it of later date, like the Venice Oppian (see e.g. Ch. III, nn. 14, 39, fig. 30).

[9] See Steinmayer 108.

[10] For the connection of the upper part with the work of Agatharchides and his followers like Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and Aelian, see Ch. III, nn. 13, 205. For the connection of the lower part with Diodorus I 36, 7–12 (who may have used here a 3rd century work by Hecataeus of Abdera, cf. n. 21), and Strabo XVII 1, 4 and 48; see Ch. III, n. 205; Ch. IV, n. 60; Phillips 196; Fraser I, 496 ff.

[11] For the reconstruction of the original composition of the mosaic see Ch. I, pp. 5 ff., fig. 8. For the substantial coherence of the major scenes of the lower part see Ch. IV, p. 78. For the difference in contents between the upper and the lower part, which is enhanced by the presence of inscriptions only in the upper part, see Ch. IV, n. 2. This distinction seems to have been emphasized by a straight line running through the centre of the mosaic. One may even wonder why the artist did not try to make the transition more gradual. Only the Egyptian temple projects slightly into the upper part. The characteristic features of the landscape and the perspective are authentic and are not due to the restoration, because they may be found in original parts. The Nile Mosaic offers the earliest extant example of a large landscape rendered in bird's eye-view in a naturalistic way, i.e. suggesting difference in distance between the foreground and the background (see Beyen I, 164 ff; II, 302 ff.; see for perspective in general J. White, *Perspective in Ancient Drawing and Painting* (1956); Richter 1970; and further App. 20). The perspective indicated by the arrangement of the major buildings in bird's eye-view is enhanced by the oblique position of the buildings. The earliest Greek examples of buildings depicted in bird's eye-view may be found on Megarian bowls, which date roughly from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century B.C. (U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und boötischen Werkstätten* (1959) 45 f., 52 no.14, pl. 28,1; U. Sinn, *Die Homerischen Becher. Hellenistische Reliefkeramik aus Makedonien* (1979) 101 f., no. MB 37, fig. 7,3, who, 37 ff., in general is inclined to date the bowls somewhat earlier; Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 56, n. 91; Childs 65 f., fig. 3; see further Appendices 20, 21). The fact that the receding lines of the buildings all run more or less to the upper right-hand side is also remarkable. In general different objects in one picture were represented with different perspective which in each

case served to give the most complete image of it. So in a picture the receding lines of the various objects usually run in different directions. (see Richter 1970, 43, 46, 52, e.g. fig. 197; Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 54). In actual fact, except in the case of the pavilion where they seem to converge, the exact direction of the receding lines is, as usual, far from consistent., as may be seen in several examples of the quay, the wall of the grove and the propylon, (cf. Richter 1970, 51, figs. 210–212). A striking feature is the proportional diminution in scale of the buildings and figures towards the background in the lower part. It is usually assumed that this phenomenon was ignored in Greek art (cf. Richter 1970, 47 f, 54 f., who gives as the earliest example the Odyssey frieze in the Vatican Museum, which may be dated to c. 45 B.C.). However, some earlier attempts to depict a slight difference in scale between figures in the fore- and background may perhaps be found (see J. Borchardt, Zur Darstellung von Objekten in der Entfernung. Beobachtung zu den Anfängen der griechischen Landschaftsmahlerei, in *Tainia, Festschrift für Roland Hampe* (1980) 257 ff., see further Appendix 20). It is remarkable that the diminution of the figures is absent in the upper part. Perhaps the artist felt less need, because there are no buildings with receding lines. Only in the case of the huge crabs at the foot of the rocky outcrop in section 2, which are nearly as large as the fantastic hippopotamus standing on top of it, there may be some suggestion of a difference in distance. However, this may be accidental because in general the artist was entirely irrespective of the real proportional scales of the various animals and of their scale in connection to their surroundings (cf. Ch. III, n. 5). All these features shall be discussed further in Appendices 20, 21. In Roman art various kinds of perspective, usually quite incoherent, were used side by side, and it is interesting to compare the refined coherent bird's eye view of the Nile Mosaic to the incoherent primitive bird's eye view of the Nilotic mosaic from El Alia (see in general Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 54 ff.; Richter 49 ff.; e.g. figs. 211–215; 221–223, 226; and for the mosaic from El Alia, Foucher fig. 4). Compare the perspective used in the Fish Mosaic, see n. 12.

[12] For the Fish Mosaic see Ch. II, n. 7; Ch. VI, n. 6; Meyboom 1977, 58 ff.; for its composition Gullini 1956, pl. II, 63 ff., pl. 54, fig. 16. It is noteworthy that the fish are not mainly edible fish, like those found in Roman *vivarium-* and still life scenes, but are really a representative selection of Mediterranean fish (cf. Meyboom 1977, 78; *RStPomp* 3 (1989) 53 ff.; and J. M. Croisille, *Les natures mortes campaniennes* (1965), pls. XXI–XLIII). So the Fish Mosaic also reflects a zoological interest. The fish were not depicted in the dull manner of a cataloque in rows beside and beneath each other (cf. a late-antique example from North Africa in Dunbabin, figs. 119–120), but they were placed in a bay which was rendered in a striking bird's eye view. As in the case of the Nile Mosaic the background seems to be tilted upward. The perspective is suggested by spits of rock projecting from the sides of the mosaic into the surface of the sea like promontories. In the prototype of the Fish Mosaic the sense of perspective was moreover enhanced by a refined rendering of the water surface by means of stripes of different colours changing, from dark-blue in the foreground to silvery grey in the background. This background has been preserved in other fish mosaics, like that from the Casa del Fauno and the mosaic *AA–1941*. In the Palestrina Fish Mosaic the background is dark blue and the fish in the background have been depicted on a much larger scale than those in the foreground. These alterations were apparently carried out in order to make the fish in the background more clearly visible (see extensively Meyboom 1977, 60 ff., 64 ff., figs. 1, 15, 16). In the prototype the scene may have been concluded by a high

horizon such as in the Nile Mosaic and in several parts in the Odyssey frieze, a possibility which I overlooked in 1977, fig. 16. The only comparable views on bays which have been preserved may be found on the Odyssey frieze, see Beyen II, 260 ff., 311 ff., pls. 102, 103; Von Blanckenhagen 1963, pls. 46, 47, Richter 1907, figs. 200, 203. Von Blanckenhagen 1963, 117, emphasizes the fact that in the Odyssey frieze there is no real bird's eye view but only a high view point, see also G. Wathagin Cantino, Veduta dall' alto e scena a volo d'uccello, *RIA*, NS 16 (1969) 30 ff., esp. 34 ff.. Although this must indeed be admitted the difference is gradual and the bay of the Laestrygones in the Odyssey frieze is strikingly reminiscent of that of the Fish Mosaic. The comparison with the Odyssey frieze is also of interest because it not only offers a good parallel for the view of the bay in the Fish Mosaic, but also for the Nile Mosaic. The island of the Laestrygones very much resembles the upper part of the Nile Mosaic in the prominent presence of the rocks and the way they alternate with stretches of flat land and pools (see Beyen II, 312 ff., figs. 102, 105; Von Blanckenhagen 1963, figs. 44, 45, 50, 51; A. Gallina, *Le pitture con paesaggi dell'Odissea dall'Esquilino* (1960–1961) (*Studi miscellanei* 6) esp. 39 ff.).

[13] See Appendix 19.

[14] If the models were first-hand designs, these must have been created in an eclectic way which we shall consider further in n. 28. See for the original background of the model of the Fish Mosaic and for the adaptation of the Fish Mosaic to the nymphaeum n. 12. The fact that this striking background has been preserved in other Pompeian fish mosaics strongly suggests that it belonged to an existing scene and was not merely a feature of a cartoon made for the Fish Mosaic. If this were the case the cartoon would have been returned to Pompeii and would have been preserved there, and a feature which was not copied at Praeneste would have been copied without understanding in some Pompeian mosaics. With regard to the Nile Mosaic, the only contemporary Nilotic scene which has been preserved, i.e. the Nilotic mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno, shows the cobra and the mongoose in a more detailed way than the Nile Mosaic (see Ch. II, nn. 70, 71; III, n. 74, figs. 15, 28). This suggests also the existence of a more detailed common model, although not necessarily a large scene. See for the division of the Nile Mosaic in two parts further below n. 30. See for the use of models in general Ch. VI, n. 13. See for the supposed models nn. 13, 45, 46.

[15] See Ch. VI, n. 19.

[16] See for the connection between ancient Egyptian pictures of scenes from daily life and those from the Graeco-Roman period, Maspero 77, yet compare the observations made above in n. 5; furthermore De Vos 1980, 81, 84; Adriani 1959, 27; *Kenchraei* II, 138. See for hippopotamus hunt scenes Ch. III, n. 119, fig. 43; for fishing scenes Ch. III, n. 194, and for marshscenes below n. 20 and Ch. III, n. 125.

See for desert hunt scenes Vandier IV, 787 ff. In many examples the animals are arranged in superimposed registers, each animal with its own ground line, while rocks and similar details indicate the desert (see Vandier IV, figs. 446, 449, pls. XXXVI, XXXIX, fig. 463; Vandersleyen, pls. 254, 272). In other cases, however, the animals are arranged more naturally in a background of rocks, shrubs etc. (see Vandier IV, figs. 454, 458, 459, pls. XXXIX, XL, figs. 464, 466 and 467). According to *LÄ* I, s.v. Aspektive, 474 ff., (E. Brunner-Traut) esp. 479, such compositions are not an attempt to represent perspective, which was unknown in Egyptian art, but to make a scene as complete as possible (cf. above n. 5). It may be admitted that the artists were not consciously seeking to represent perspective, still some of the examples given above offer a fine bird's eye view and the effect of perspective is nearly reached.

[17] For the Vergina frieze see App. 20, n. 7; for the Eastern and Egyptian representations App. 20, nn. 11–15.

[18] See Pliny *NH* XXXV 142; *EAA* V, 384 f.; s.v. Nealkes; Schmidt 51; Bonneau 89; De Vos 1980, 86. The battle in question took place in the middle of the 4th century B.C. between Artaxerxes III Ochos and the rebelling Egyptians. The composition of this painting must have had something of a bird's eye view, in order to depict the shore, the watersurface and the number of ships necessary to indicate that a naval battle was taking place. So, essentially it must have been a compositon in the style of the Fish Mosaic and the bay in the Odussey frieze (cf. n. 12). It has been suggested that this naval battle was the origin of the naval battle scenes which occasionally occur in Nilotic landscapes, see De Vos 1980, 89 f. This seems somewhat farfetched. The Ptolemies often had to send troops up the Nile to suppress rebellions in the Thebaid, especially in the 1st half of the 2nd century. So the presence of the soldiers, who also served as police, may be quite casual in Nilotic scenes (cf. Ch. III, n. 195). Be that as it may, a picture of a naval battle in the White Frieze, from the Roman villa beneath the Villa Farnesina at Rome, may give an impression of what Nealkes painting looked like. It is interesting that the White Frieze also shows a fishing scene in a bay, with a statue of Poseidon on the shore which is strikingly reminiscent of the bay in the Fish Mosaic. Besides, there are villa landscapes, bucolic scenes with cattle and herdsman etc. (see Peters 54 f., figs. 43–46; *EAA* V, pl. opp. p. 164; I. Bragantini, M. de Vos, *Museo Nazionale Romano; Le Pitture* II, 1; *Le decorazioni della villa romana della Farnesina* (1982), pls. 207–240, esp. 216 and 230. So both the Yellow Frieze in the Casa di Livia and the White Frieze seem to represent a stage of development in which the landscape characteristics have been largely reduced by a sketchy monochrome style of painting, but in their contents both still show the derivation of the landscape friezes which Vitruvius VII 5, 2, describes, see Ch. V, n. 11, and Appendix 21). The Odyssey frieze with its alternating views on bays and pieces of land may help to visualise the original appearance of such a landscape frieze (cf. n. 12). See for the motif of the donkey and the crocodile n. 19.

[19] The motif of a donkey or cow attacked by a crocodile appears quite frequently in Nilotic scenes, see De Vos 1980, 86 f., fig. 40, pl. LIV, 2; Schmidt, pl. VII, fig. 10; Foucher 139, figs. 9, 10; E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, A Nilotic scene in Justinianic Floor Mosaics in Cyrenaican Churches, in *La mosaique gréco-romaine* II (1975) 149 ff., pls. LVII, 2, 3; LVIII,1 (donkeys); pls. LVI, LVII,1, LVIII, 2, 3 (cows); Balty 828, pl. CXXXI,2). A connection with Nealkes' painting has often been suggested (see n. 18; Schmidt 51; De Vos 1980, 86). However, in all the examples of this motif given above it does not appear in connection with a naval battle but in a Nilotic scene. Such a realistic motif seems characteristic for traditional Egyptian Nilotic scenes. See for the threat which crocodiles formed for cattle and herdsman Vandier V, 103 ff.; e.g. Vandersleyen, pl. 259b). It has been suggested that the donkey in Nealkes painting stood for Artaxerxes III Ochos, who reputedly was nicknamed *onos,* ass, by his Greek mercenaries, after he had replaced the Apis bull of Memphis by an ass. Furthermore, the ass was believed by the Egyptians to be a bad animal associated with Seth, and the crocodile should symbolise the victorious Egyptians (see F. Münzer, in *Hermes* 30 (1895) 532 n.2; Plut. *De Is,* 31; Aelian, *VH* IV 8; A. Reinach, *Recueil Milliet* (1921) I, 395, n. 6; Rouveret (*o.c.* in Appendix 21, n. 4) 583). This interpretation seems, however, farfetched because the crocodile was also a notoriously bad animal

associated with Seth and is frequently hunted in Nilotic scenes (see Ch. III, n. 116). It seems more probable that it was exactly because of the realistic character of the motif of the donkey and the crocodile that Nealkes adopted it to indicate the Nilotic surrounding in his picture(cf. the examples in Vandier and Vandersleyen *ll.cc.*)

[20] See for ancient Egyptian marsh-scenes G.A.D. Tait, The Egyptian Relief Chalice, *JEA* 49 (1963) 93 ff.,138, figs. 2, 3. The poor herdsmen and fishermen are often depicted as caricatures with bodily deformations (see the references in Ch. III, n. 125). The relationship between ancient Egyptian representations of dwarfs and otherwise deformed people, and those from the Hellenistic period, has been assumed by A.W. Badawy, La grotesque: invention égyptienne, *GazBA*, Oct. 1965, 189 ff. Alexandrian statuettes of miserable and caricatural peasants and fisherman have existed since the 2nd part of the 3rd century B.C., see Grimm, (*o.c.* in Ch. VI, n. 17) 19 f.; Himmelmann, 54, pls. 31, 33 b, 43, 60 a–b, 61; Laubscher (*o.c.* in Appendix 13, n. 9) 40 ff.; E. Bayer, Fischerbilder in der hellenistischen Plastik (1983) 187, figs. 11–16, 19–31). For the symbolic meaning of dwarfs and other deformed people see further Appendix 13. So we see on the one hand that the poor marsh dwellers belong to the ancient Egyptian tradition of Nilotic scenes, and on the other hand that they appear in Nilotic scenes from the Roman period. It is illogical to assume that the same figures existed in the 3rd century only in the form of statuettes and that they were replaced in their Nilotic surroundings only in the Roman period. On the contrary, the Alexandrian statuettes can be understood better if we suppose that they derive from pictures which show these figures in their natural surroundings. It has been suggested that these figures were inspired by the *grylloi*, grotesque dancers, which were painted by Antiphilos in the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C., see Binsfeld (*o.c.* in Appendix 13, n. 9) 27 ff.; *EAA* I, 438 f., s.v. Antiphilos; Himmelmann 21). It therefore seems possible that Nilotic scenes also existed in 3rd century Alexandria, and that there was a continuous tradition of this genre from ancient Egypt to the Roman world (cf. Grimm *o.c.*, 20). Actually, mosaic fragments with Nilotic scenes have been found at Canopus, but they date from the 1st century B.C. and may belong to the Roman period, so they are too late to have any influence on our argument (see Daszewski 69 f., 136 ff., 167 ff., nos. 28–37, 44, pls. 27–31, 37a). See for the interest in landscape in Alexandrian art of the 3rd century also App. 21.

[21] For the natural-historical sciences which were studied in the Mouseion at Alexandria, see Fraser I, 312 ff., 337 ff., and 520 ff. for geography. The interest in the natural history of foreign countries originated during the campaigns of Alexander (see Pfister, 30 ff., esp. 48). In Ptolemaic Egypt this was strongly stimulated by Ptolemy II, who mounted expeditions, collected species of animals, and reputedly wrote a treatise on trees (see Fraser I, 176 f., 306, 311; II, 406, n. 39; above Ch. IV, n., 46; and Pliny *NH* 1 12 and 13, who mentions him as one of his sources). This led to a natural-historical and historical interest in Egypt, as may be illustrated by such works as the detailed description of the land and customs of the Egyptians, possibly called 'On the Egyptians', by Hecataeus of Abdera. Substantial excerpts of these descriptions are incorporated in Diodorus I (see Fraser I, 496 ff.). Another example may have been 'A journey up-river from Memphis' by Amometus of which regrettably next to nothing has been preserved (see Fraser I, 521). Furthermore we must also mention Manethon's highly influential 'Aegyptiaca' which discussed the history and religious customs of the Egyptians (see Fraser I, 505 ff.). See for chorography as a literary genre *RE* Suppl. IV, 523 f.

See for topography as a literary genre *RE*, 2. Reihe, VI, 1722 f. s.v. Topographia; Tybout 65, n. 238; H. Lausberg., *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (1973) I, 406 f., 819). Besides these literary forms of chorography and topography pictorial variants in the style of cartographic paintings were also developed. The exact nature of chorographical and topographical painting is disputed and opinions diverge between map-like paintings and didactic landscape pictures. Their character shall be discussed in Appendix 21. However that may be, it is generally agreed upon that these genres naturally must have had the following characteristic quality: a large background rendered in some kind of bird's eye view, in which towns and various characteristic landscape features could be depicted. Furthermore, the origins of these genres are generally attributed to Alexandria because of the close connection with the geographical studies of the Mouseion and because the earliest representative of the genre, who happens to be known to us, Demetrius the *topographus*, came from Alexandria (see Beyen I, 170 ff.; II, 311; Von Blanckenhagen 1962, 56, n. 91; Tybout 340 ff., Leach 91 ff., 108 f.; and for Demetrius Ch. V, nn. 31, 32). The flourishing period of the Mouseion was the 3rd century B.C. and after 200 a strong decline set in, together with the departure of scholars and scientists (see n. 22). So it seems probable that chorographical and topographical painting originated in the flourishing period of the Mouseion, i.e. in the 3rd century. Demetrius the *topographus* will have been born in Alexandria towards the end of the 3rd century and will have learned his art there when he was young. He probably belonged to those men of letters and artists who after 200 began to leave Alexandria for safer places and more attractive patrons, such as Rome (see n. 22). See for chorographical and topographical painting further Appendix 21.

[22] See for the Mouseion and the Library of Alexandria extensively Fraser I, 312 ff., 320 ff., 324 and below n. 44; and for its decline Fraser I, 79, 333, 467 ff. The political power of the Ptolemaic empire began to decline both internally and internationally after the battle of Raphia in 217. This went together with uprisings of the Egyptian population and consequently the connection with Upper Egypt was largely disrupted during the 1st half of the 2nd century. The result of this was the growing importance of the Egyptian element in Ptolemaic Egypt. Since the beginning of the 2nd century Greek scholars and scientists began to leave Alexandria for safer places and more attractive patrons, like Pergamum and eventually Rome, which had become the dominant power in the Mediterranean after its victories in the First Macedonian War in 197 and the Third Macedonian War in 168, and the protection of Alexandria against Antiochus in the same year (see Fraser I, 79, and cf. above Ch. V, nn. 31, 43). The decline was concluded by the expulsion from Alexandria of all 'foreign' scholars and scientists by Ptolemy VIII in 145, which prompted to the sarcastic observation by the historian Menecles of Barce that in this way Alexandria became the teacher to all Greeks and barbarians (see Fraser I, 121, 517 f.; II, 165, n. 324; Appendix 16, n.7.

[23] See for the Marissa frieze Ch. IV p. 43 ff., n. 5; figs. 56–65. It measured c. 13 m in length and 30–40 cm in height. A connection with illustrated scrolls has been suggested by Peters, Thiersch 95; Rostovtzeff 1957, 276; Phillips 214; Steinmayer 106; Beyen I, 169, n.1. One could imagine that the frieze was modelled after an illustrated or painted scroll describing and depicting an Aethiopian hunting expedition, like the one described by Agatharchides (see Ch. III, n. 13, and compare the examples of illustrated scrolls discussed above in n. 13).

[24] This custom may already be found in archaic Greek vase-painting, see

B.F. Cook, *Greek Inscriptions* (1987). It is also attested for large paintings of the classical period, as may be illustrated by the famous paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi, described by Pausanias X 25–31; cf. *EAA*, Atlante dei complessi figurati e degli ordini architettonici, pls. 235–238.

[25] See for the decoration of the tomb besides our fig. 56; Peters, Thiersch figs. 1–2; Tybout, 135 f. See for Hellenistic tombs imitating rooms decorated with half-columns in relief or in paint Tybout 136 ff., e.g. pls. 82, 84, 2 (the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles and the Great Tomb at Leukadia). For animal friezes running along the top of a wall in Etruscan tombs see Boëthius, Ward-Perkins, pl. 43, the Tomba della Mercareggia, and the Tomba François referred to in Ch. IV, n. 5. Both the half-columns and the figural frieze on top of the wall may be found in interiors in real architecture, as is already the case in the temple of Bassae (see Tybout, fig. 4, 1; Lawrence, pl. 81a). A figural frieze in a similar position is described for the dining hall of Ptolemy IV's Nile yacht (see Athenaeus V 205 e; Caspari 3, 50, fig. 14). Compare also the Nilotic frieze in the garden of the Insula Occidentalis at Pompeii which runs above a row of painted columns (see Ch. III, n. 23, fig. 31). The frieze in the Nile yacht, the subject of which is not known, was not a painted frieze but was composed of figures made of ivory and was more than 50 cm in height. If we would translate the size of the Marissa tomb to real architecture the height of the frieze might have been c. 50–100 cm. If we imagine the trees in the Marissa frieze somewhat larger and the presence of rocks here and there between the figures, the result would be a hunting frieze not so very different from the Vergina hunting scene which is 1,16 m in height (see App. 20). It therefore seems quite probable that the Marissa tomb, which shows a strong Alexandrian influence in every other respect, was also in its painted decoration inspired by Alexandrian models (see Ch. IV, n. 5). This suggests that there existed, probably in the Royal Palace in Alexandria, halls or rooms, which were decorated with similar friezes or panels depicting the Aethiopian hunting expeditions of Ptolemies II and III (see for these Ch. IV p. 49, and for the Royal Palace below n. 45). See for the use of a model for a floor mosaic from the Royal Palace in another place the example discussed in Ch. VI, n. 13, and for the activity abroad of craftsmen belonging to the Ptolemaic court examples given by H. v. Hesberg, in *Das ptolemaische Ägypten* (1976) 145, n. 15. Naturally such a picture may in its turn have been based on an illustrated scroll (cf. n. 28).

[26] See for game-park scenes at Pompeii, which have been preserved among other cases in the Casa della Caccia Antica, the Casa dei Cei. the Casa del Centenario and the Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto: Zanker 504 ff., figs. 39, 43, 44; De Vos 1979 b, 91 f.; Schefold 1962, 146, pls. 150, 151; Spinazzola 276 f, fig. 306; W.F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii* (1979) 110 ff., pls. 111, 112, 115; D. Michel, Pompejanische Gartenmalereien, in*Tainia, Festschrift für R. Hampe* (1980) 373 ff., esp. 394 ff.; Michel 79 ff.; Andreae; E.M. Moormann, in Peters 1993, 340 ff. See for the painting in the Casa di Romolo e Remo and its animals Ch. III, nn. 7, 12, 52, 53; IV, n. 9, 12, 13; Mielsch 1986, 755 f., who also interpretes it as Aethiopia. The African animal scene in the Casa dei Cei at Pompeii decorates the backwall of the *viridarium*, whereas the left and right wall are decorated by large Nilotic landscapes (see resp. Ch. IV, n. 124 and Ch. III, n. 155, fig. 50; Spinazzola, figs. 305–308; Michel 79 ff., figs. 266, 268, 271). It must be admitted, however, that other game-park scenes do not show a particularly African character. Michel, *ll.cc.*, assumes that the genre of these large hunting scenes was created in the period of the Fourth Style (2nd half of the 1st cent. A.D.).

However, the similarities with the upper part of the Nile Mosaic and the Vergina frieze (see App. 20) strongly suggest that these scenes were a revival in the Fourth Style of a genre which had existed long before (cf. already Beyen I, 55 f., 168 ff., 303 ff., and fig. 153; II, 1, 311 ff.

[27] See for the sources which Agatharchides used, Diod. III 38, 1; Pfister 30 f. esp. 35 ff.; Fraser I, 173, 549; II, 788, n. 242; and extensively Peremans 438 ff., 449 ff. Here a distinction must be made between the *hypomnemata* and the *ephemerides* – the difference between these is not always clear – which were travel accounts and commentaries of an official character, and which were kept in the royal archives at Alexandria (see Peremans 438 ff.); and the *autoptai*, explorers reports and merchants accounts (Peremans 445 f.). See for the various possibilities of illustrated papyrus scrolls, Appendix 19.

[28] One could imagine that he used illustrations of animals, but for the fine rendering of the landscape of the first cataract with the granite rocks and table mountains he must have used a larger model (see for the landscape Ch. III, nn. 4, 21, and for a painted scroll with similar features the Turin papyrus referred to in n. 12). On the other hand, the curious way in which the semi-precious stones are depicted in the rocks seems to be inspired by hearsay or a description rather than on observation (see Ch. III, n. 4). See for the zoo in the Royal Palace of Alexandria Ch. IV, n. 46. Ptolemy II was very interested in natural history and an arduous collector of exotic animals. He was also highly interested in flora and reputedly wrote a treatise on trees (see n. 21). So the gardens of the Royal Palace may have contained exotic plants and trees (cf. Strabo XVII 1, 9; Fraser I, 23; above Ch. IV, n. 49). The desert rose and the pair of giraffes clearly depend on live observation (see Ch. III, nn. 18, 43). The *onokentaura*, on the other hand, looks more like a visualisation of a vague description of the white bearded gnu (see Appendix 1). In the same way the fantastic hippopotamus in section 2 looks like an imaginative creation based on a description of a wild buffalo (see Ch. III, n. 23). So it seems as if the artist of the original of the Nile Mosaic used various sources, including both descriptions and sketches of animals and countries, as well as studies from life in the zoo. The eclectic procedure of the artist also appears from the unnatural way in which he placed several animals on the top of rocky outcrops, and from the lack of proportion between the various kinds of animals and between their surroundings (see above n. 11 and Ch. III, n. 5). Finally, we have already observed that, whereas the landscape offers a fine picture of the landscape of the area of the first cataract, in reality most of the animals lived much more to the south in the savanna country of the southern Sudan (see Ch. IV, nn. 42, 43).

[29] See for this procedure Ch. VI, n. 13.

[30] See for the difference in contents and composition between the upper and the lower part Ch. IV, n. 2 and above n. 11. One could easily imagine the two parts as separate scenes, as is the case of the African animal scene and the two Nilotic scenes in the Casa dei Cei (see n. 26; and Ch. IV, nn. 120, 124). The two Nilotic scenes in the Casa dei Cei show a striking difference. The one on the left shows a barren landscape with pygmies, hippopotami and crocodiles (see Ch. IV, n. 124). The one on the right shows common people in a cultivated landscape (see Ch. IV, n. 120, fig. 50). It looks as if the first scene should be placed in Upper Egypt, and the second scene in the Hellenised Delta. So the three scenes seem to offer a kind of triptych, representing respectively Upper Egypt, Aethiopia and Lower Egypt. See for African animal scenes in general n. 26, and for Nilotic and fishing scenes Ch. V, n. 7. All these cases concern separate scenes, which may, however, be

combined in one way or another. The actual composition of the Nile Mosaic could be a refined adaptation to the shape of the grotto nymphaeum. The real water which trickled through the backwall of the rock mixed with the depicted Nile water which seemed to come forth from the rocks of the first cataract and streamed to the front of the nymphaeum, where it flooded the Delta (cf. Ch. II, nn. 2,6). One could imagine the two parts of the Nile Mosaic side by side. The Fish Mosaic, the model of which originally also seems to have had a rectangular shape, could be added to these (see above n. 12; Meyboom 1977, 64, pl. 54, fig. 16b). See for the general similarity in composition and contents of these three scenes above nn. 11, 12. The result would be a consecutive arrangement of three large rectangular panels which could have been arranged either in the way of a frieze, or on three separate walls as in the case of the *viridarium* of the Casa dei Cei (see n. 26). In spite of the differences which we have noticed in the rendering of the perspective all three scenes are depicted as if seen from above. Actually the differences are caused by the different character of the landscape, which respectively consist of a bay, a mountainous desert and a Delta landscape with various kinds of buildings. The artists who created these scenes skilfully succeeded in rendering a convincing perspective in each scene, depending on the character of the landscape (see nn. 11, 12). Originally all three scenes may have had a high horizon, like the upper part of the Nile Mosaic, and as may be found in other scenes with which they have features in common, such as the Odyssey frieze, the Nilotic frieze in the Villa dei Misteri and the Nilotic frieze in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges (see n. 12; Ch. V, n. 10; Ch. IV, n. 119).

[31] For the natural historical interest apparent from the Nile Mosaic see Ch. III, n. 205, and for that of the Fish Mosaic Meyboom 1977, 68 ff., 72, and above n. 12. See for the bird's eye view composition of the two parts of the Nile Mosaic and of the Fish Mosaic above nn. 11–12, 30. In its heyday, the 3rd century B.C, the Ptolemaic realm virtually included the eastern Mediterranean and the aromatic coast of Somaliland (see Ch. IV, n. 45). Due to the increasing political troubles since c. 200 B.C. its naval power was soon reduced and the connections with Aethiopia were interrupted, but from time to time they were reestablished (cf. above n. 22; Ch. IV, n. 48; Ch. V, n. 31; Fraser I, 60 ff.). See for Isis as Mistress of Egypt and Aethiopia Ch. IV, n. 198 and as Mistress of the Sea Ch. V, nn. 6, 51.

[32] See for these three genres in Roman art Ch. V, nn. 7, 17; App. 18; and above n. 26.

[33] Naturally the dates which have now and then been suggested for the models have no solid base, because no comparison material from the Hellenistic world has been preserved. Usually a date in the 2nd century B.C. is suggested, see Gullini 1956, 31; Beyen II, 1, 312 ff.; see for other suggested dates in the 2nd century Meyboom 1977, nn. 257, 259. Rostovtzeff 1957, 216 suggested an early Ptolemaic model. Steinmayer 106, 108, dates the models presumed by her, i.e. illustrated scrolls, to c. 280 B.C., apparently in connection with her supposition that these scrolls were brought to Italy by the Roman embassy to Alexandria in 273 , and because of the absence of the Pharos (cf. Steinmayer 82). We have seen, however, that the hunting expeditions probably began c. 270 B.C. (see Ch. IV, n. 44). The absence of the Pharos is irrelevant because Alexandria is not represented (see Ch. IV, p. 65, n. 135). In Meyboom 1977, 71f. I assumed a date for the prototype in the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century B.C., because of the connection of the Nile Mosaic with the Marissa frieze and the Aethiopian expeditions and because it was the heyday of the natural historical sciences in the Mouseion in that period.

[34] For the hunting expeditions to Aethiopia see Ch. IV p. 49, esp. nn. 44, 47; for the date of the Marissa frieze see Ch. IV, n. 5, and for its supposed model above n. 24. If the hippopotamus and the crocodile in the Marissa frieze did not represent Nilotic fauna in general but referred to the lakes near the Somali coast, the frieze, or its model, could not date from before the reign of Ptolemy III, because the exploration of the Somali coast seems to have begun in his reign (see Ch. IV, n. 25, figs. 64, 65; Fraser II, 307, n. 368). See for the flourishing period of the Mouseion in the 3rd century, the geographical studies and the origin of topographical painting above nn. 21, 22, and App. 21.

[35] See Appendix 21

[36] See for the Fish Mosaic Ch. II, n. 7, and above n. 12. Fishing scenes are often compared to Theocritus I 39–44, and in general Theocritus' interest in landscape, hersdsmen etc., has been associated with Alexandrian art of the 3rd century B.C. (see Adriani, 1959; A. Adriani, Un motivo "teocrito" in un vaso alessandrino, in *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski* (1966) 31 ff.; Webster (*o.c.* in Ch. II, n. 40) 166 ff.; S. Nicosia, *Teocrito e l'arte figurata* (1968) 79 ff.; and compare the realistic statuettes referred to above, n. 20). Compare for the striking bird's eye view of a bay, nn. 12,18. See for the shrine Ch. V, n. 6; Gullini 1956, pl. VIII,2; H. Lauter, Künstliche Unfertigkeit: Hellenistische Bossensäulen, *JdI* 90 (1983) 287 ff. Noteworthy is the representation of porphyry in the altar and the urns, which is strongly suggestive of Egypt. Porphyry was in the Hellenistic world only rarely used and remained restricted to Egypt. In the case of the Fish Mosaic it will have been imitated by using reddish limestone (see Gullini 1956, 32; *LÄ* IV, 1071 f., s.v. Porphyr; M. L. Lucci, Il porfido nell'antichitá, *ArchCl* 16 (1964) 226 ff., esp. 239; H. v. Hesberg, *Öjh* 53 (1981/82) 51 ff. The altar has a top with the shape of a volute capital (see in general C. G. Yavis, *Greek altars, Origins and typology* (1949) and for an example dating already from the classical period H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (1968) 17 f, fig. 2. The typical shape of the drums of the column is a Hellenistic feature (see Lauter *l.c.*; Tybout 334). Noteworthy is the Italic-Corinthian capital. It is damaged but its form clearly is more or less square; the acanthus leaves (of the *acanthus mollis* type) do not rise above half of the height of the capital, except for the extant corner leaf which supports the volute, and there are no helices. In general these characteristics point to the early Hellenistic period (3rd cent. B.C.; see Lauter-Bufe 65 ff.). No exact parallels can be found within the large variety of Italic-Corinthian capitals, but one could compare Lauter-Bufe, pls. 7c and 23c, resp. from Reggio di Calabria and Palermo. The origin of these examples is not, however, a compelling argument for a South Italian origin for the shrine in the Fish Mosaic. In the first place there were intensive contacts between Sicily and Alexandria in the early Hellenistic period, which will certainly have implied cultural exchanges, as is clearly shown in the case of Theocritus who lived in Syracuse and in Alexandria (cf. Ch. V, n. 34). For example the Alexandrian motif of the column base surrounded by acanthus leaves may be found in Tarentum as early as the end of the 4th century B.C. (see Tybout 332 ff., and compare in general Pfrommer, *o.c.* in Ch. V, n, 34). Compare examples of Italic-Corinthian capitals in the Eastern Mediterranean and in Africa, including some examples from Alexandria, see Lauter-Bufe, 60 ff., 72, n. 170, pl. 45 a,b,d,e. In the second place it has been observed that in wall-paintings of the Second Style capitals of various types from earlier periods may be found without any relation to contemporary architecture. They seem to have been chosen mainly for decorative purposes (see Lauter-Bufe, 98). This may also have been the case in the Fish Mosaic,

compare the Italic-Ionic bases in the Nile Mosaic, see Ch. III, n. 148. Therefore, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that the Fish Mosaic also reflects an Alexandrian model from the 3rd century. On the contrary, both the bucolic character and the zoological interest fit well into the general picture of Alexandrian art of the 3rd century (see Beyen II, 311 and Lauter *o.c.* 289, n. 9). Both authors consider not only the Nile Mosaic but also the Fish Mosaic as examples of topography. Just as the upper part of the Nile Mosaic seems to be a visualisation of an Aethiopian hunting expedition, the Fish Mosaic seems a visualised panegyric on fishing, like Oppian's *Halieutica* (see n. 12, Meyboom 1977, 66, other works on fishing are mentioned by Athenaeus I, 22, 13 b–c).

[37] For the essential similarity in contents and composition see nn. 11, 12, 30, 34, 35; and for the presumed existence of similar scenes in the 3rd century n. 20. For the antiquity of the rites see in general David 219 ff., and Beinlich; and e.g. above Ch. IV, n. 90, Ch. III, n. 98. For the late Hellenistic date of the bases of the obelisks in section 8, see Ch. III, n. 77; and for that of the acroteria of the pavilion in section 13, Ch. III, n. 150; cf. also one of the helmets in section 13, which seems to date from c. 100 B.C., see Ch. III, n. 163. We have already seen that at the time that the Nile Mosaic was made the period of the high flood coincided more or less with the begining of the new year. Therefore one could consider the possibility that the Nile Mosaic could be created at that time. However, there is no specific reference to the beginning of the new year in the Nile Mosaic, and furthermore the Nile flood and the beginning of the new year roughly coincided during the entire later Ptolemaic period, and they had always been associated (see Ch. IV, n. 183).

[38] For the Ptolemies in relation to the Egyptian cults and the Nile flood in particular, see resp. Fraser I, 246 ff., and Bonneau 315 ff. Whereas before the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221), the Nile flood was mainly considered by the Greeks as a natural phenomenon (cf. Bonneau 137 f.) Euergetes showed a strong syncretistic feeling and religious interest in the Egyptian cults and the Nile flood, as it appears from his religious policy (compare e.g. the Serapeum, see n. 44, and the Osiris temple of Canopus, see Ch. IV, n. 192; see for his calender reform in 238 and its religious implications with regard to the Nile flood and the dynastic cult Appendix 12). Euergetes' syncretistic feelings were commemorated by the famous gold medals with his portrait issued by his son Ptolemy IV Philopator (see Alföldi 6 ff.). Philopator himself was notorious for his identification with Dionysus. We have met him already as collector of dwarfs for his symposia to illustrate the Ptolemaic *truphe.* He was also well-disposed towards the Egyptian gods (see above Ch. IV, n. 157; Appendix 13; Fraser I, 203 f., with references in n. 109).

[39] For the political and cultural decline, which went together with the rise of the Egyptian element since c. 200, see Fraser I, 60 ff., 79; above n. 22. See for the development of the arts of Ptolemaic Egypt the survey by Grimm (*o.c.* in n. 20) 13 ff., 21 ff. It is based on the stylistic development of royal portraits which show a naturalistic style in the 3rd century, the traditional Egyptian style in the 2nd century, while the naturalistic style returns in the 1st century B.C.

[40] Compare for example the case of Ptolemy VIII who was, in general, very Egyptian minded and anti-Greek and contributed largely to Egyptian temples (cf. n. 22). However, when he received Scipio Aemilianus in 140/139 he was dressed as Dionysus, in the Greek style (cf. Ch. IV, n. 159). We may also mention two gold rings with engraved portraits of (presumably)

Ptolemy VI in the Louvre, dating from ca. 145 B.C.). One shows him as a Macedonian king with diadem, the other as Pharaoh with the double crown of Egypt (see Kyrieleis 63, pl. 46, 4–5). In both cases the portrait shows a refined and lively naturalism which in the second case is in striking contrast to the Egyptian outfit.

[41] Like the models of the Alexander mosaic and the hunt mosaic from Palermo, see Ch. VI, nn. 9, 10. Compare also a picture of Ptolemy I, depicting him as Meleager hunting a boar, which is attributed to Antiphilos and which is reflected in a wall-painting from Gragnano near the Bay of Naples from the 1st century A.D. and in a mosaic from Setif in Algeria from the 4th century A.D. (see M. Donderer, Dionysos und Ptolemaios Soter als Meleager-zwei Gemälde des Antiphilos, in *Festschrift G. Wirth* (1988) 781 ff.; P. Miniero, Villa rustica a Gragnano, *RStPomp.* 2 (1988) 226 ff., figs. 82–85; Plinius *NH* XXXV 138, and for Antiphilos also above n. 20). See for the possibility of a 3rd century Alexandrian model for Theseus mosaics from Pompeii and elsewhere Daszewski *l.c.* in App. 18, n. 18. For the use of models see in general Ch. VI, n. 13.

[42] See above n. 22.

[43] See for the development of mosaics in general and at Alexandria in particular Daszewski 79 ff., Salzmann 59 ff., esp. 75 f. Regrettably these authors have drawn different conclusions with regard to the beginning of *opus tesselatum* and consequently of *opus vermiculatum* (cf. Ch. VI, n. 17). Be that as it may, in both views *opus vermiculatum* does not appear before the end of the 3rd century. The pictorial style of the Nile Mosaic, with its refined use of colours and sketchy figures, can only be expressed in the refined *opus vermiculatum* technique (cf. Ch. III, n. 1). In the 3rd century that technique was not developed to the extent in which we find it in the Nile Mosaic, so the archetypes must have been paintings. In the case of the Fish Mosaic we have seen that the model in all probability showed a refined perspective in the surface of the sea by means of stripes of alternating gradations of blueish-green and silvery grey (see above n. 12; Meyboom 1977, 63 ff., esp. 66, figs. 1,15). Such a pictorial effect had probably been created in painting.

[44] Compare n. 37.

[45] For the case of the Marissa frieze see above n. 25. For the Mouseion and the Library see above n. 22; Fraser I, 312 ff., 320 ff., 324; Strabo XVII 1, 8. The Mouseion was part of the Royal Palace and included a hall, which served as a common room, a portico, an exedra, and the Library which may have been used only for the storage of books. We have emphasised before the topographical character of the Nile Mosaic and the Fish Mosaic with their detailed rendering of the population, fauna and flora (see n. 36, Appendix 21). We have also seen the close relationship between the Nile Mosaic and ancient geographical texts (see above nn. 10, 21; Ch. III, n. 205). In fact the Nile Mosaic seems to be a visualisation of such texts. One can easily imagine that paintings in this style decorated the walls of the Mouseion complex, or of the other peristyles which were in the Palace. Compare above n. 25, for the presumed existence in the Royal Palace of a painted frieze depicting an Aethiopian hunting expedition in the style of the Marissa frieze. Vitruvius VII 5, 2, recommends large scenes for the decoration of exedras and especially landscape paintings for porticoes, because of their long shape (see Appendix 21; Tybout 61, 72 ff.). Although Vitruvius refers to his own age, this does not imply that wall-paintings did not exist before that time, at least in public buildings. As examples may be mentioned the Pinakotheke on the Acropolis in Athens, which served as a public dining hall and the Stoa Poikile on the agora in Athens (see resp. J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur*

Topographie des antiken Athens (1971) fig. 618, and *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 12, fig. 8; compare also the Telephus frieze in the portico of the Zeus altar in Pergamum with its many landscape elements and which, with regard to its position seems to imitate a traditional wall-painting (cf. below n. 46; Von Blanckenhagen 1963, 126, pl. 53,1). Similar decorations in the Palace and Mouseion complex may have created a fashion for such scenes in the patrician houses of Alexandria, the more so because essentially they were of an old Egyptian tradition (see above nn. 16, 20). See for the use of a model from the Royal Palace for a floor mosaic elsewhere Ch. VI, n. 13.

[46] See for the Ptolemaic Serapeum Fraser I, 268 ff., 323; Adriani 1966, 90 ff., fig. F. It was constructed on the place of an earlier sancturary for Sarapis by Ptolemy III. See for its fame Adriani, *o.c.*, 92. The temple, and several other shrines which were constructed in the course of time, stood in a precinct which measured c. 80 by at least 145 m and which was surrounded by a porticoes. It has been suggested that a series of small rooms at the southern end belonged to the 'daughter library' (as store-rooms for books) (Fraser II, 423 n. 648; Adriani 92, fig. F). We have seen in Ch. IV that most of the Egyptian parallels we have found for the ritual scenes in the Nile Mosaic come from Egyptian temples (see figs. 70, 77, 81, 82, 84, 93). We have also seen that the Iseum of Pompeii was decorated with many scenes depicting the myth and ritual of Isis and Osiris, with Nilotic scenes and an African animal scene, and we have conjectured the existence of similar decorations for the Serapeum of Puteoli (see Ch. VI, n. 21, e.g., figs. 75, 76). Topographical paintings of the Ptolemaic realm, the land of Isis and Osiris-Sarapis, and of the Nile flood, its source of life, would be very appropriate decorations for the Serapeum of Ptolemy III because his religious and cultural interest lay in the fusion of the Greek and Egyptian elements of his kingdom (see n. 38). The appropriateness of landscape paintings for the walls of porticoes was stressed by Vitruvius (see App. 21). Wall-paintings in temples and their immediate surroundings were an old tradition, see e.g. the Theseion at Athens (cf. Barron *o.c.* in n. 17); the temple of Athena at Lindos (see *EAA* VI, 171, s.v. Pinakes, fig. 186); and the Lesche beside the temple of Heracles at Thasos (see M. Launey, *Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Hêraklès à Thasos* (1944) 53 ff., pls. XI, 2; XIX). Compare also the Telephus frieze in the portico of the Zeus altar from Pergamum (see n. 45). See for the possible existence of landscape paintings in 3rd century Alexandria, nn. 17, 21, 25, and 35. Naturally such decorations would be equally appropriate for the famous Canopus temple of Osiris, but this was in the Egyptian style (see Ch. IV, n. 192). However, it is not my intention to pin down the supposed archetypes to a certain place, like the Serapeum, but to illuminate their background.

[47] For Nilotic scenes from the late antique and the Byzantine world see the literature and the examples given in Ch. V, n. 17; Ch. III, nn. 74, 77, 78; Ch. VII, n. 19. See for the religious aspects of the Nile and the inundation in the Christian period Bonneau 421 ff., and Hermann (*o.c.* in Ch. III, n. 78). In Christian Egypt the inundation naturally remained as important as it was before, and so it was incorporated into Christian religion. God replaced Sarapis as master of the Nile flood, and the inundation (which was believed to come from Paradise) came to be considered as an example of the care which God took after his creatures. The revival of nature due to the inundation made the latter an annually repeated illustration of the creation of the world and mankind. Thus Nilotic scenes were seen as illustrations of the Creation. Compare the examples of Nilotic floor mosaics in churches like the case of Tabgha (see Ch. III, n. 77, and further Balty 828

f). Two fine Nilotic landscapes decorate the Canon Tables in the Armenian Gospels of Queen Milke of 902 (Venice, San Lazzaro Convent, Codex 1144; see K. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts,1933 (Ist. Forsch.* 4) 6, pl. I, 1–2; M. Janashian, *Miniature armene* (1966) pls. II–III). Seascapes with mediteranean fish, often including the motif of an octopus fighting with other fish or a variant of it, could also be related to the creation of the world, i.e. as the creation of the sea and its inhabitants (see for the genre of fish and fishing scenes in general Meyboom 1977, 56 ff., 77, nn. 341–365). Two other Canon Tables, in the Armenian ms. of Queen Milke which we have just mentioned in relation to the Nilotic scenes, are decorated by fish scenes (see Weitzmann *o.c.*, pl. I,3; Janashian *o.c.*, pl. IV; Meyboom 1977, 75, pl. 58, figs. 23–24). Both the Nilotic scenes and the fish scenes undoubtedly reflect Byzantine models which in their turn were inspired by Roman models (see Weitzmann *o.c.*, 6, Meyboom 1977, 75, 90, n. 319). A fine seascape with fish illustrates the creation of the sea in a vault mosaic in the San Marco at Venice and in a Romanesque tapestry at Gerona, which both also reflect Byzantine models (see resp. O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (1970) 21, fig. 22; and J. Bassegoda Nonell, Gerona/Cattedrale, in (S. Bottari ed.), *Tesori d'arte cristiana* (1966) I, 421 ff., esp. 444, pls. 1 and 2; Meyboom 1977, 75, 90, n. 320, pl. 58, fig. 25). Fishing scenes, which as a genre gradually merged with Nilotic scenes, came to symbolise the creation or salvation of mankind by baptism (see F. Dölger, Die Fischerszene auf den Sarkophagen von S. Maria Antiqua und von der Via Lungara. Die Taufe als mystischer Fischfang, *Ichtus* V, *Die Fischdenkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik, Malerei und Kleinkunst* (1943) 657 ff.; J. Vilette, Une coupe chrétienne en verre gravé, trouvẹe a Carthage, *MonPiot* 46 (1952) 31 ff.; L. Werhahn-Stauch, Christliche Fischsymbolik von den Anfängen bis zum hohen Mittelalter, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 35 (1972) 1 ff.; G. Danbolt, Das Taufbecken im Kloster San Nilo in Grottaferrata, *ActaAArtHist* 8 (1978) 143 ff.

ABBREVIATIONS/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Besides the abbreviations used in the *Archäologische Bibliografie* and in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* the following abbreviations are used. In general abbreviations have been used for studies to which is referred more than twice. When more than one work by the same author has been listed dates of publication have been added.

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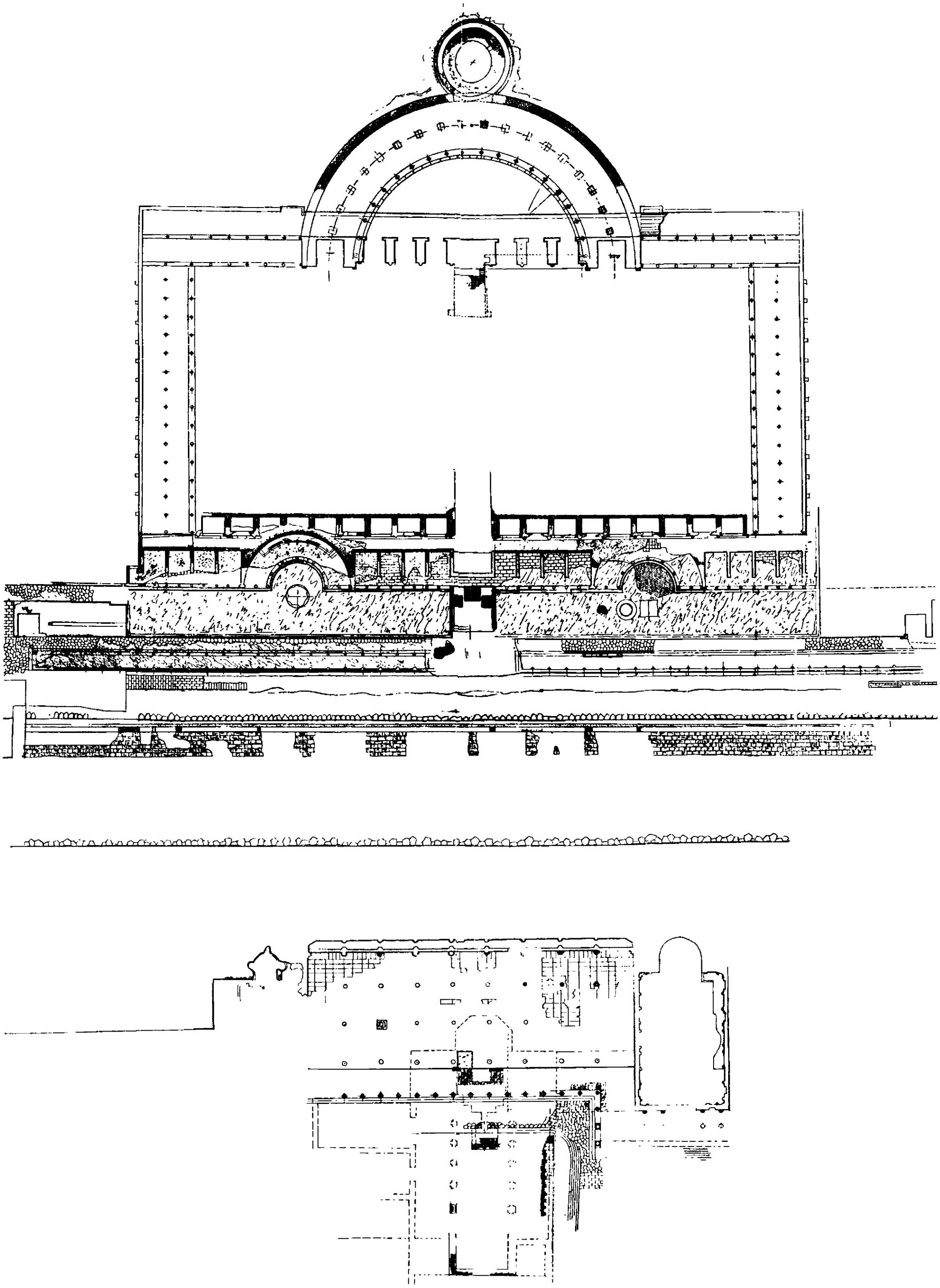
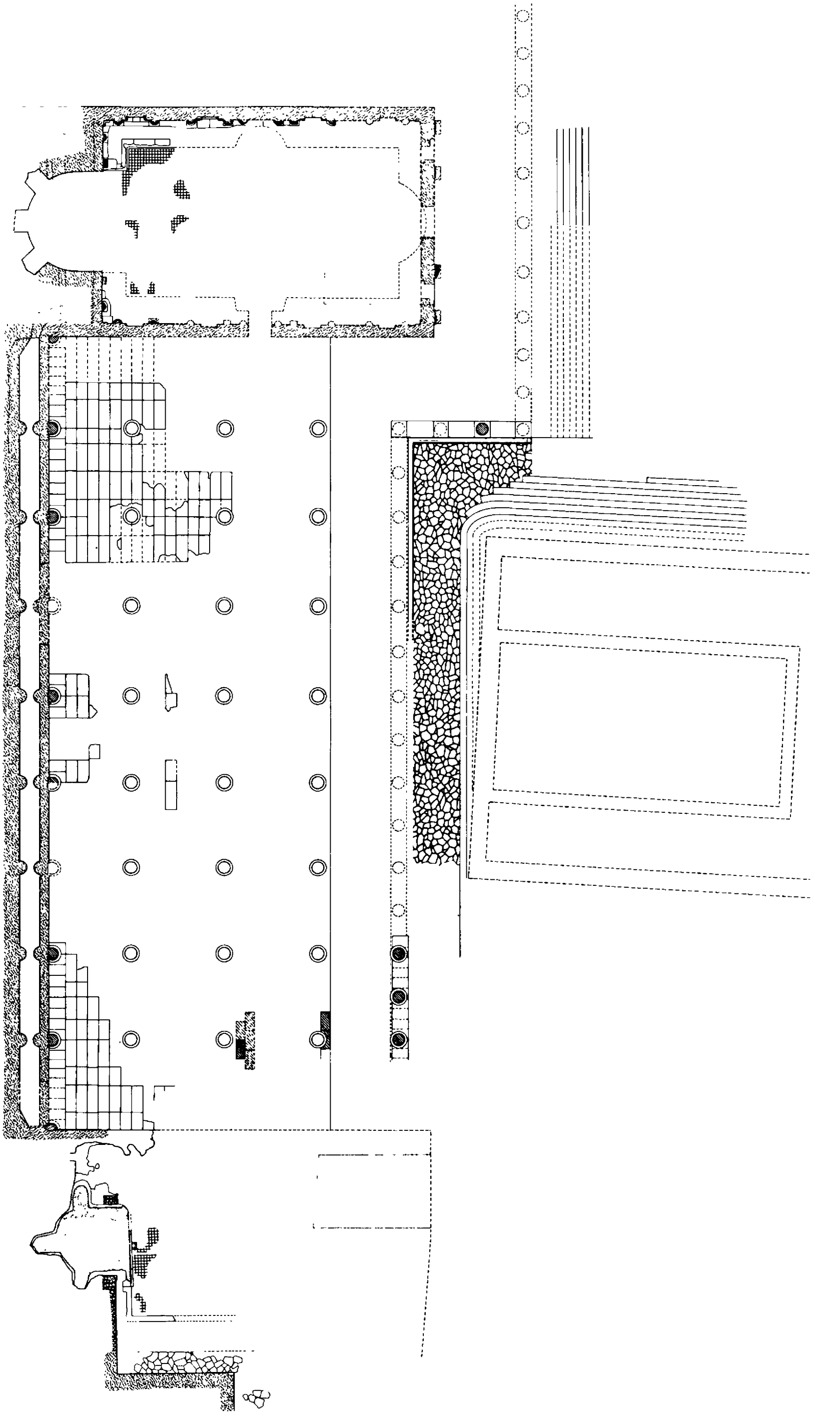
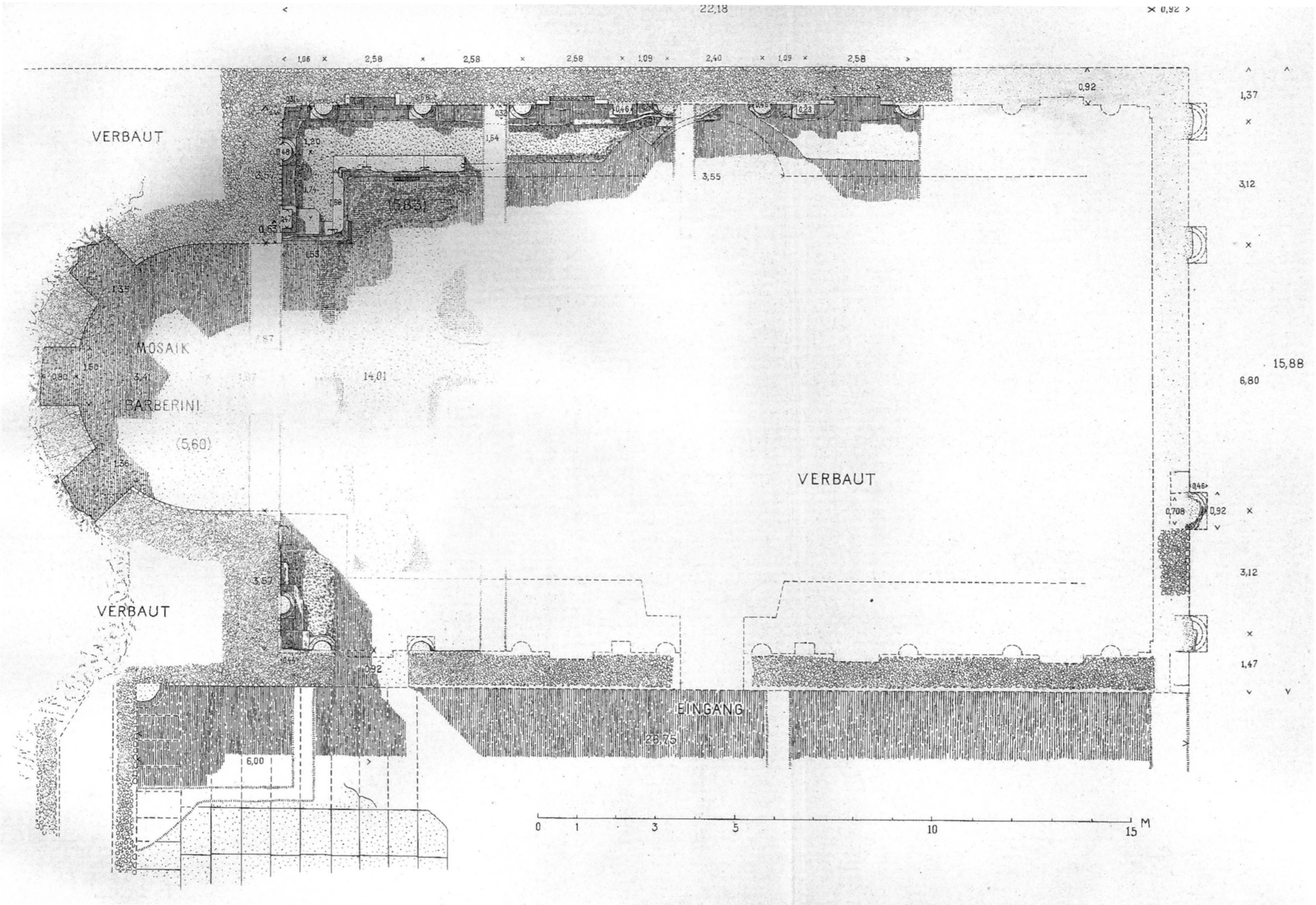
ILLUSTRATIONS



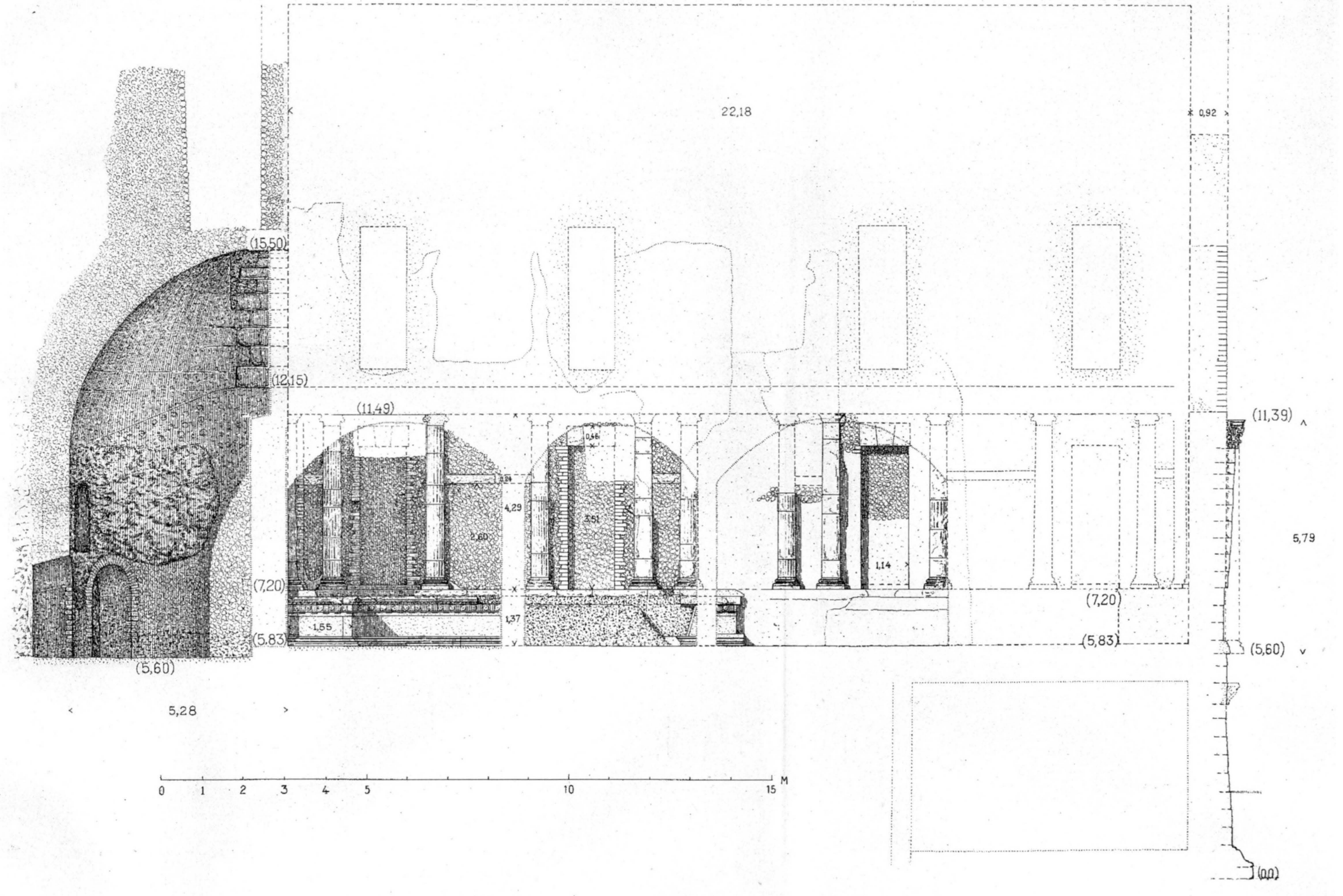
1. Plan of the central monuments of ancient Praeneste (after Gullini 1953, pl. II; see p. 8).



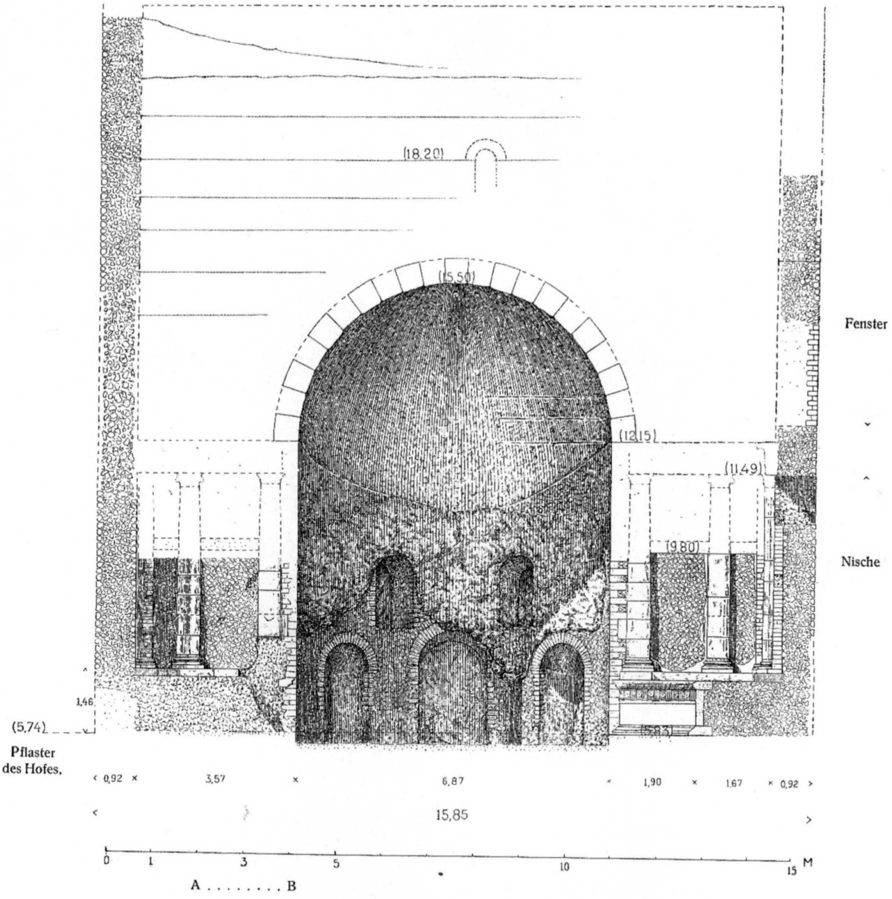
2. Plan of the lower complex (after Gullini 1984, pl. I; see p.8).


22,18
1,06
2,58
2,58
2,58
1,09
2,40
1,09
2,58
0,92
VERBAUT
1,20
1,64
3,55
15,83
1,37
3,12
6,80
15,88
3,12
1,47
MOSAIK
BARBERINI
3,41
1,50
0,80
1,35
1,36
(5,60)
14,01
VERBAUT
0,46
0,708
0,92
3,57
VERBAUT
0,92
EINGANG
28,75
6,00
0
1
3
5
10
15
M

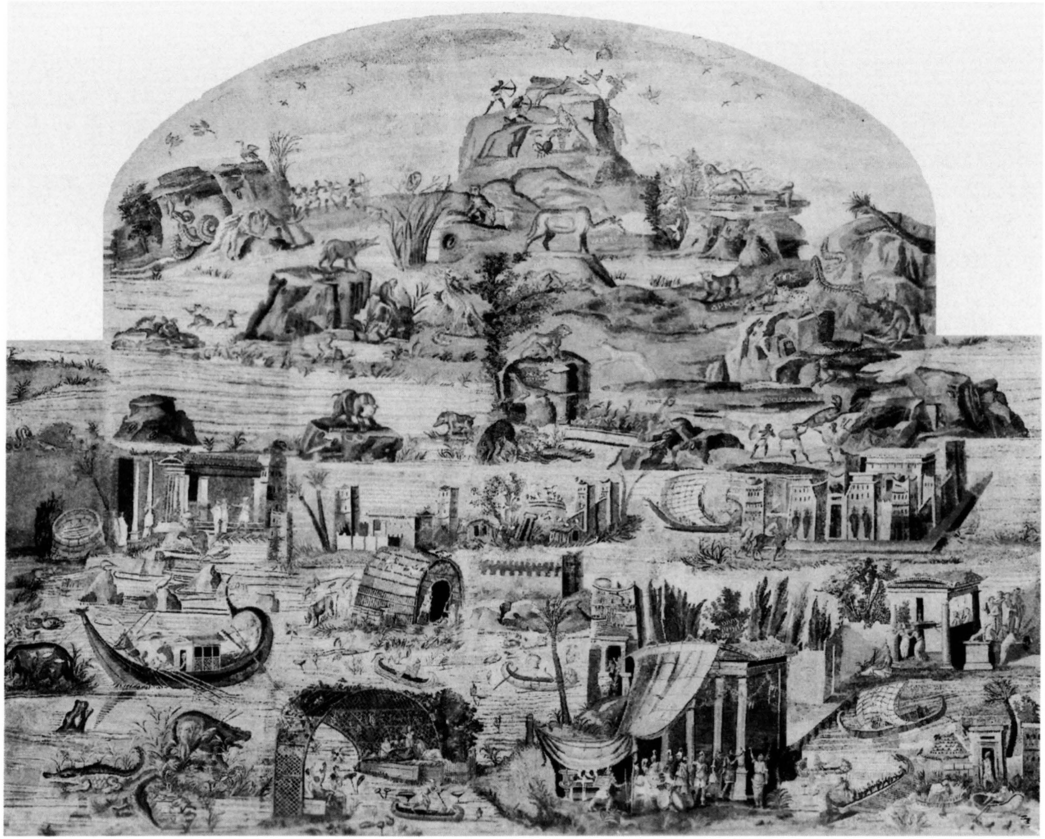
3. Plan of the apsidal hall (after Delbrück I, pl. XV; see p. 8).


22,18
0,92
(15,50)
(12,15)
(11,49)
(11,39)
0,46
0,24
4,29
3,51
2,60
1,14
5,79
(7,20)
(7,20)
1,37
1,55
(5,83)
(5,83)
(5,60)
(5,60)
5,28
(0,0)
0
1
2
3
4
5
10
15
M

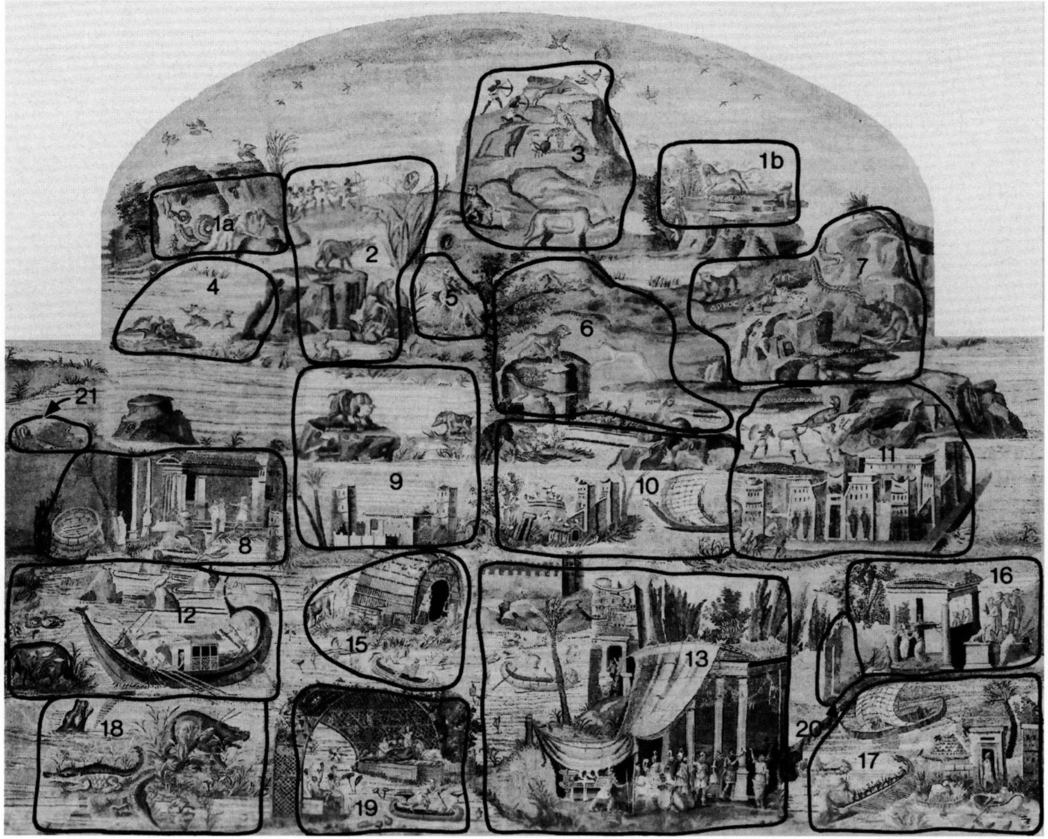
4. Section of the apsidal hall (after Delbrück I, pl. XVII,; see p. 8).


(18,20)
(15,50)
(12,15)
(11,49)
(9,80)
(5,83)
Fenster
Nische
1,46
(5,74)
Pflaster des Hofes.
0,92
3,57
6,87
1,90
1,67
0,92
15,85
0
1
3
5
10
15
M
A . . . . B

5. Cross-section of the apsidal hall (after Delbrück I, pl. XVIII; see p. 8).



6. The Nile Mosaic, actual state (photo Museo Nazionale Prenestino, see p. 3).


3
1b
1a
2
7
4
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6
21
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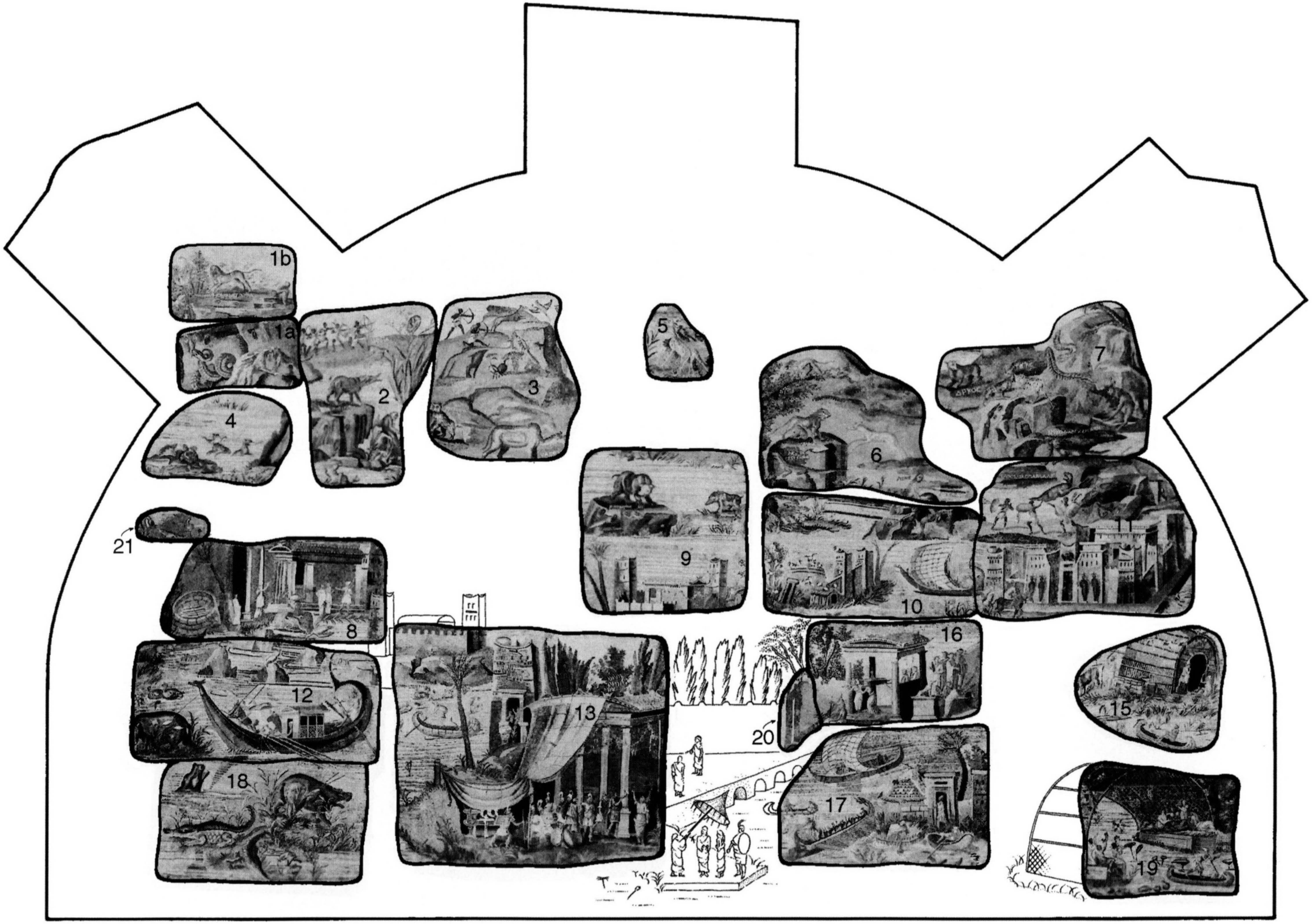
7. The Nile Mosaic, the original sections outlined (see p. 5).


1b
1a
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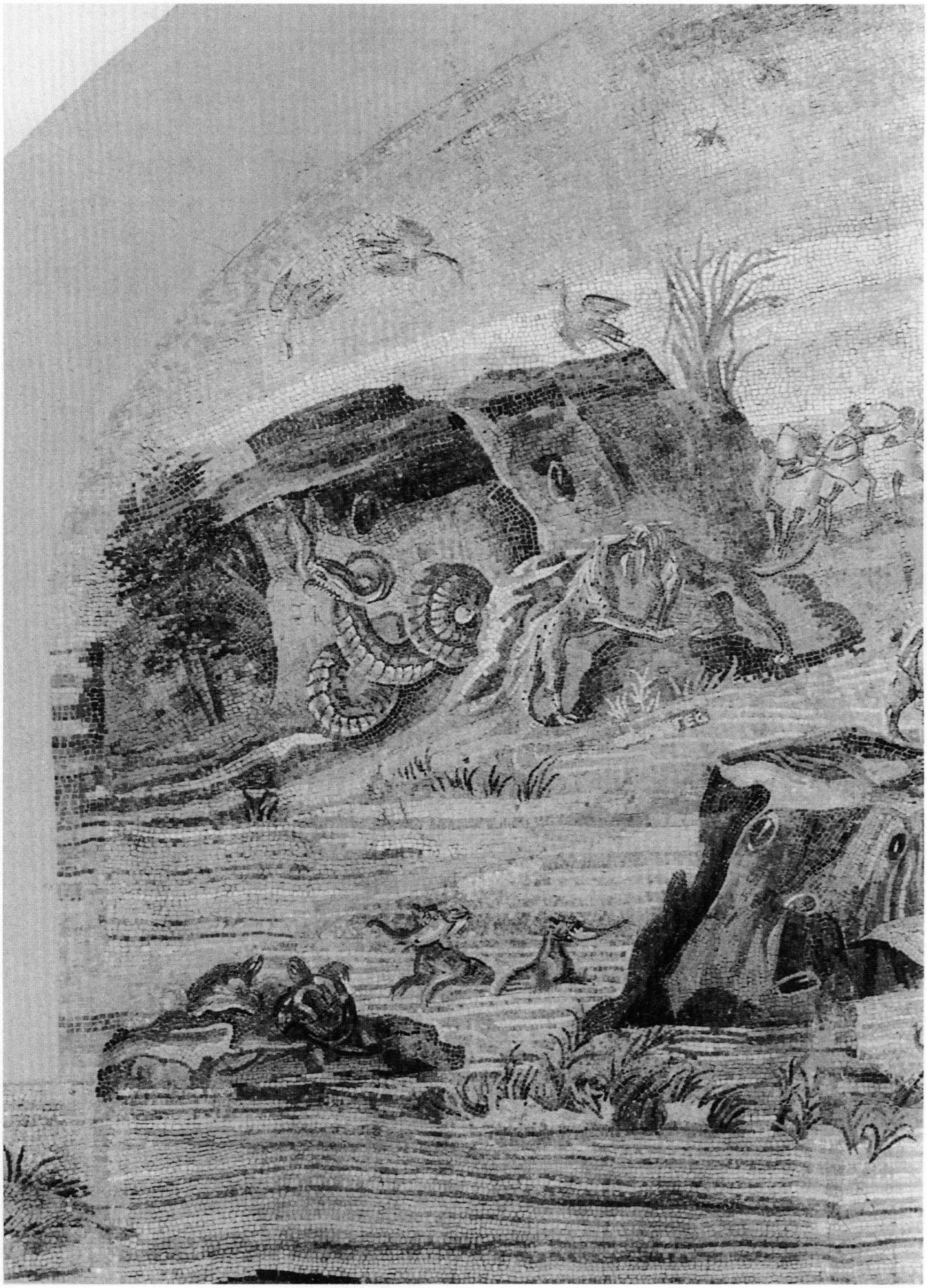
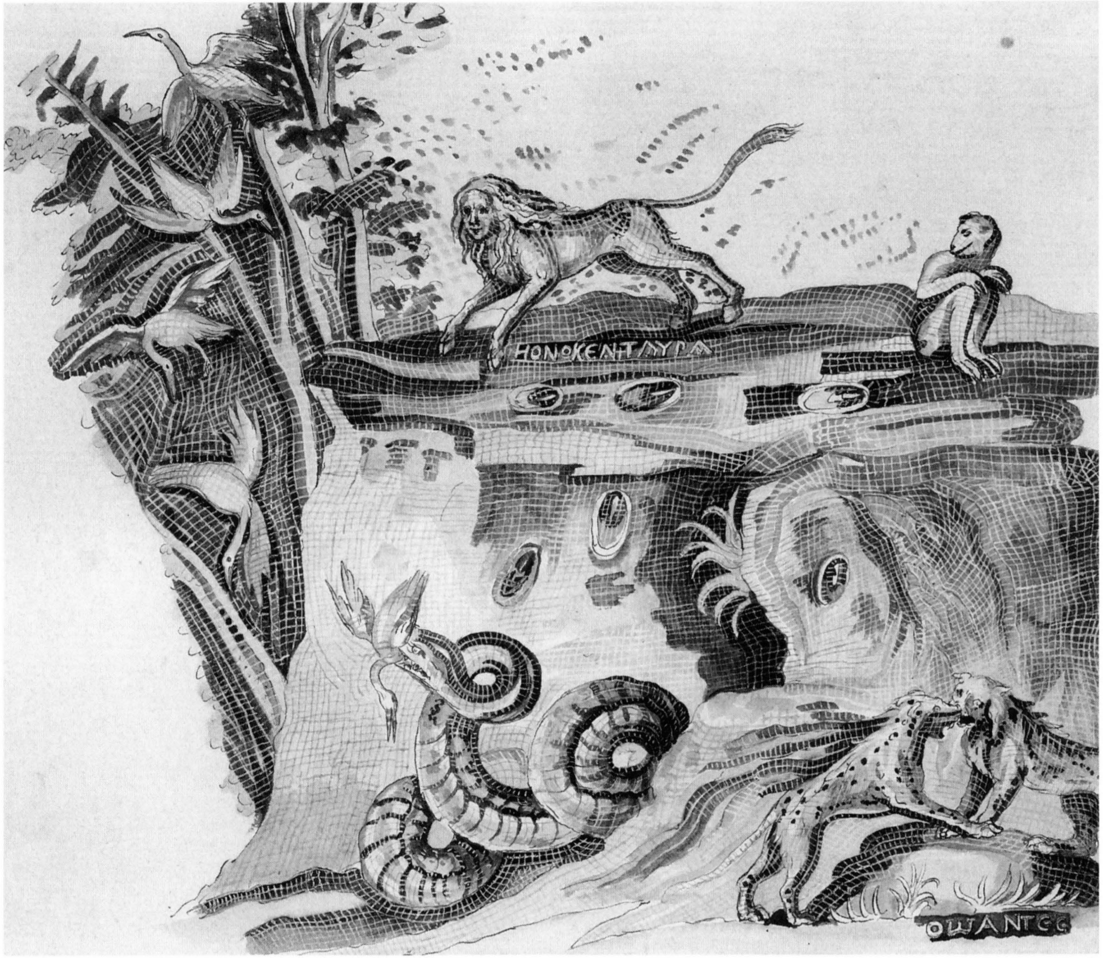
8. The Nile Mosaic, schematic reconstruction of the original composition (drawing by P. Deunhouwer; see p. 6).



9. The Nile Mosaic, sections 1a and 4 (photo P. Jongste; see pp. 20, 23).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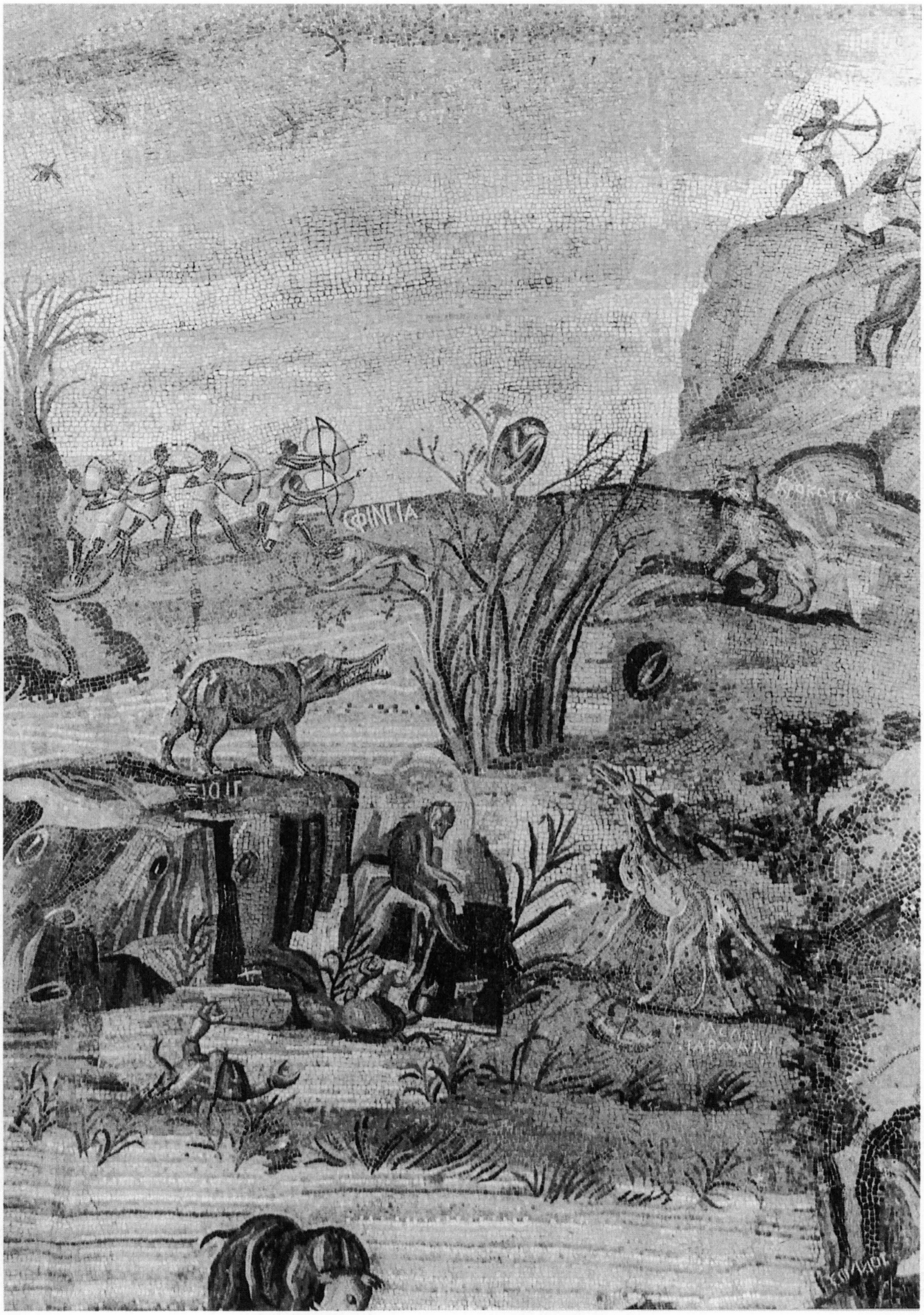
10. Dal Pozzo copy of section 1 (The Royal Collection 1994, Windsor Castle, drawing 19201; see p. 20).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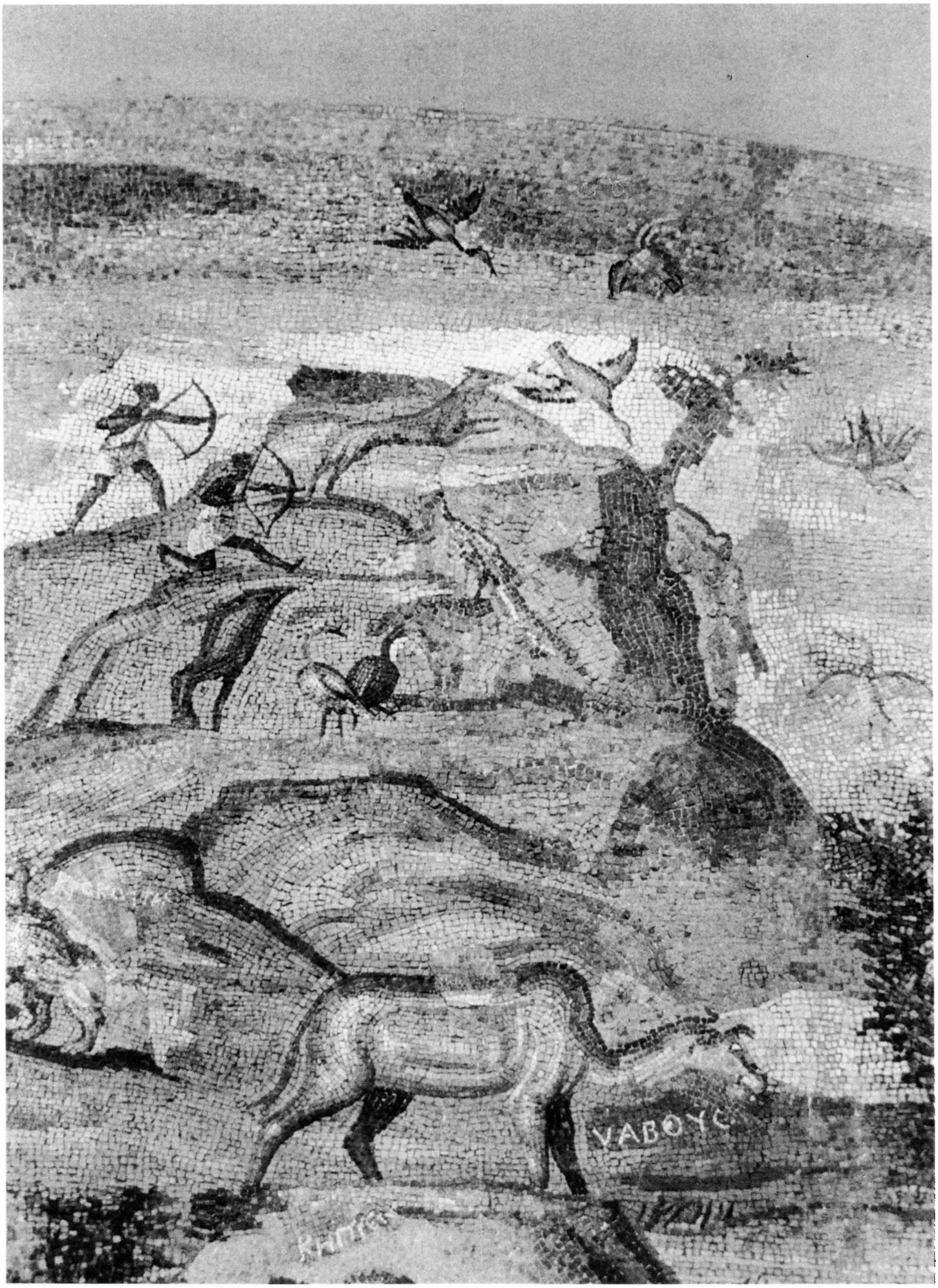
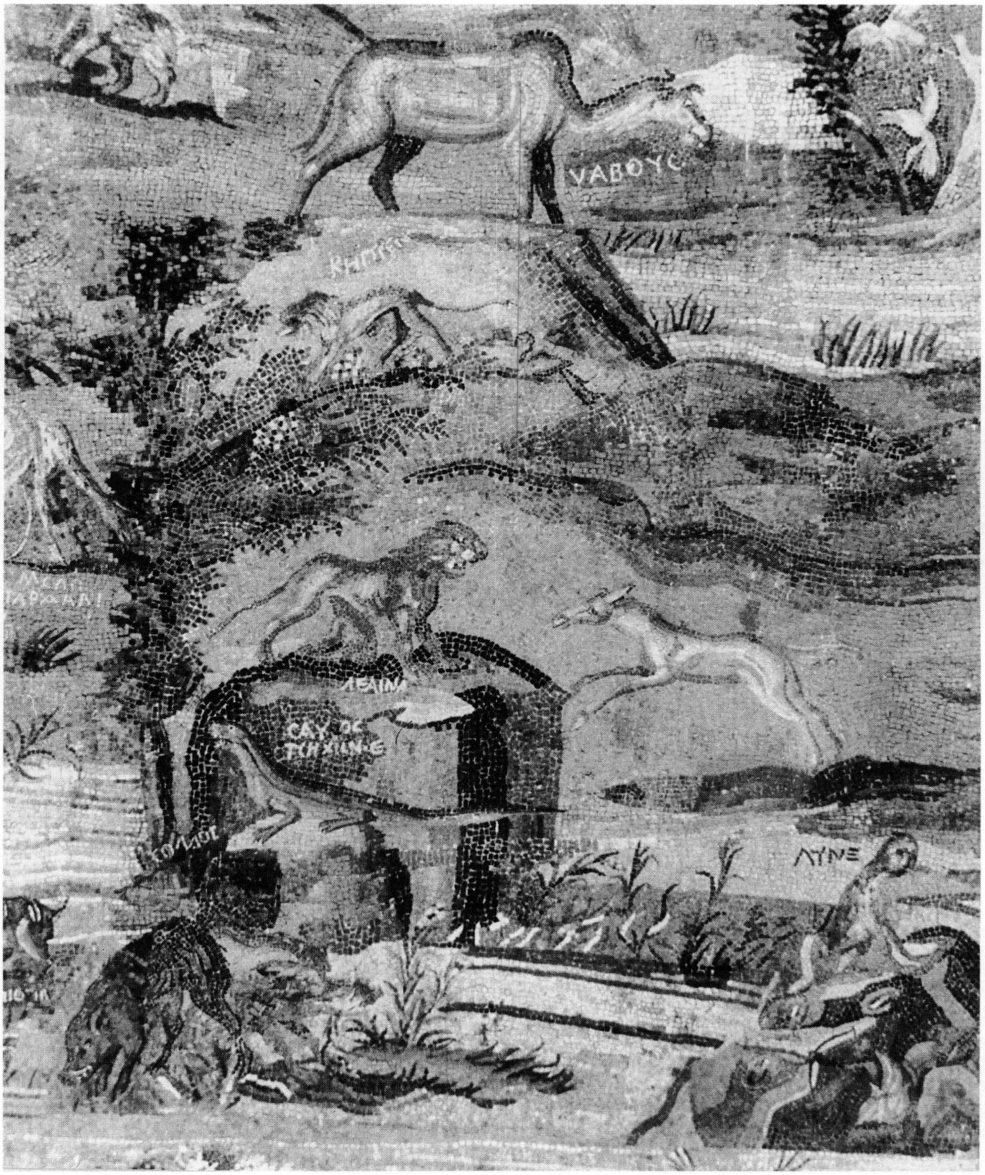
11. The Nile Mosaic, sections 2 and 5 (photo P. Jongste; see pp. 22, 24).



12. The Nile Mosaic, section 3 (photo P. Jongste; see p. 23).


VABOYC
ΛΕΑΙΝΑ
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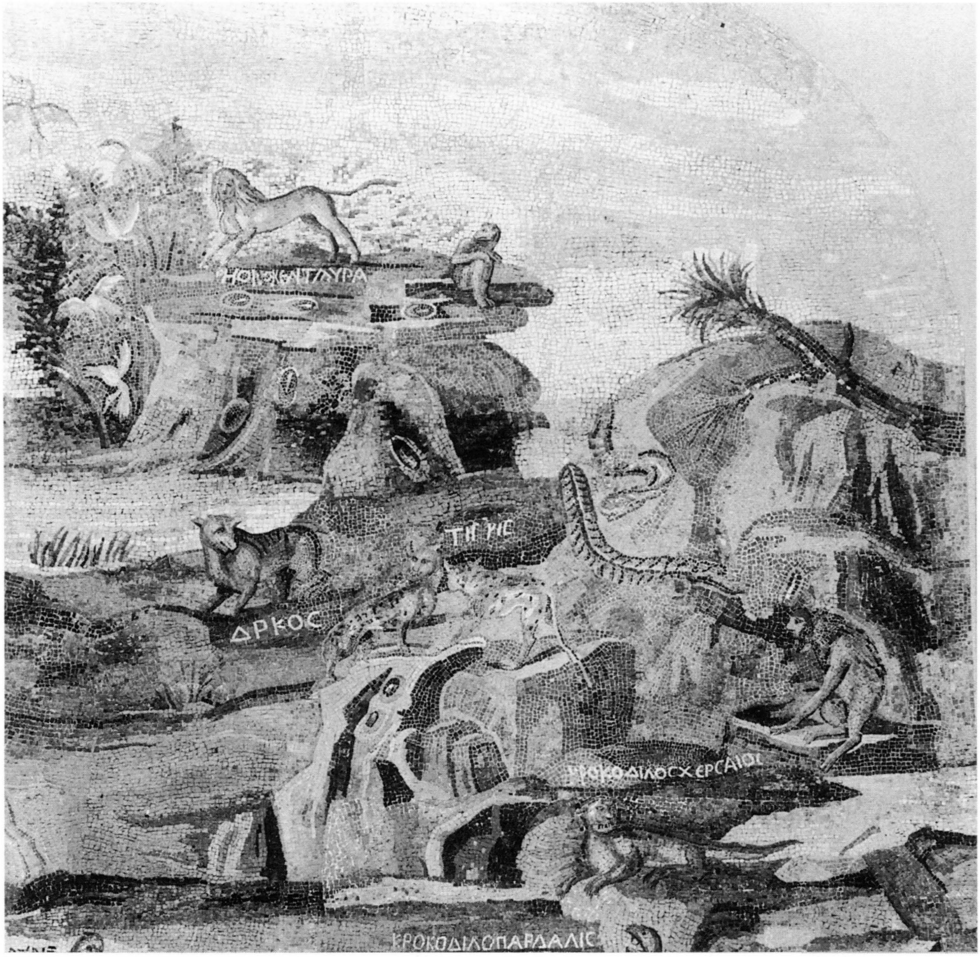
ΛΥΝΞ

13. The Nile Mosaic, section 6 (photo P. Jongste; see p. 24).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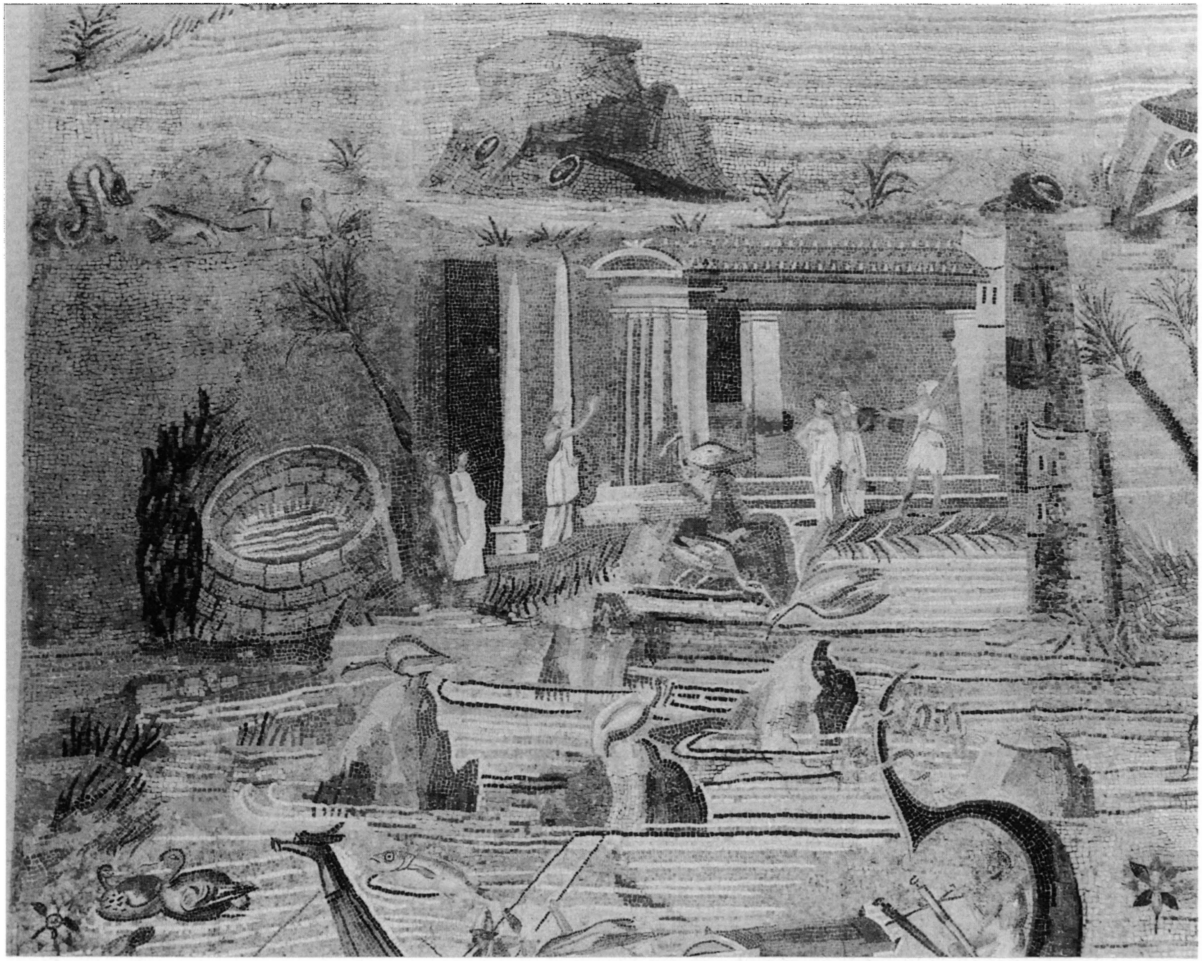
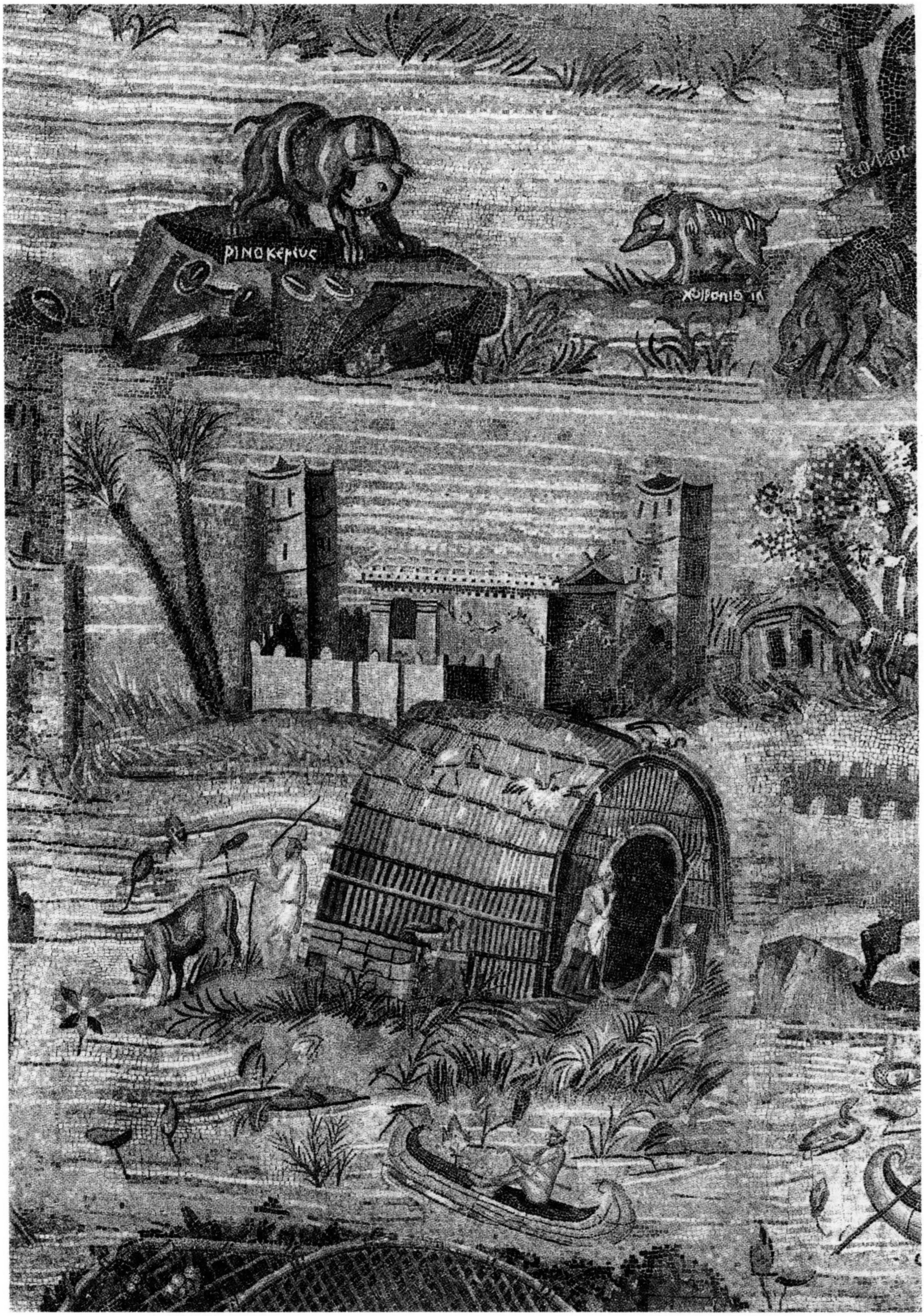
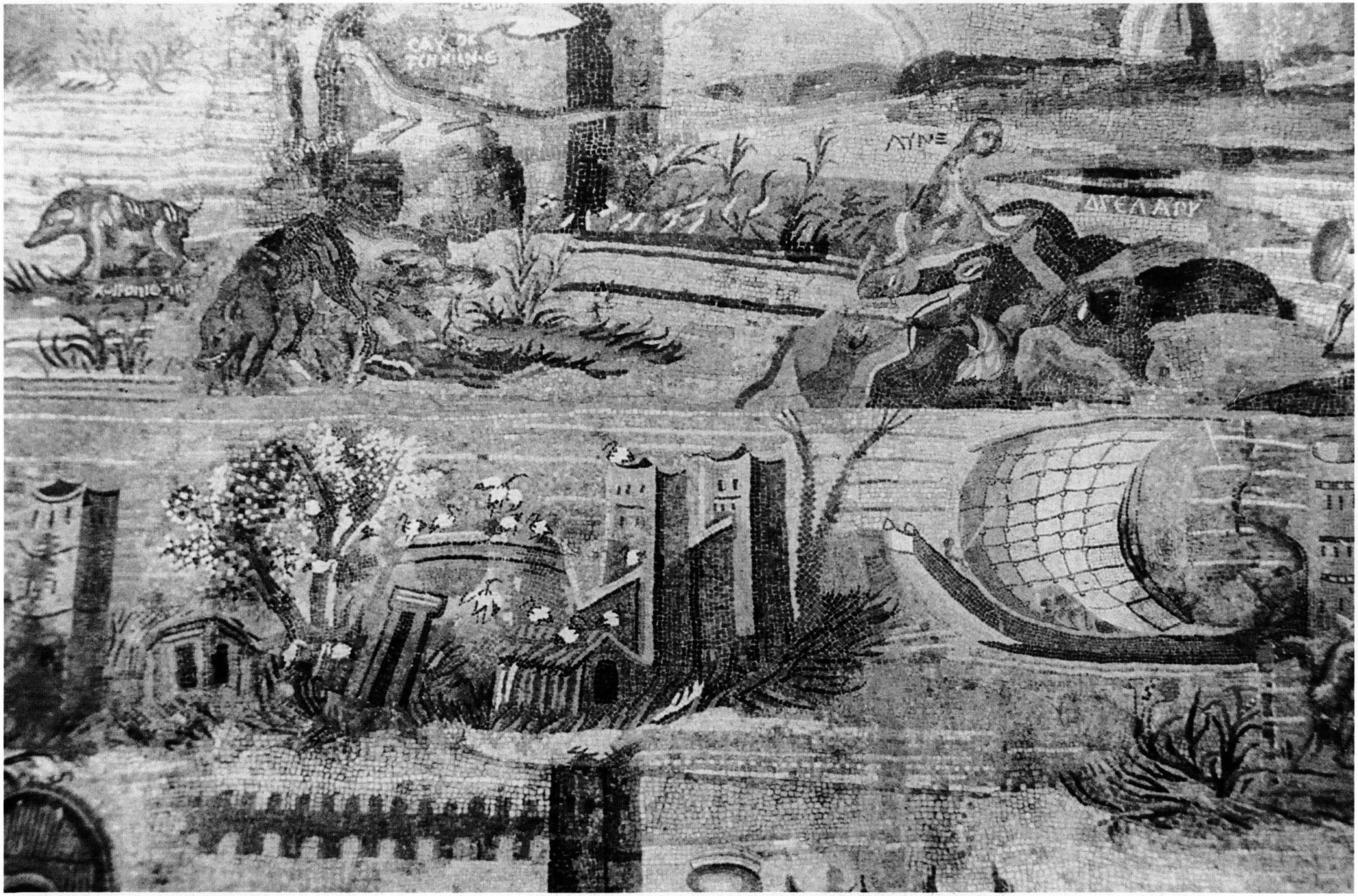
14. The Nile Mosaic, sections 7 and 1b (photo P. Jongste; see pp. 20, 26).



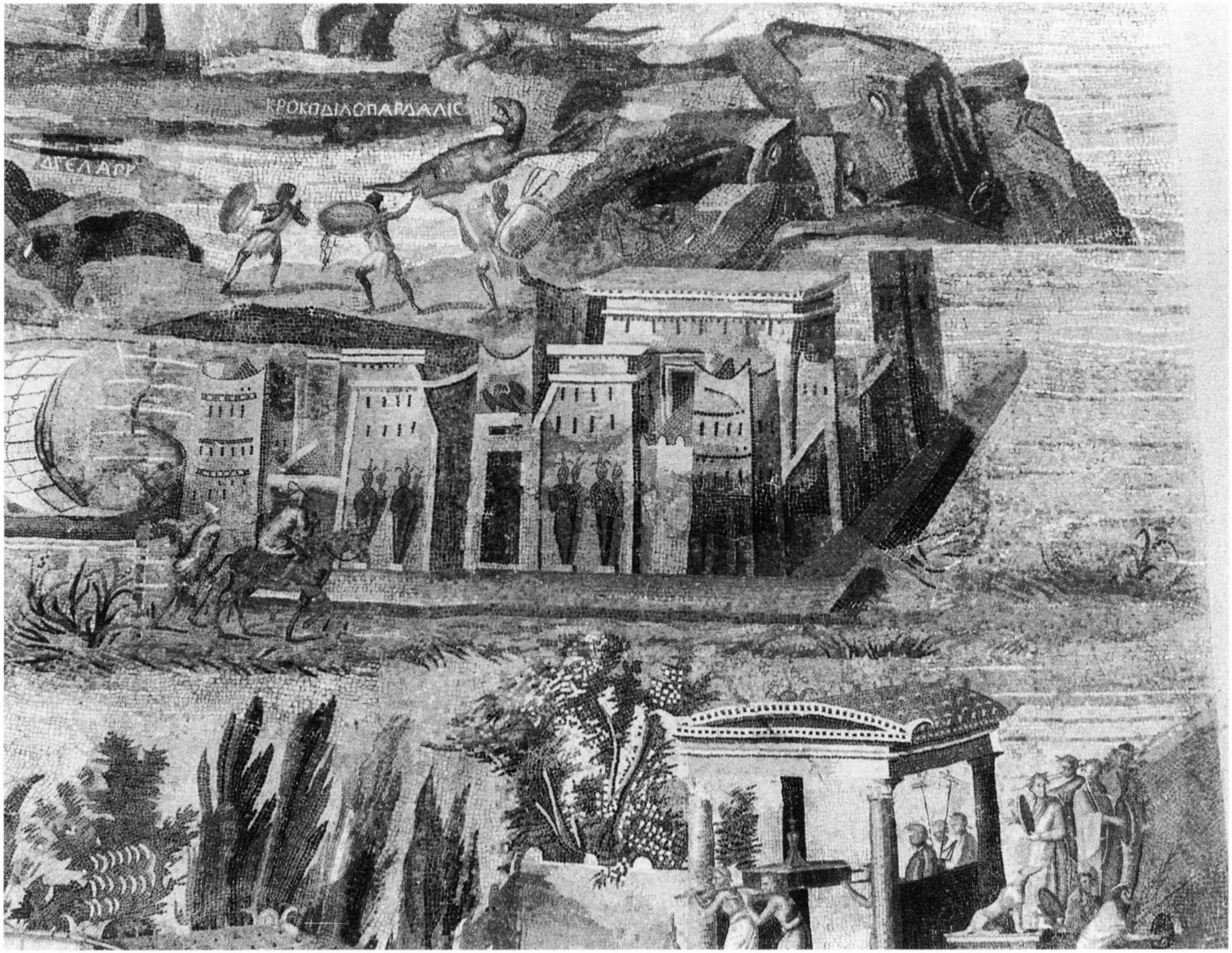
15. The Nile Mosaic, sections 8 and 21 (photo P. Jongste; see pp. 27, 28).



16. The Nile Mosaic, section 9 (photo P. Jongste; see pp. 26, 29).



17. The Nile Mosaic, section 10 (photo P. Jongste; see pp. 27, 30).


ΚΡΟΚΩΔΙΛΟΠΑΡΔΑΛΙϹ
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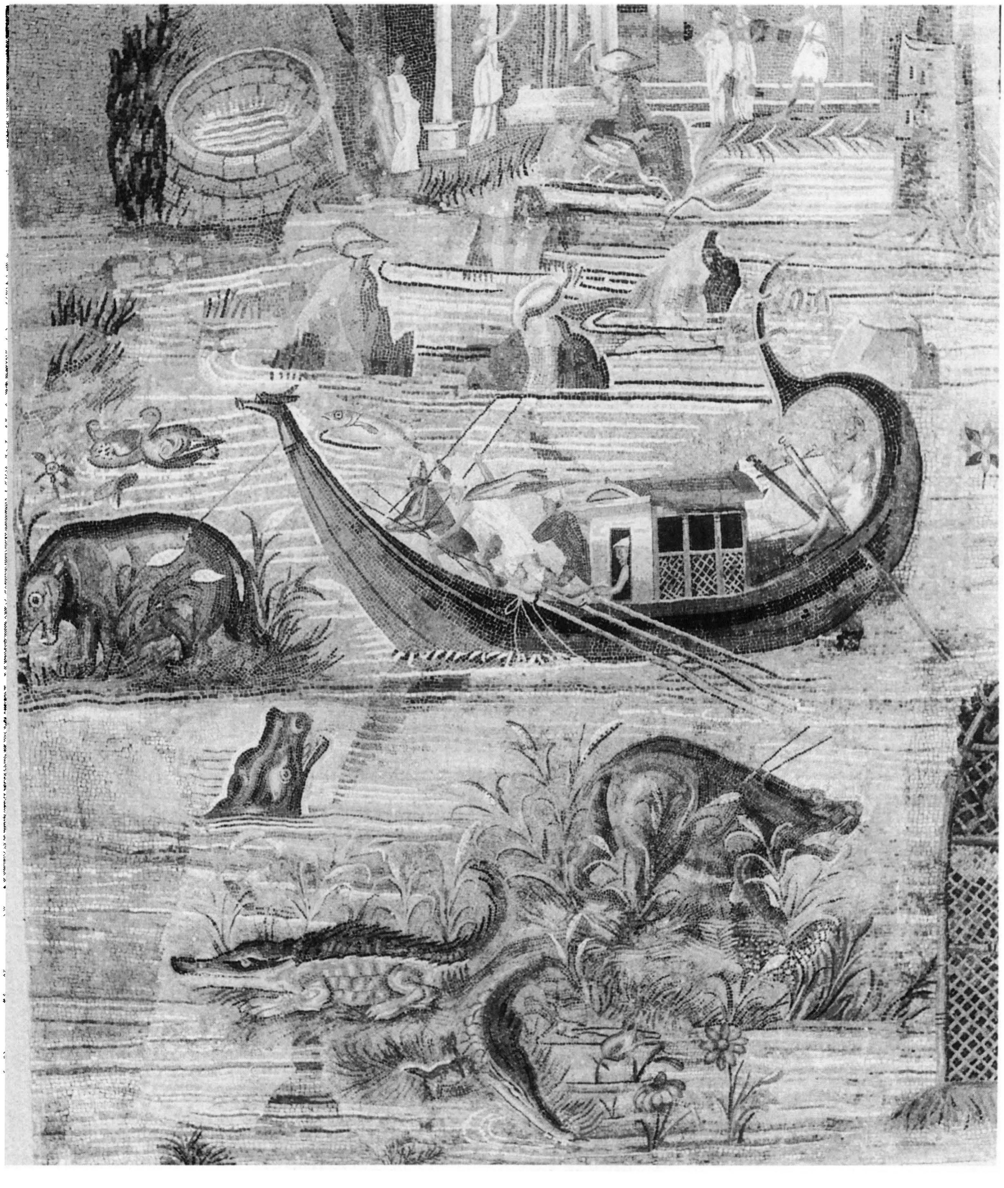
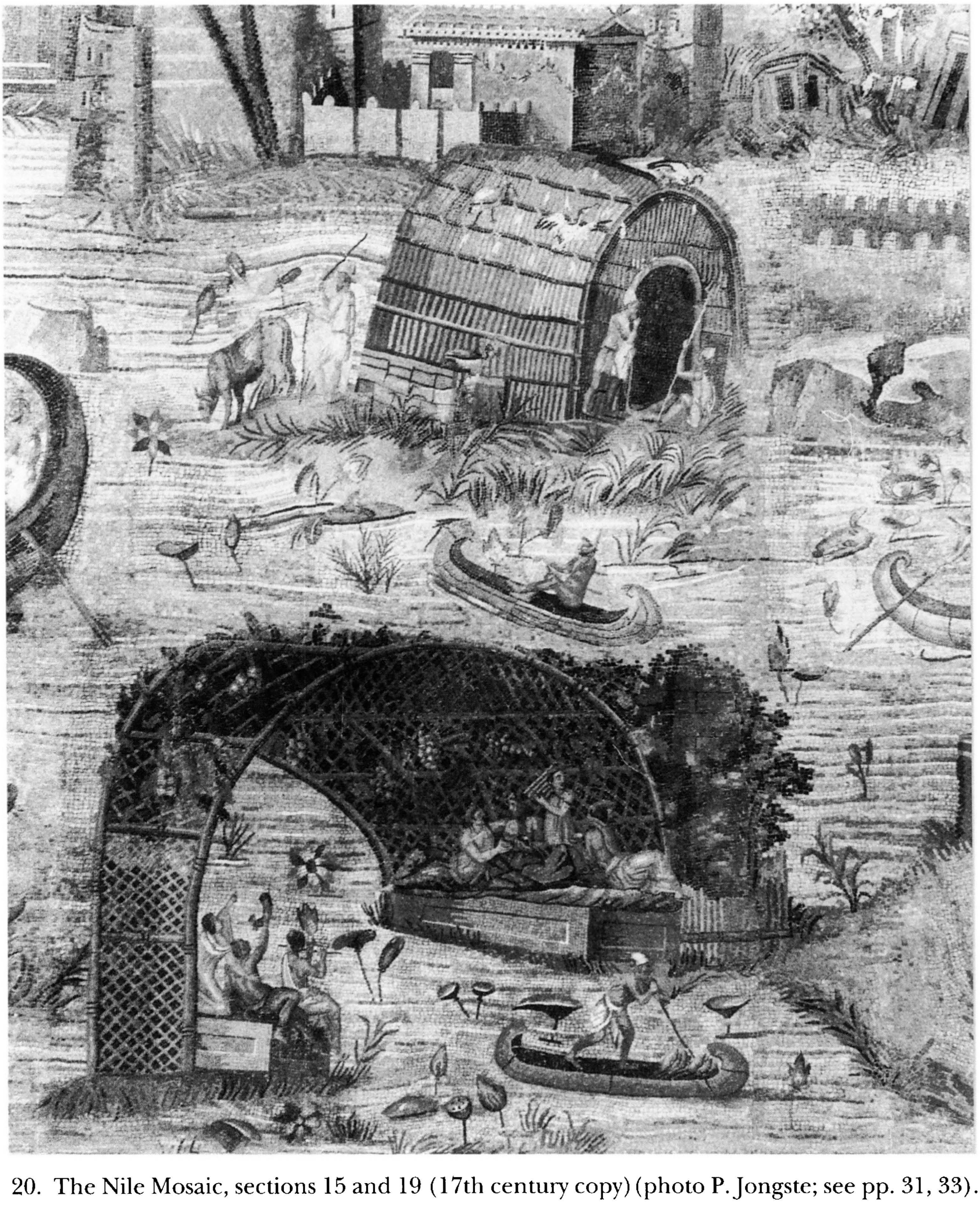
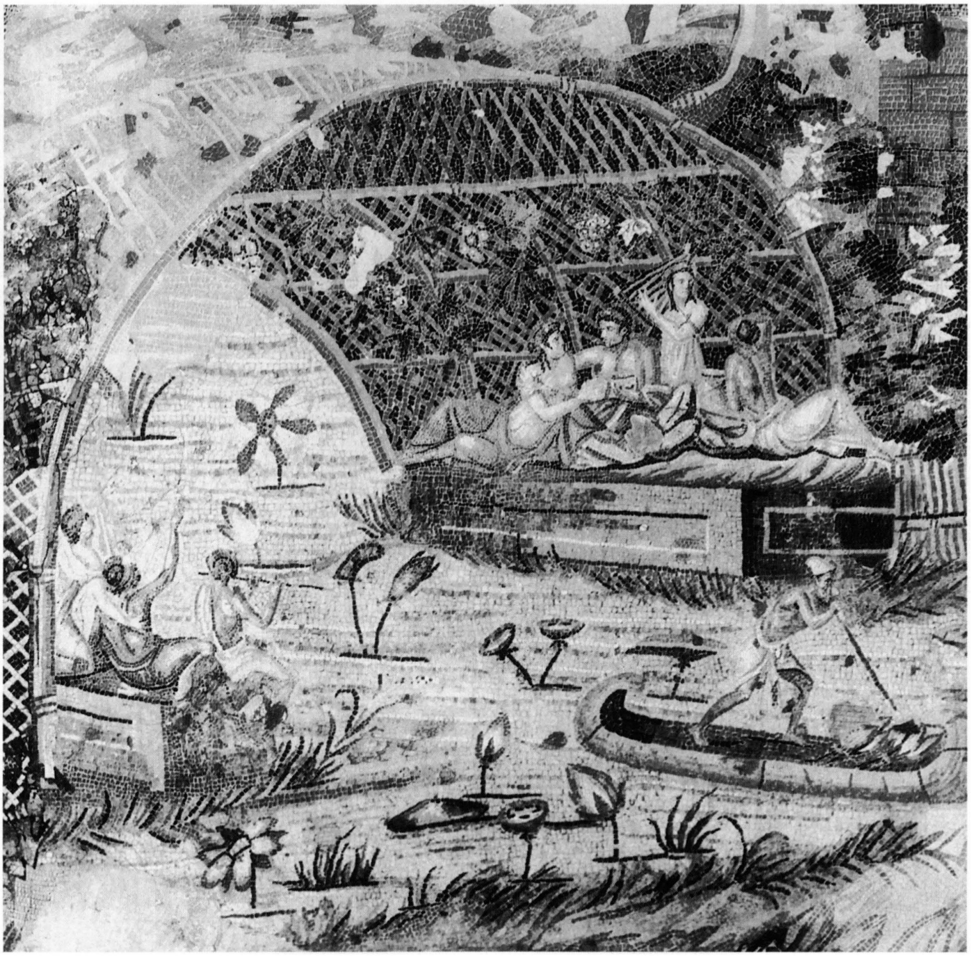
18. The Nile Mosaic, section 11 (photo P. Jongste; see pp. 27, 30).



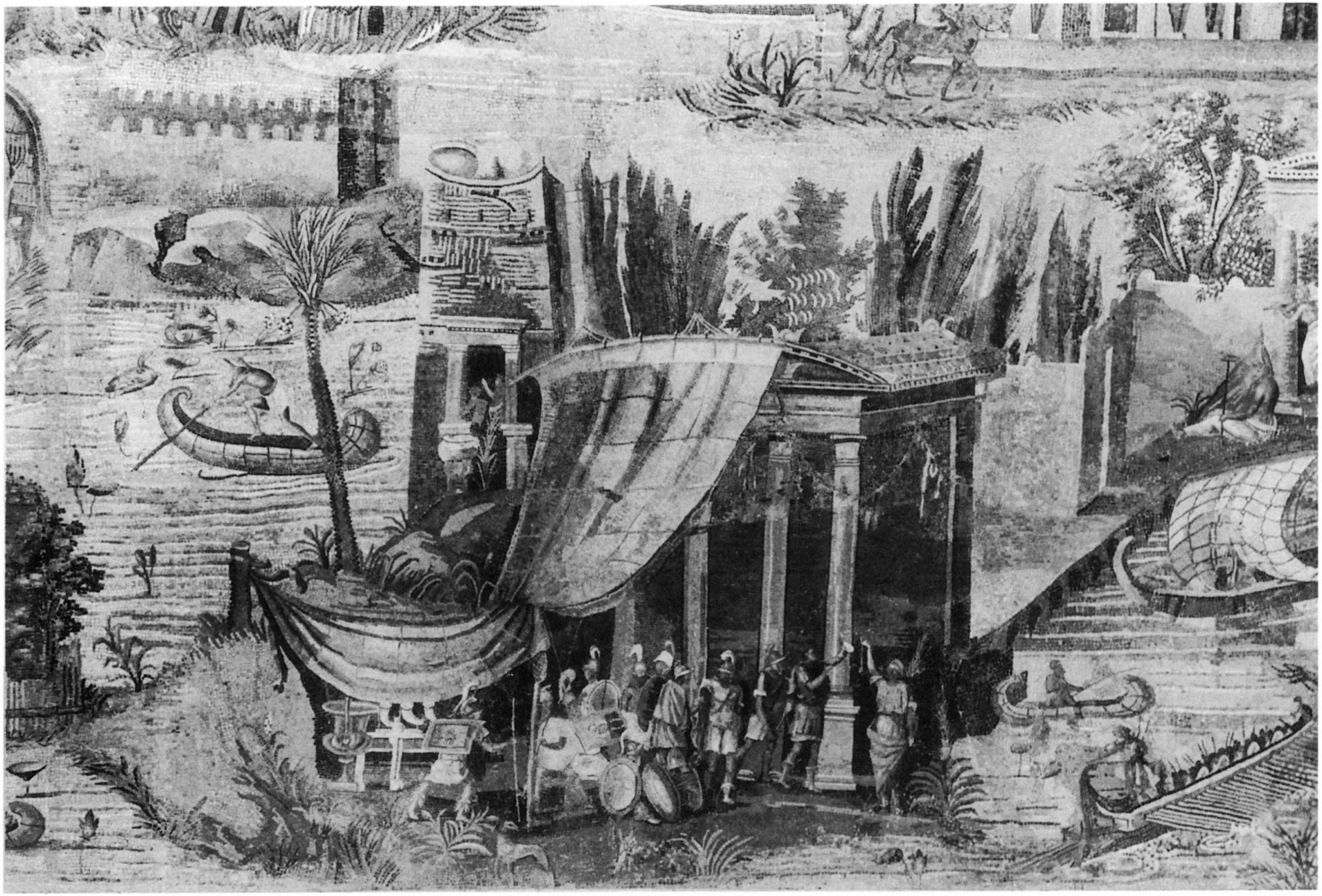
19. The Nile Mosaic, sections 12 and 18 (photo P. Jongste; see p. 31).



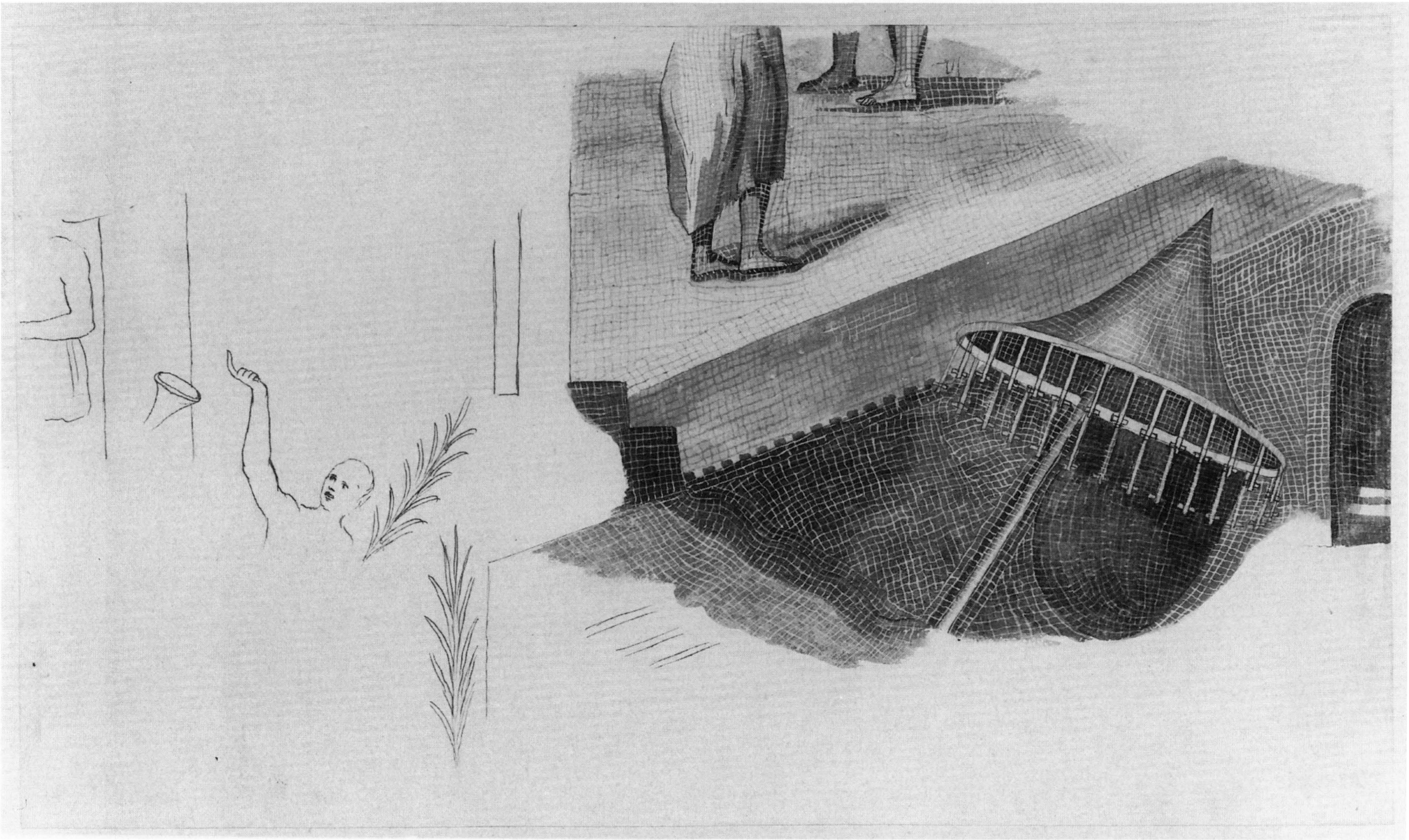
20. The Nile Mosaic, sections 15 and 19 (17th century copy) (photo P. Jongste; see pp. 31, 33).



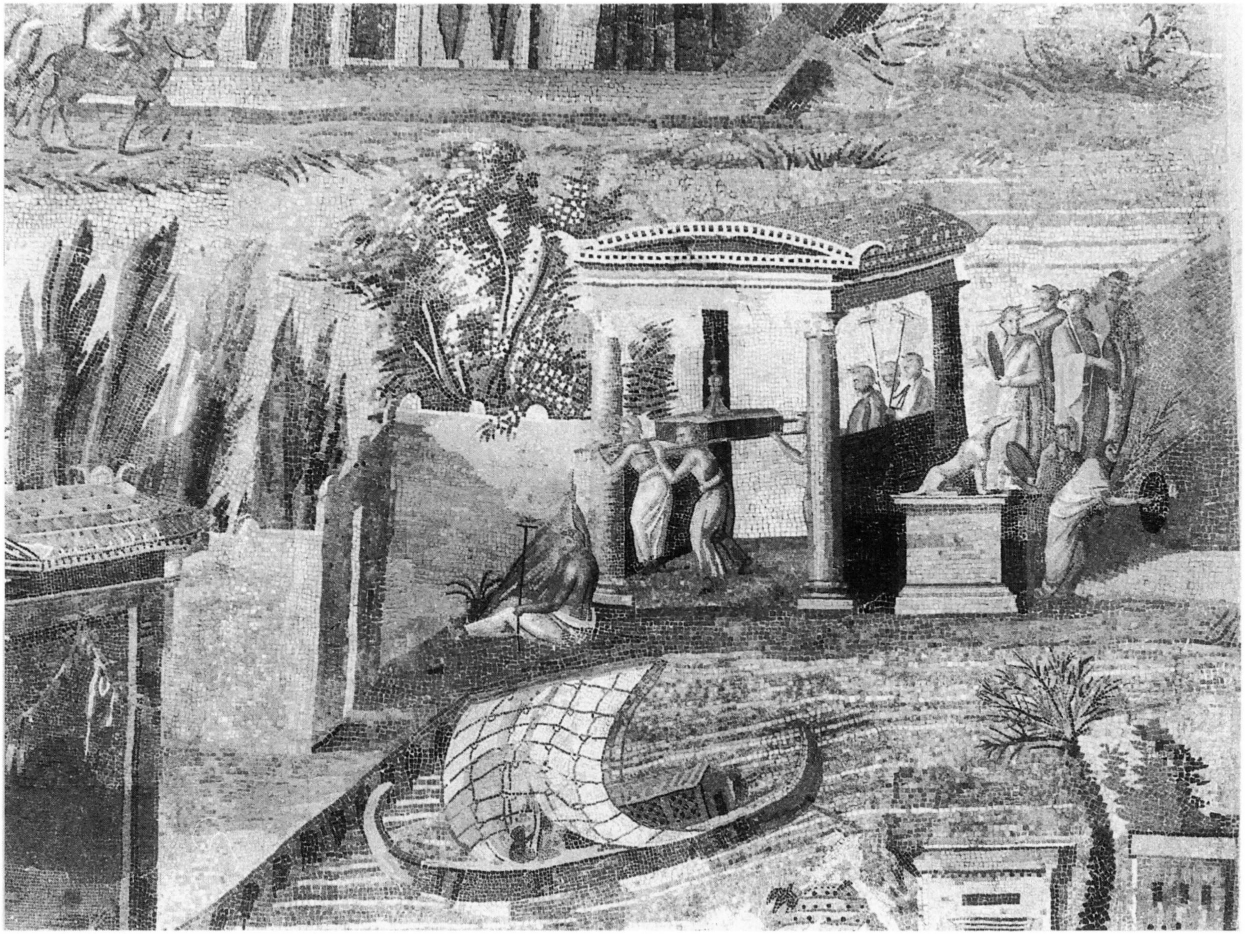
21. The Nile Mosaic, section 19 (original; Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, Inv. Mos. 3; see Ch. III, n. 128).



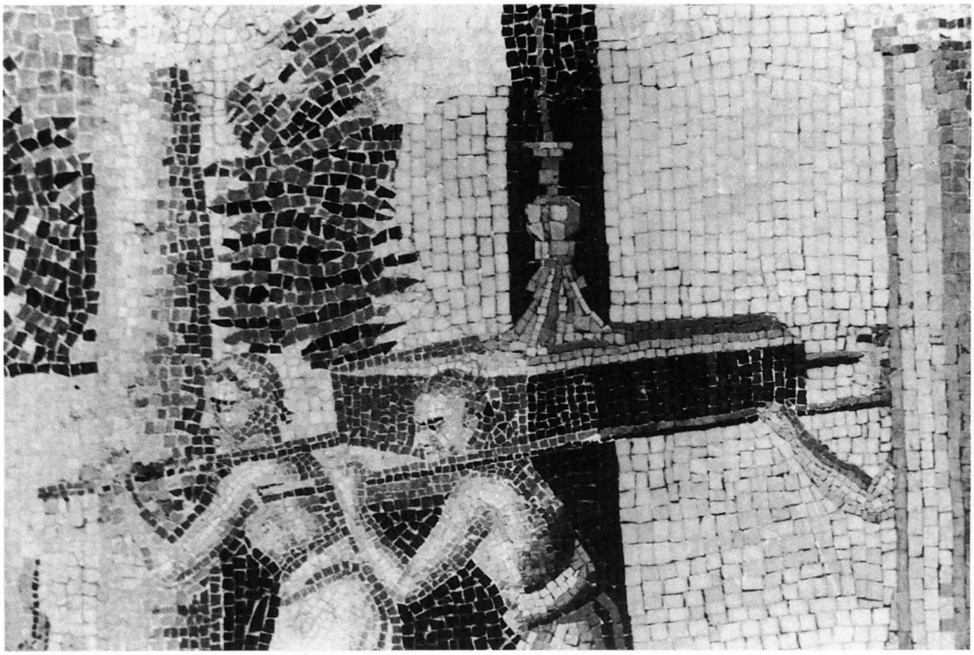
22. The Nile Mosaic, section 13 (photo P. Jongste; see p. 34).



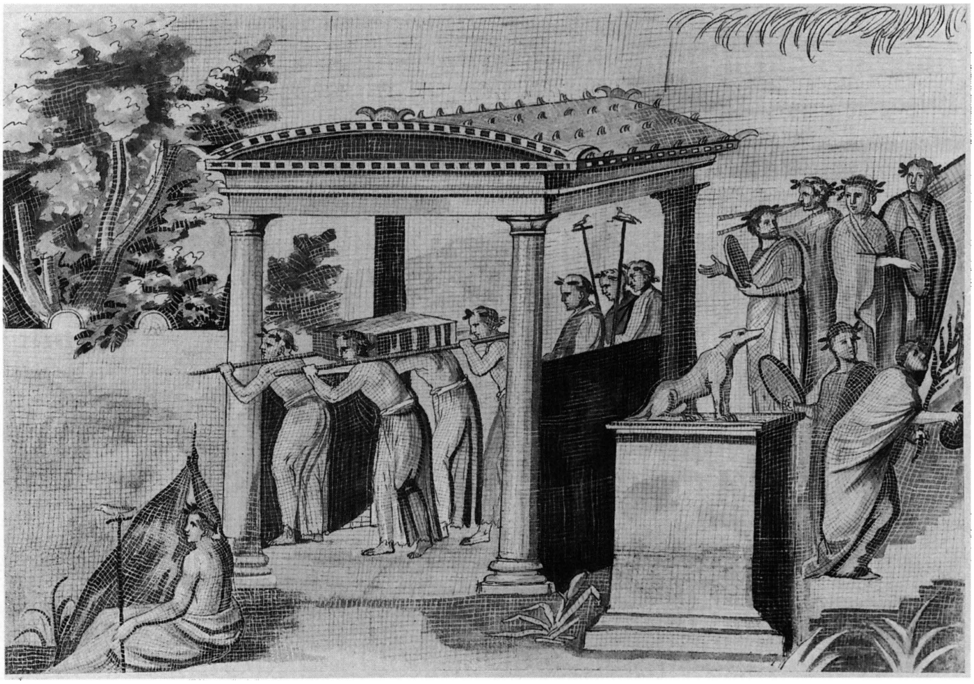
23. Dal Pozzo copy of section 14 (The Royal Collection 1994, Windsor Castle, drawing 19214; see p. 37).



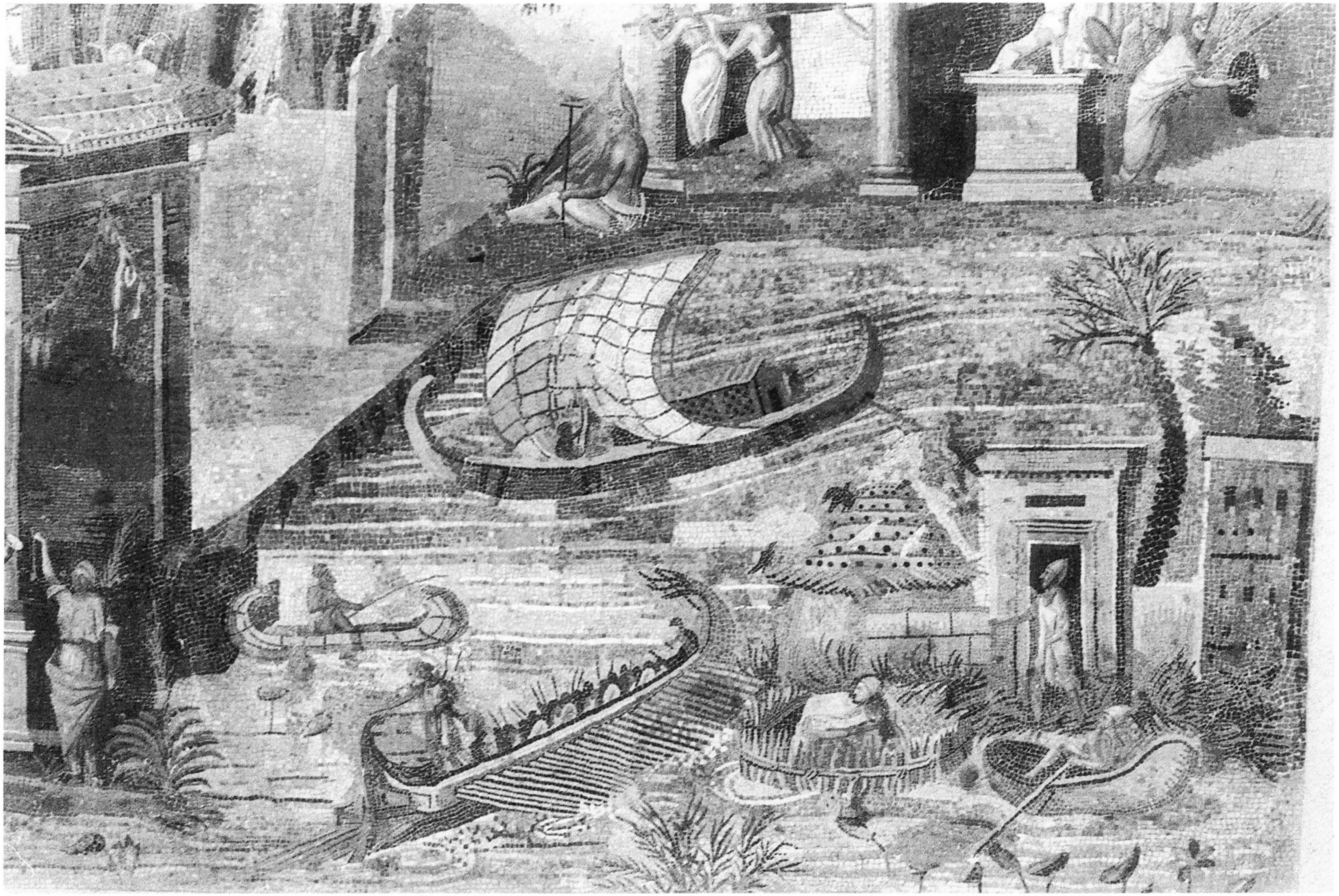
24. The Nile Mosaic, sections 16 and 20 (photo P. Jongste; see p. 38).



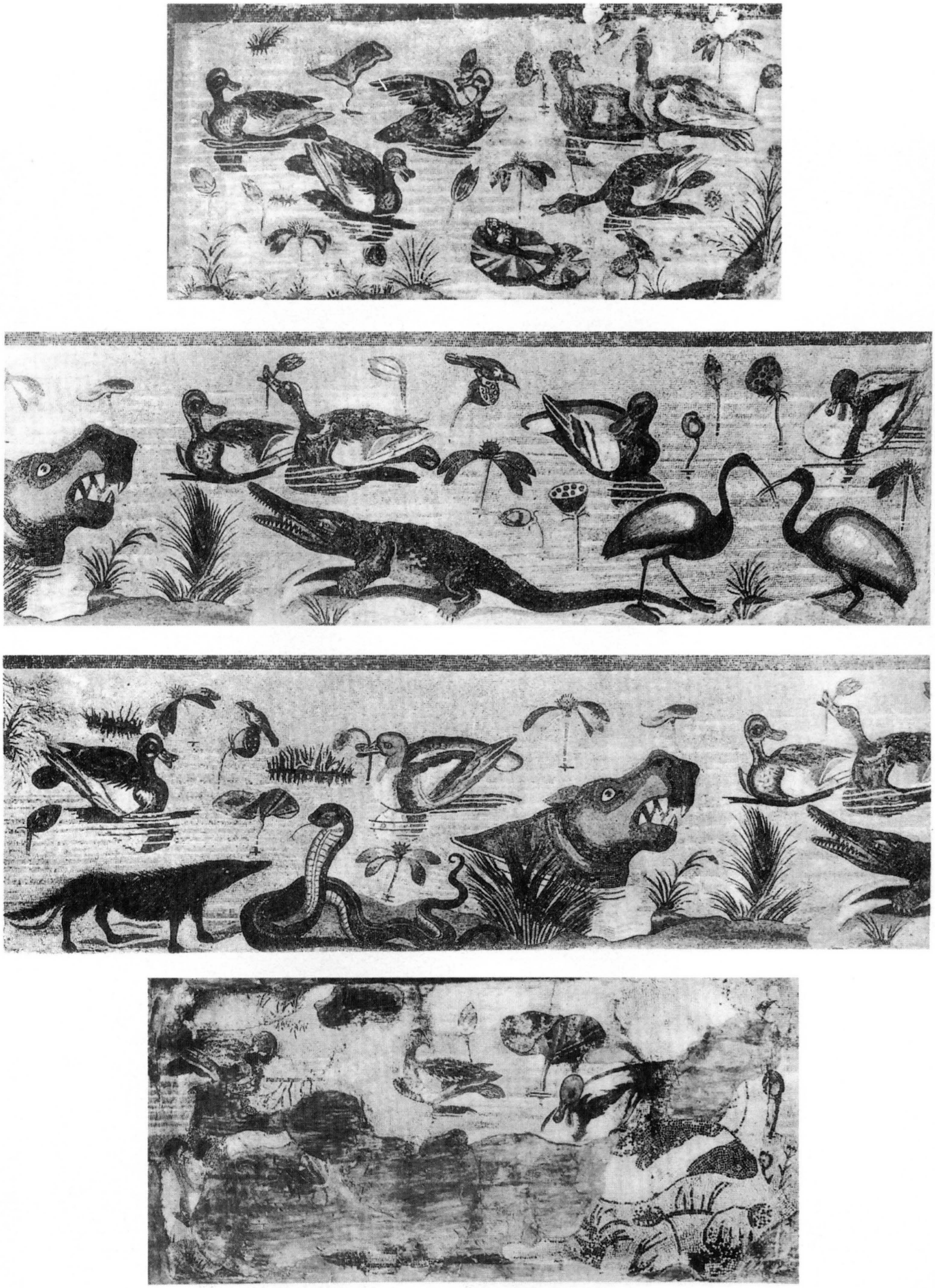
25. The Nile Mosaic, section 16, detail (photo P. Jongste; see p. 39).



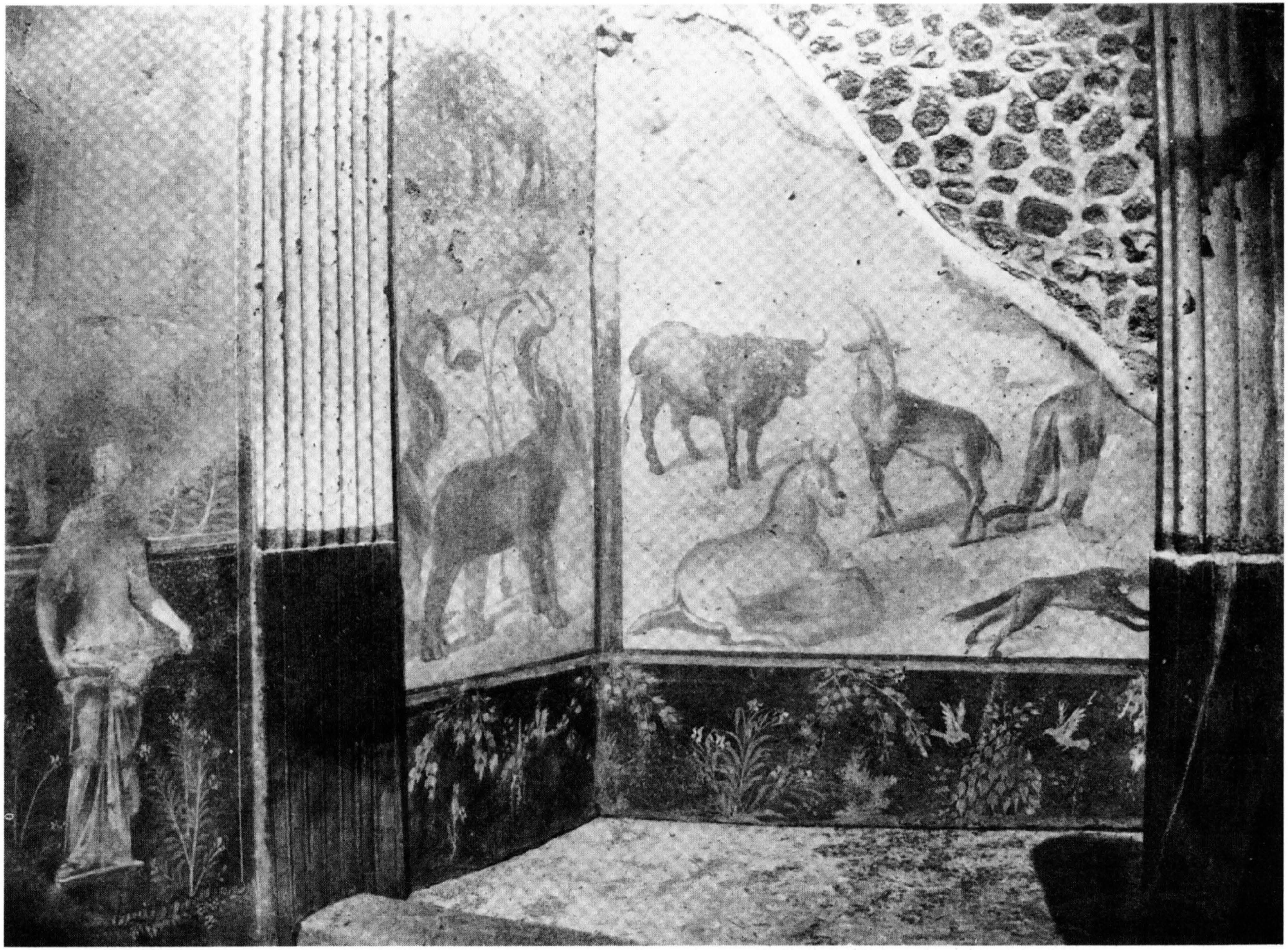
26. Dal Pozzo copy of section 16 (The Royal Collection 1994, Windsor Castle, drawing 19216; see p. 38).



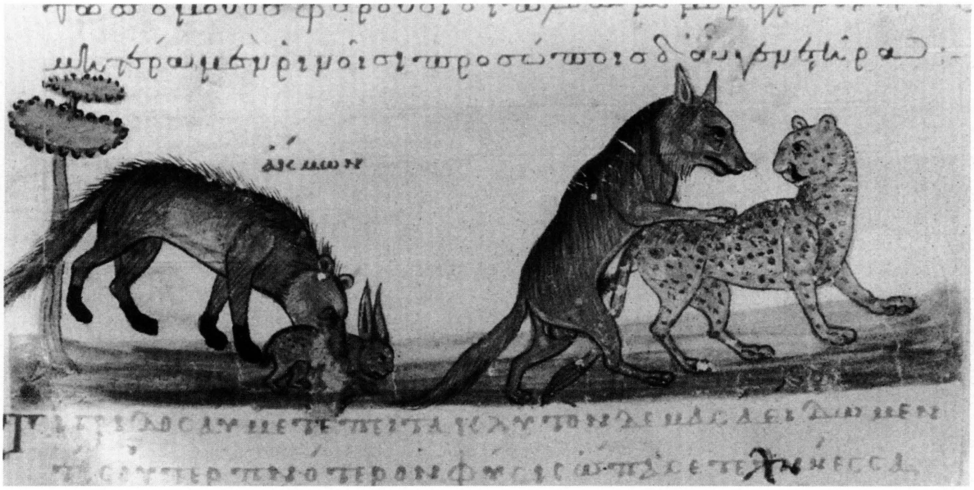
27. The Nile Mosaic, section 17 (photo P. Jongste; see p. 40).



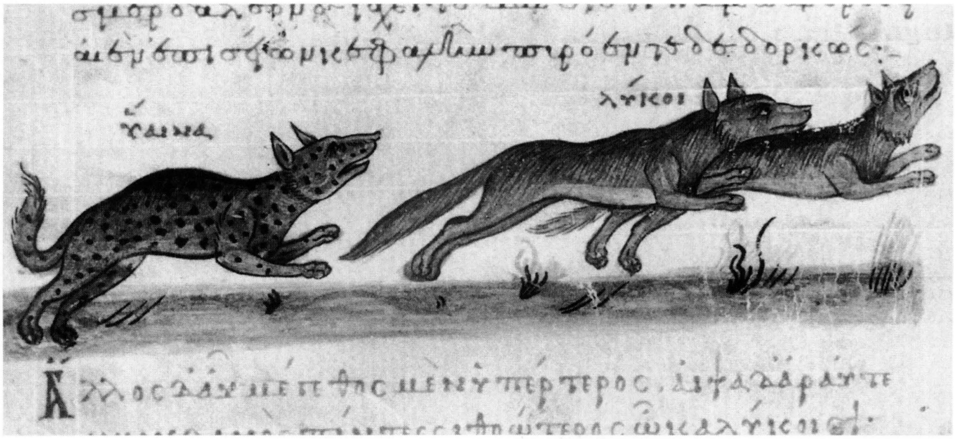
28. Mosaic frieze with Nilotic scenes from the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii (VI 12; 90-80 B.C.; Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. no. 10323; see Ch. II, nn. 70-71; Ch. V, n. 9; Ch. VI, n. 5).



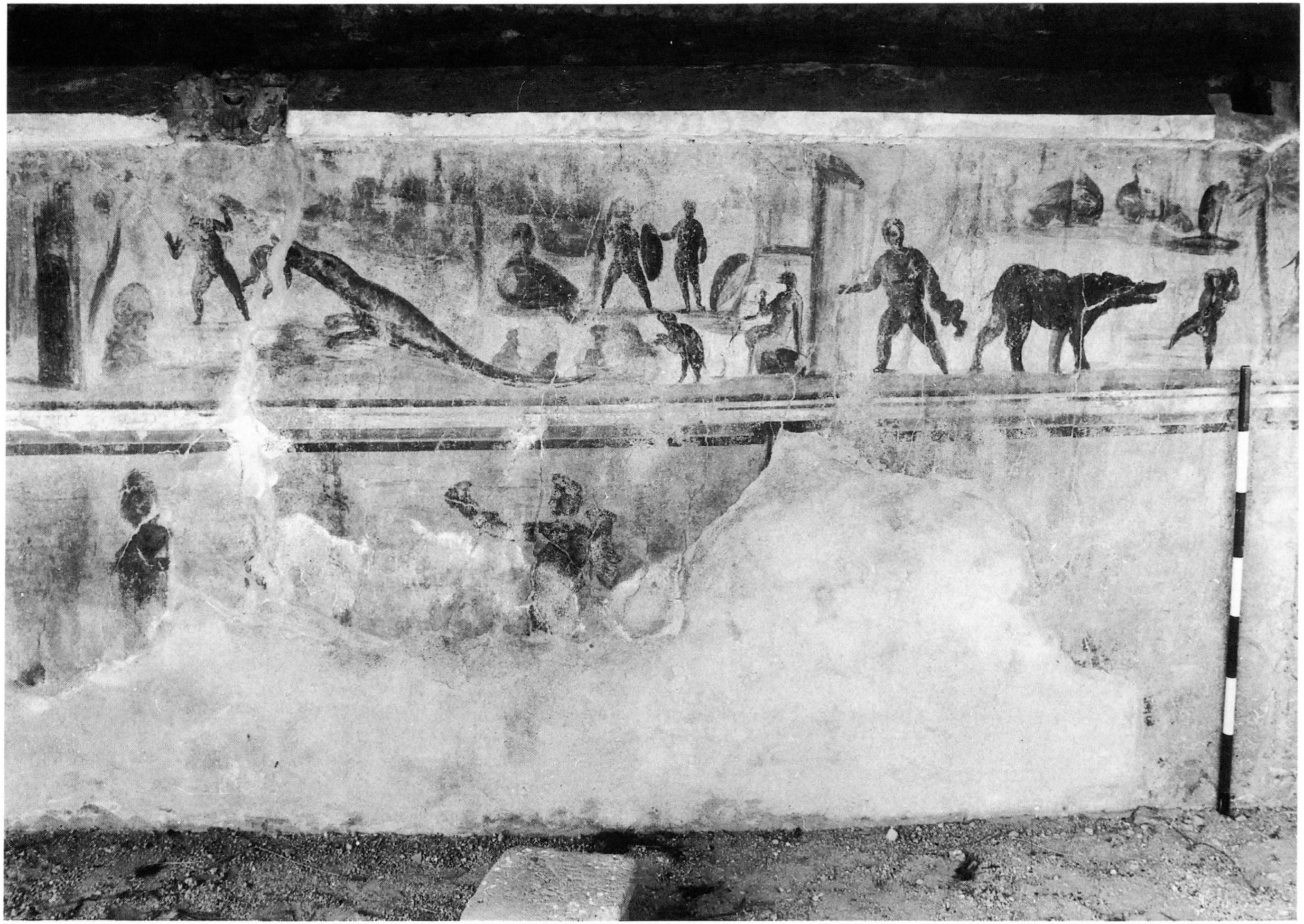
29. Wall-painting depicting African animals in the garden of the Casa di Romelo e Remo at Pompeii (VII 7, 10; c. 70 A.D.; see Ch. III, n. 12; Ch. VII, n. 26).



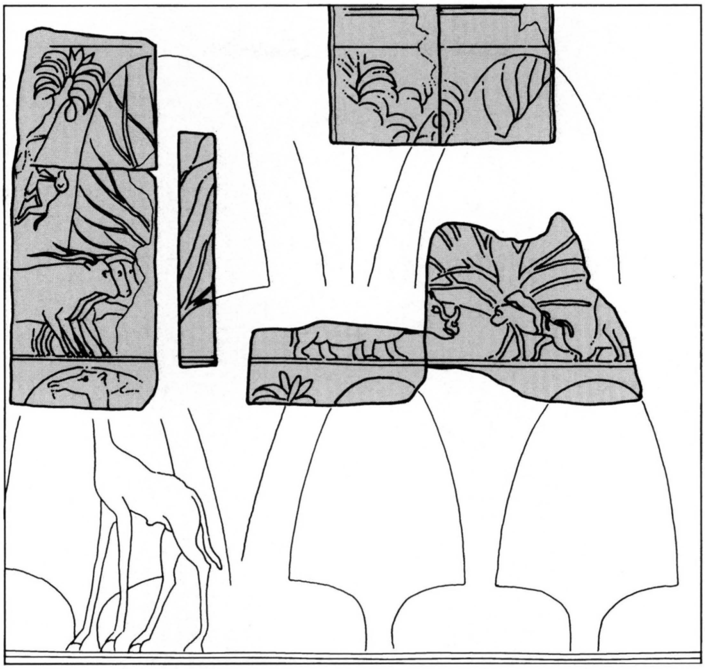
30 *a.* Mating of wolf and cheetah, illustration in the *Cynegetica* by Ps. Oppian (10th cent. A.D.; Venice, Cod. Ven. Marc. Gr. Z 479, fo. 49v; photo I. Spatbarakis; see Appendix 2, n. 8).



30 *b.* The *thos* hunting with wolves, illustration in the same ms. (fo. 48v; photo I. Spatbarakis; see Appendix 2, n. 9).

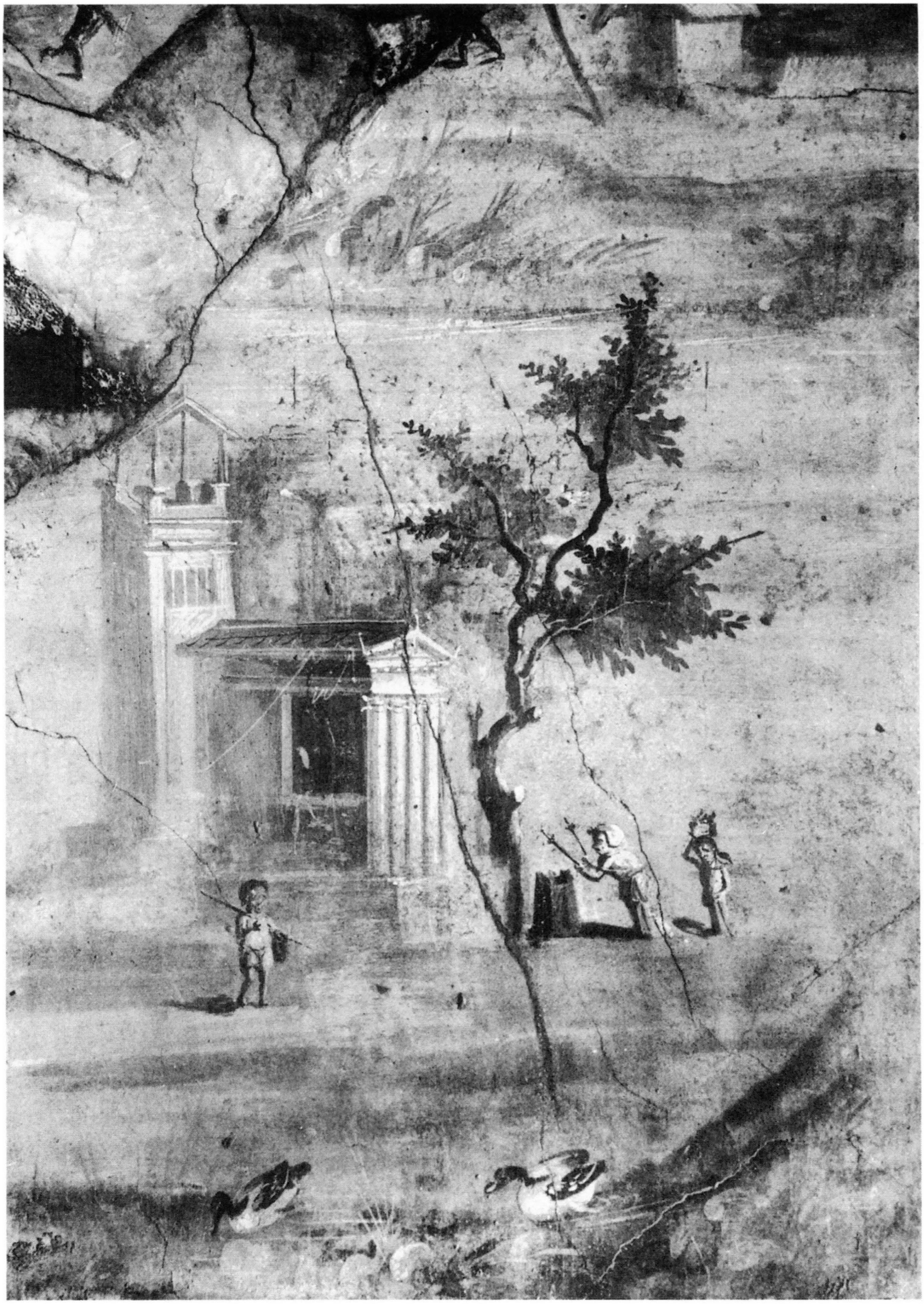


31. Wall-paiting with Nilotic scenes in the garden of the Insula Occidentalis at Pompeii (VIII 2; c. 70 A.D.; see Ch III, n. 23).

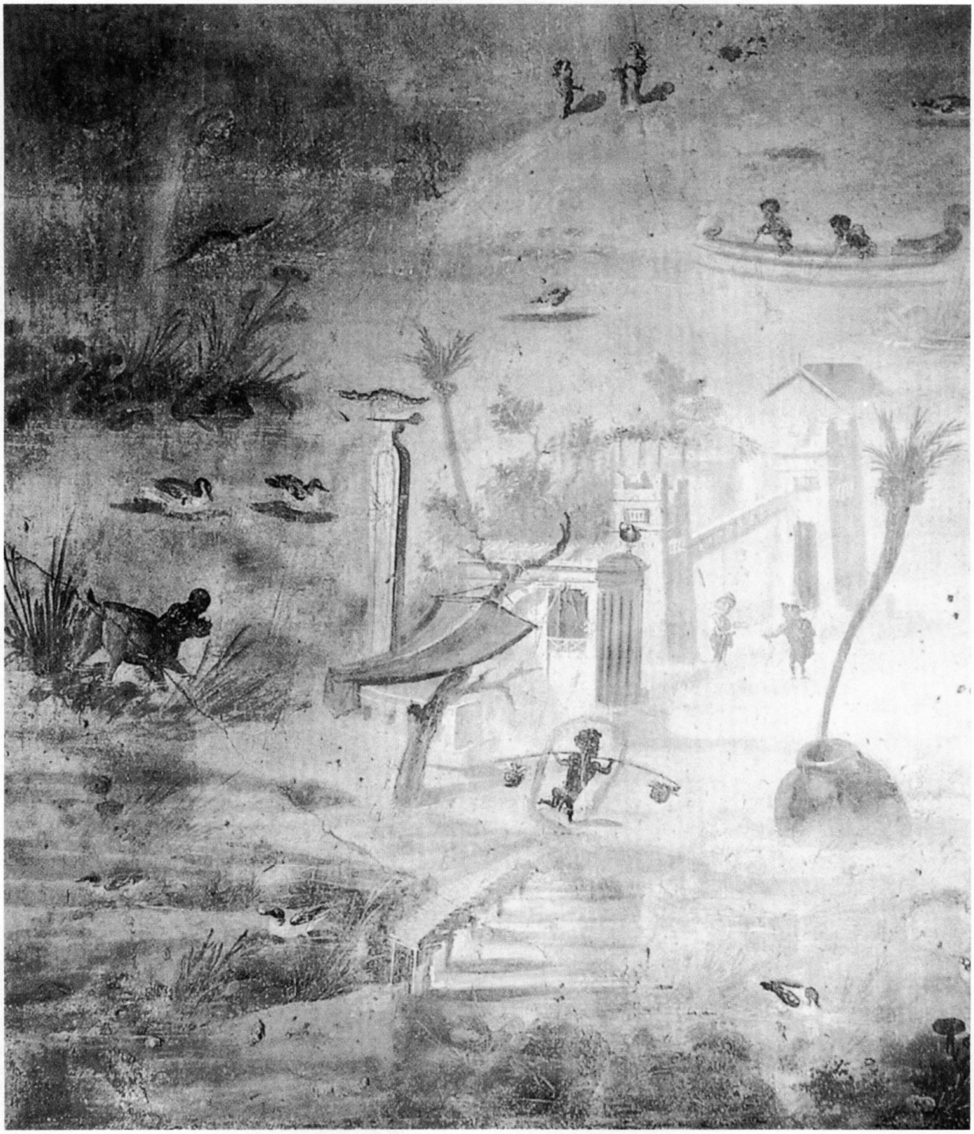


32. Sudanese animals in the Punt relief of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (15th cent. B.C.; detail, drawing P. Deunhouwer, after Smith, pl. opp. p. 60; see Ch. III, nn. 42, 49, 65; Ch. IV, n. 50).

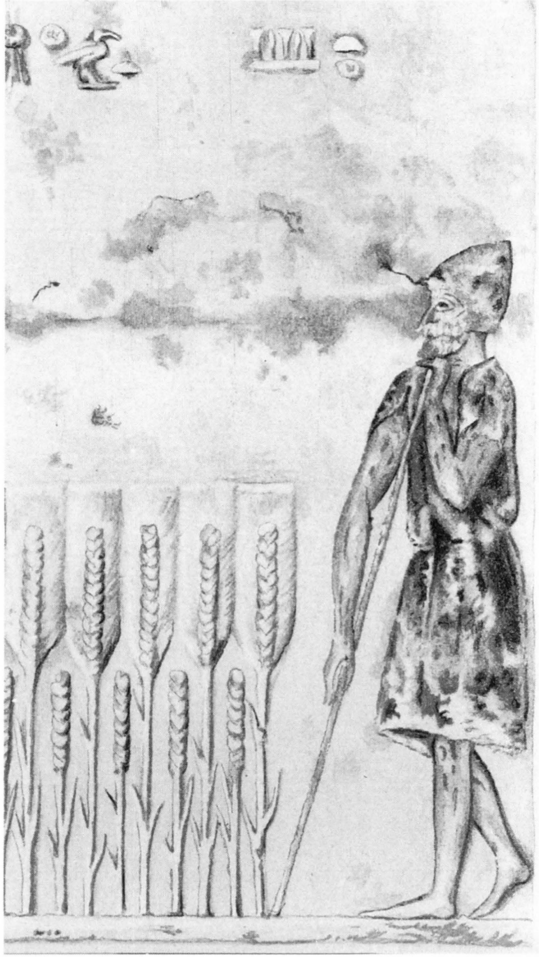
33. The Nilometer of Kom Ombo (1st cent. B.C.; photo H.H.J. Brouwer; see Ch. III, n. 77).



34. Wall-painting with Nilotic landscape in an *oecus* opening on the peristyle in the Casa dei Pigmei at Pompeii (IX 5, 9; c. 70 A.D.; see Ch. III, n. 85).



35. Wall-painting with Nilotic landscape in an *oecus* opening on the peristyle in the Casa dei Pigmei at Pompeii (IX 5, 9; c. 70 A.D.; see Ch. III, nn. 85, 87).



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36. Peasant, wall-painting in the tomb of Petosiris at Hermoupolis (c. 300 B.C.; after Lefebvre, pl. XIV; see Ch. III, nn. 82, 125).

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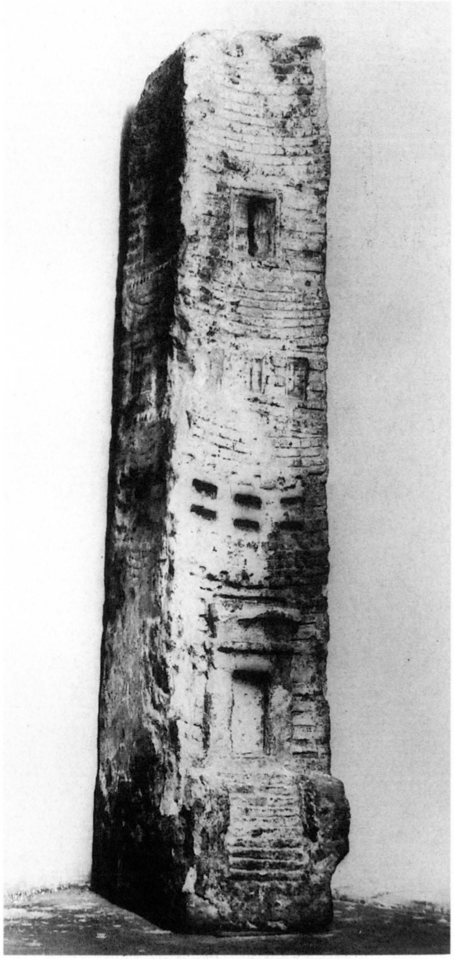
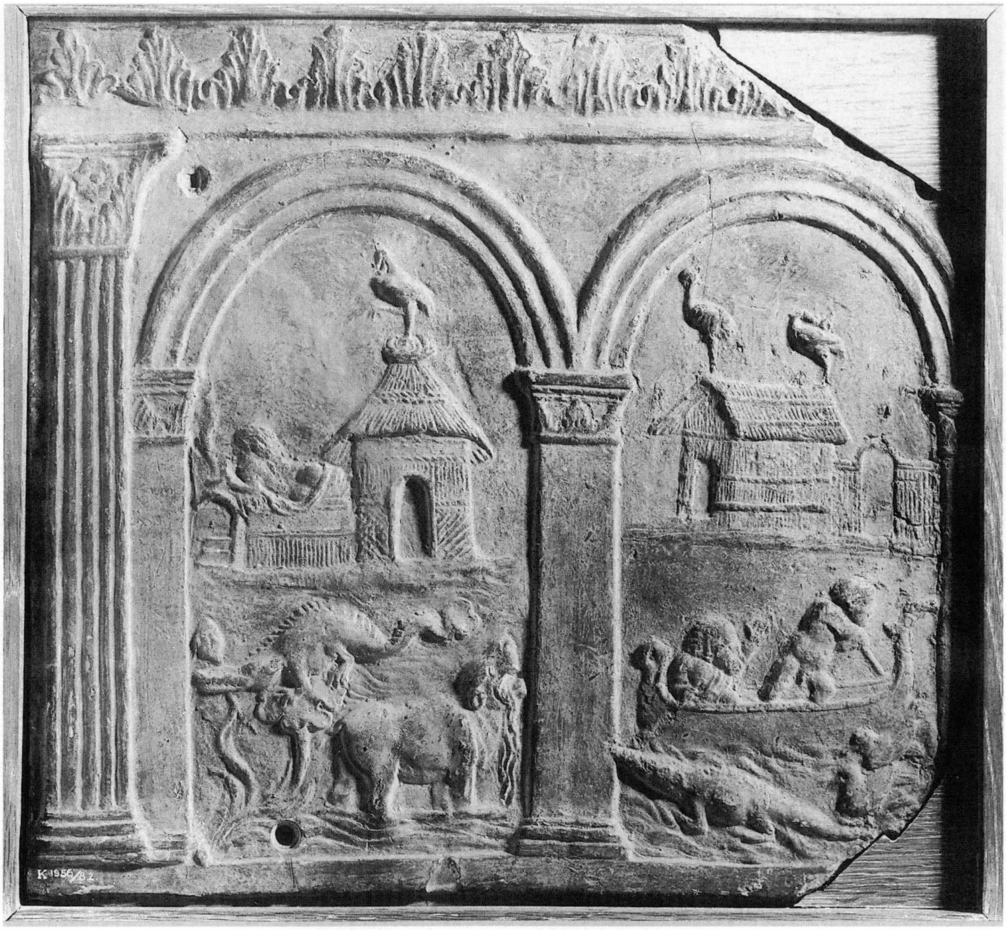
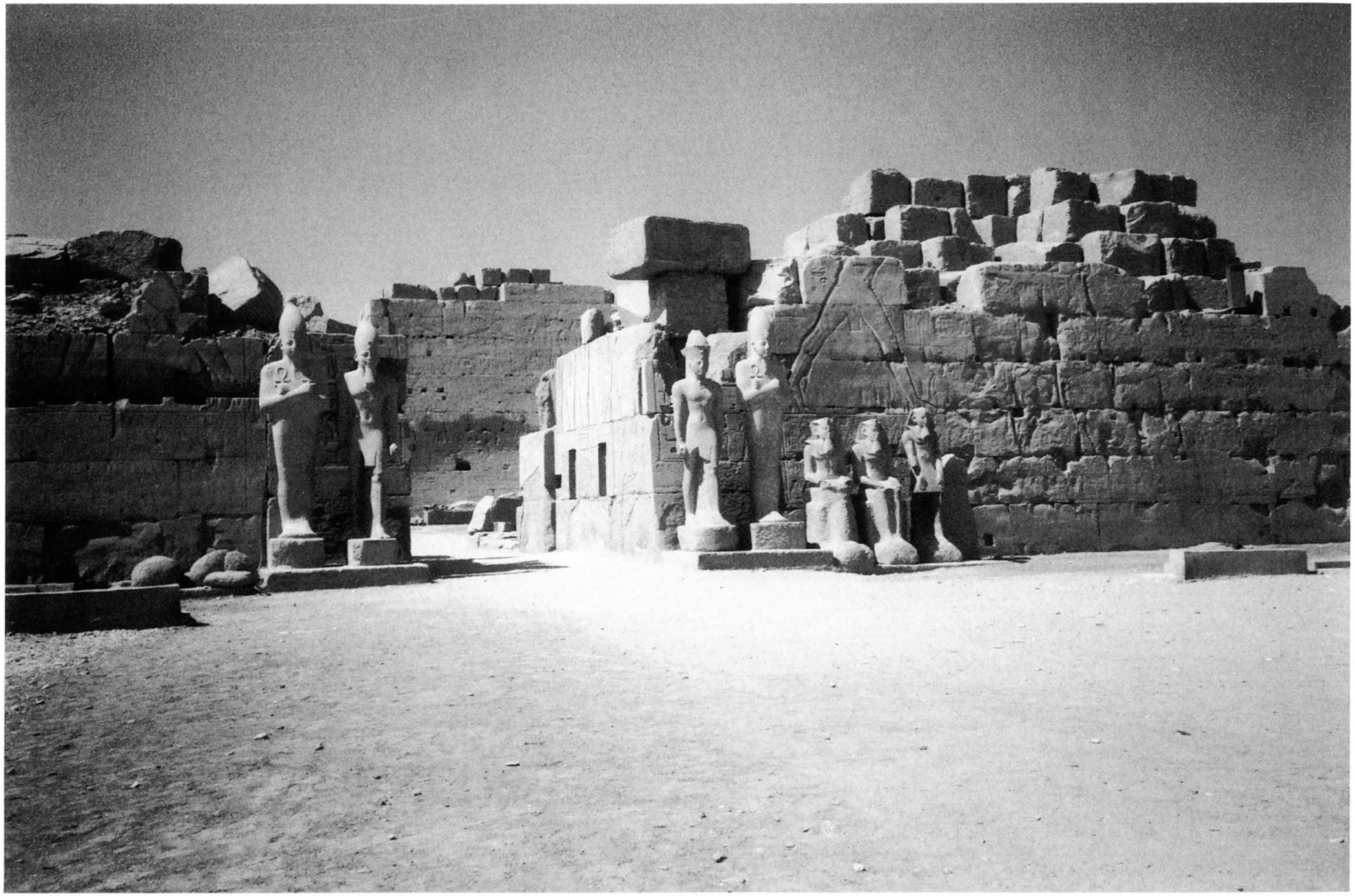
37. Limestone model of a towerhouse (Graeco-Roman period; Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Inv. no. 56352; photo courtesy of the Museum; see Ch. III, nn. 88, 144).

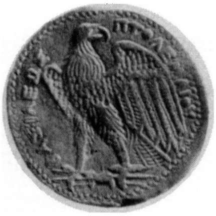




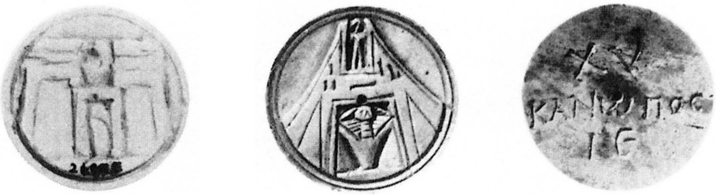
38. Campana relief with Nilotic scene (late 1st cent. B.C.; Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. no. K 1956/8.2; photo courtesy of the Museum; see Ch. III, nn. 94, 136; Ch. V, n. 43).



39. North side of the seventh pylon of the temple of Amon at Karnak (Thebes) (15th cent. B.C.; photo H.H.J. Brouwer; see Ch. III, n. 104).

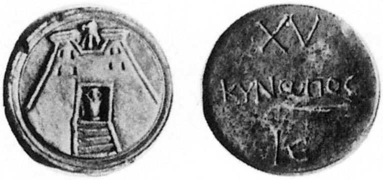


40. Gold coin of Ptolemy II (271/270 B.C.; see Ch. IV, n. 76).



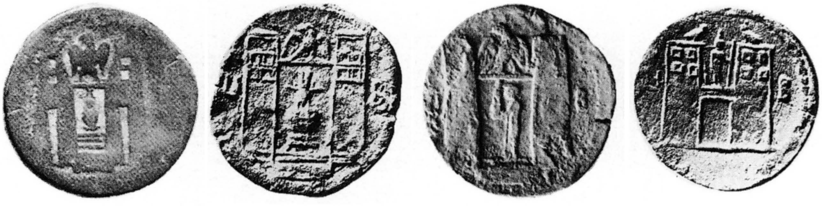
a. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, Inv. no. 26898;

b. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, A 19819–20/309;



c. Milan, Scala.

41. Alexandrian bone tesserae depicting the temple of Osiris at Canopus (late 1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.; see Ch. III, n. 103).



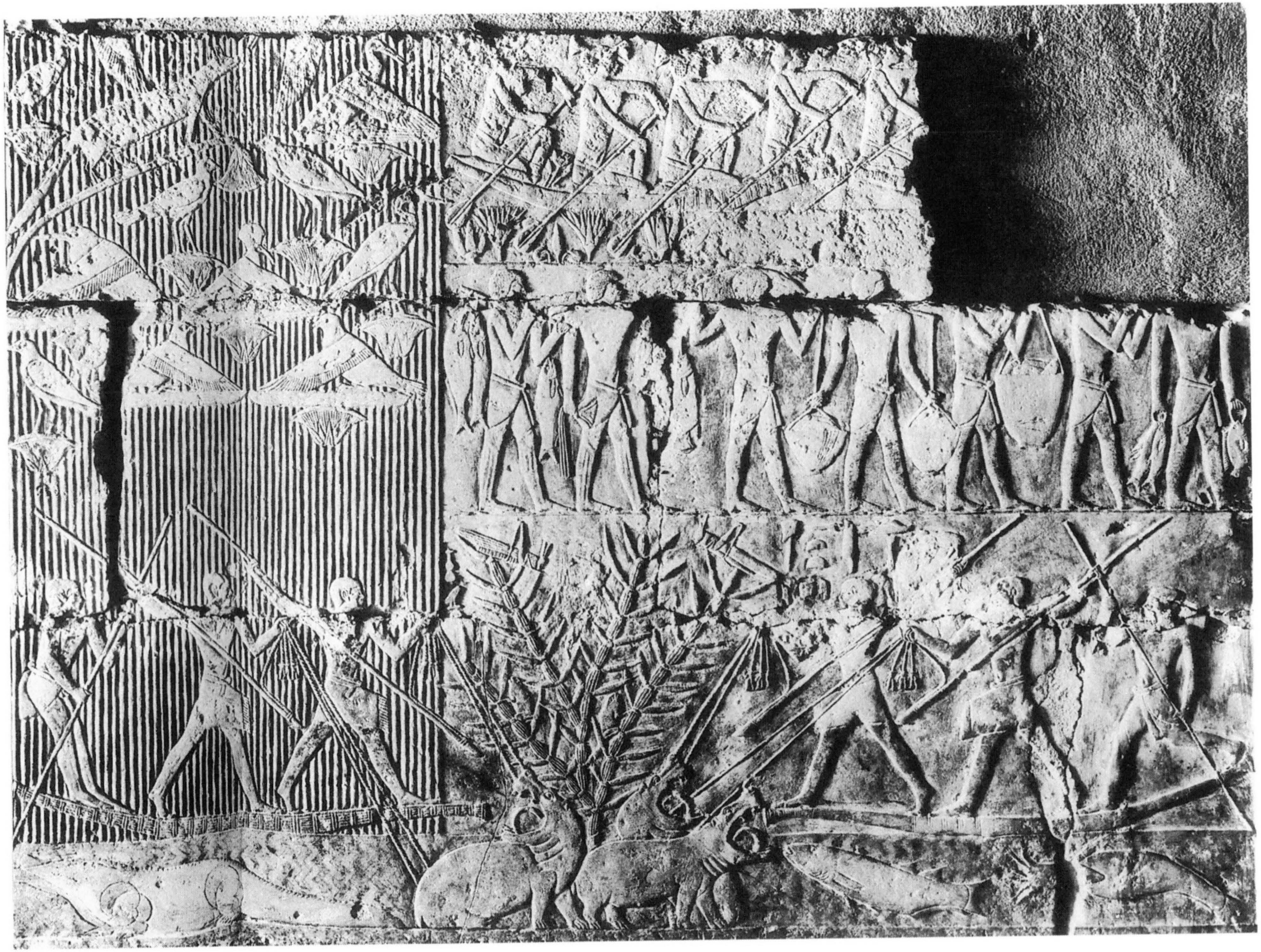
a. Trajan (year 12);

b. Marcus Aurelius (year 5);

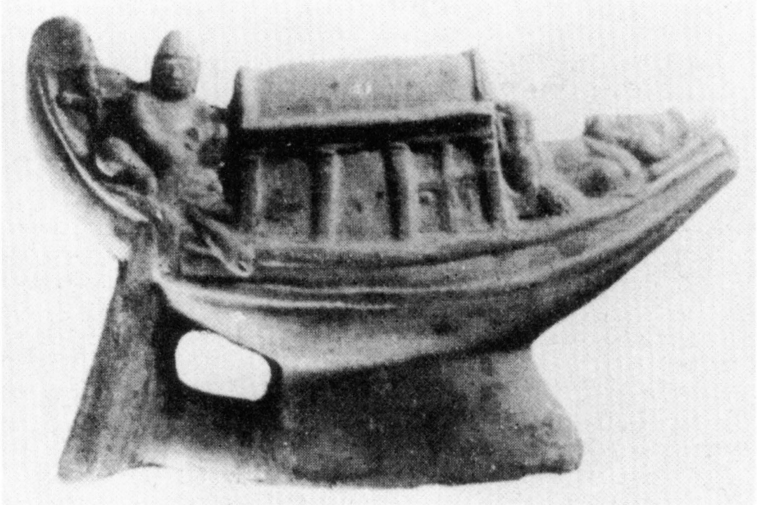
c. 2nd cent. A.D.;

d. Trajan, (year 12).

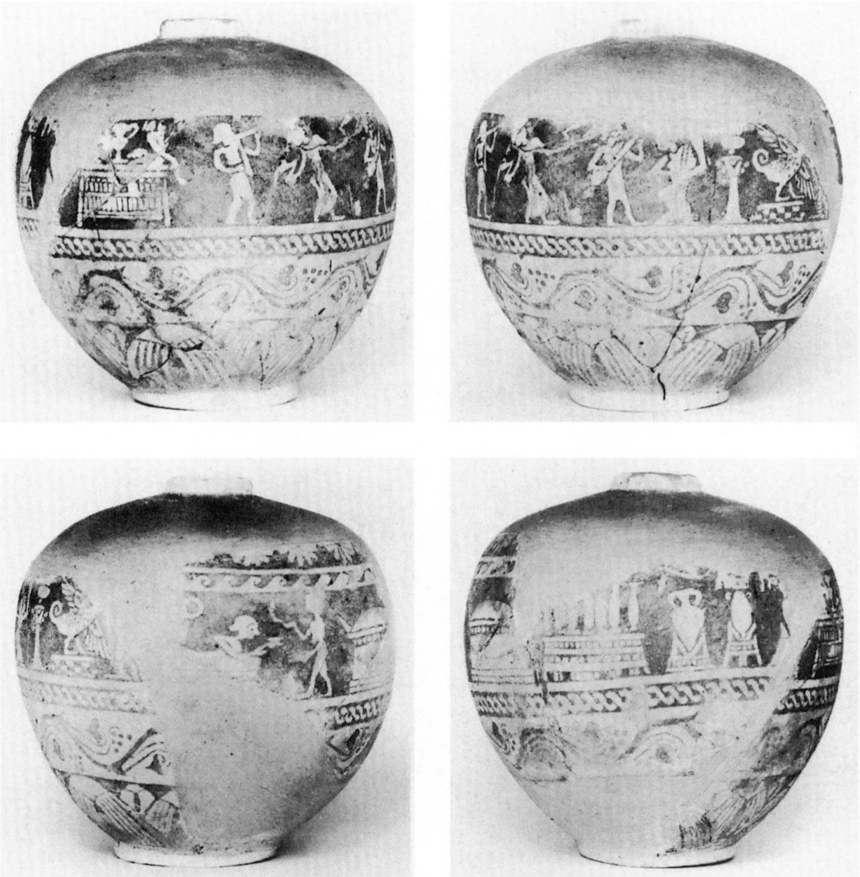
42.*a-c.* Alexandrian bronze drachms depicting the temple of Osiris at Canopus (see Ch. III, n. 103); *d.* Alexandrian bronze drachm depicting a temple of Isis.



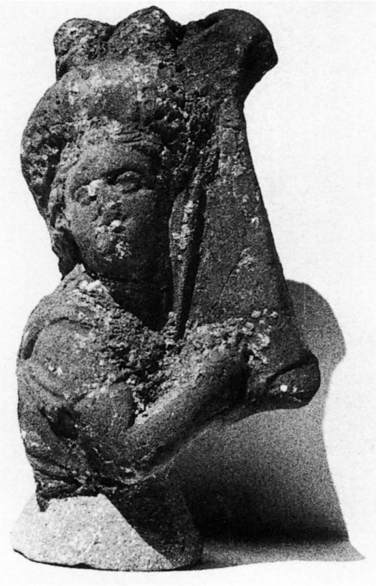
43. Painted relief depicting hippopotamus' hunt in the tomb of Mereruka at Sakkara (c. 2250 B.C.; see Ch. III, nn. 114, 116).



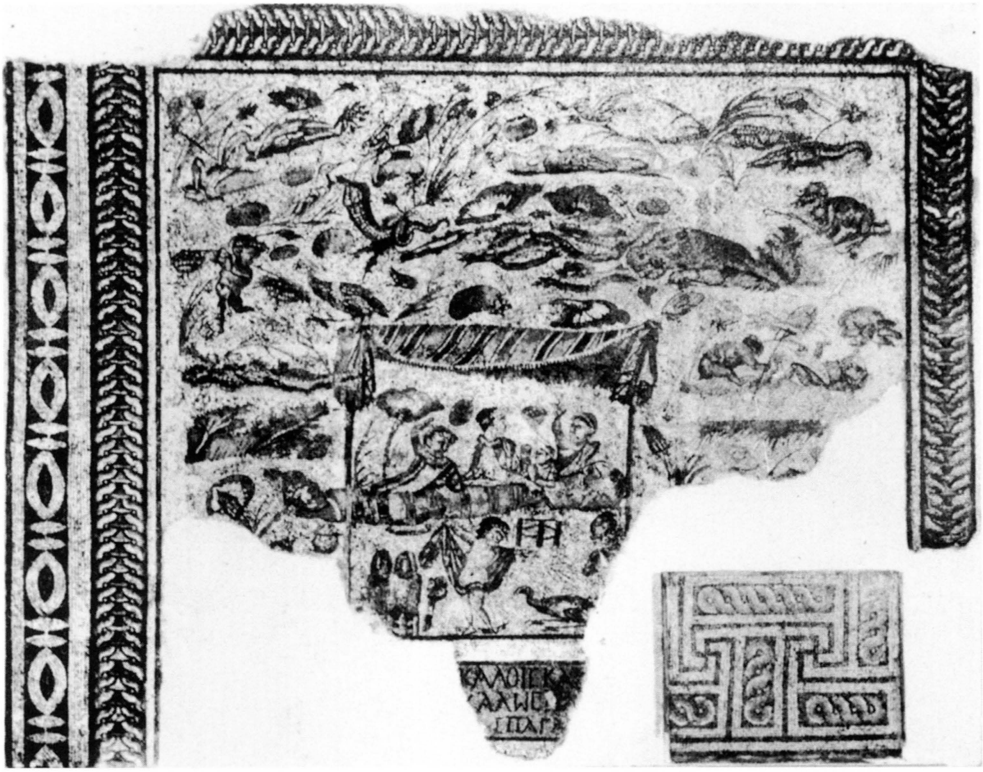
44. Alexandrian terra-cotta figure of a cabin boat (Graeco-Roman period; Athens, National Museum, MP 1140; see Ch. III, n. 112).



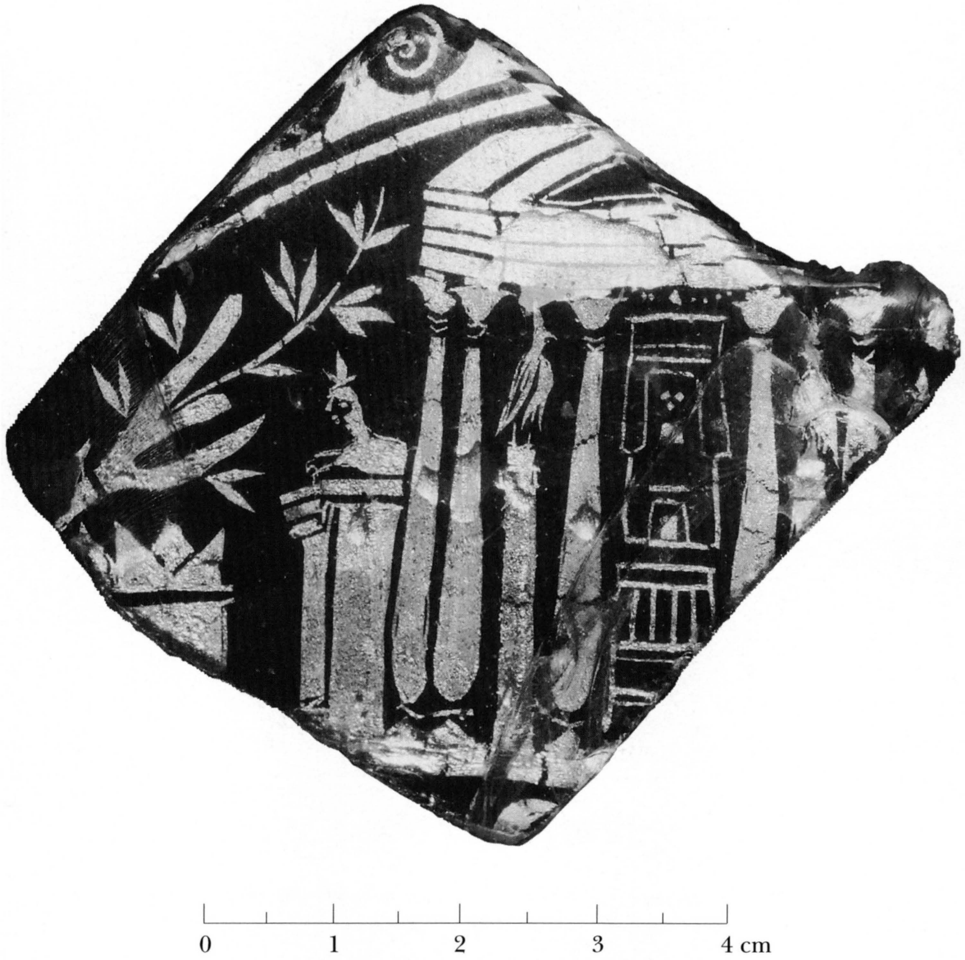
45. Alexandrian faience vase (3rd cent. B.C.; Varna, Bulgaria, Archaeological Museum; see Ch. III, n. 134; Ch. IV, n.180).



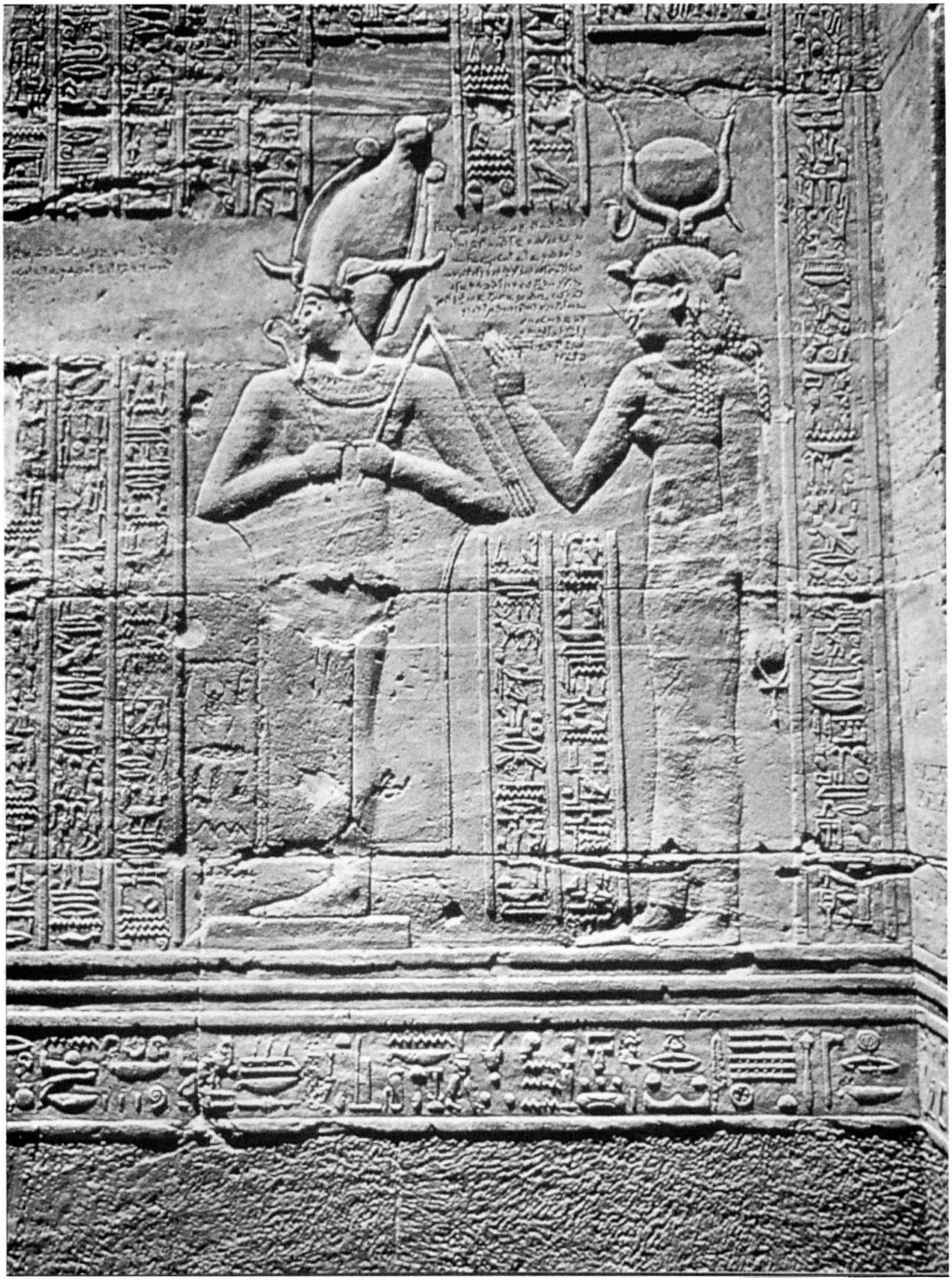
46. Alexandrian terra-cotta of a woman playing a triangular harp (Graeco-Roman period; Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. no. 10079; photo courtesy of the Museum; see Ch. III, n. 134).



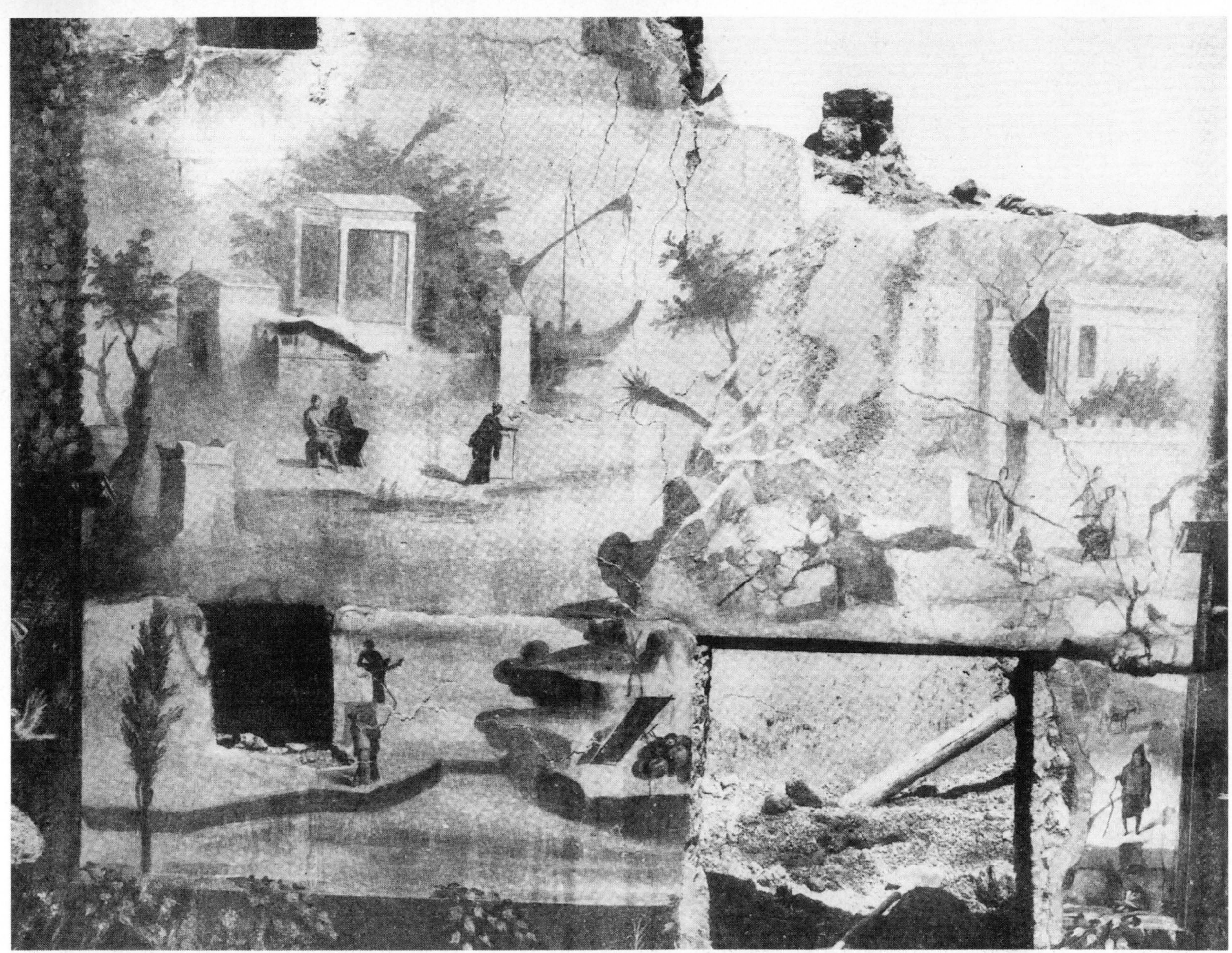
47. Mosaic depicting feast at the time of the inundation, from Thmuis (3rd cent. A.D.; Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, Inv. no. 21641; see Ch. IV, n. 180).



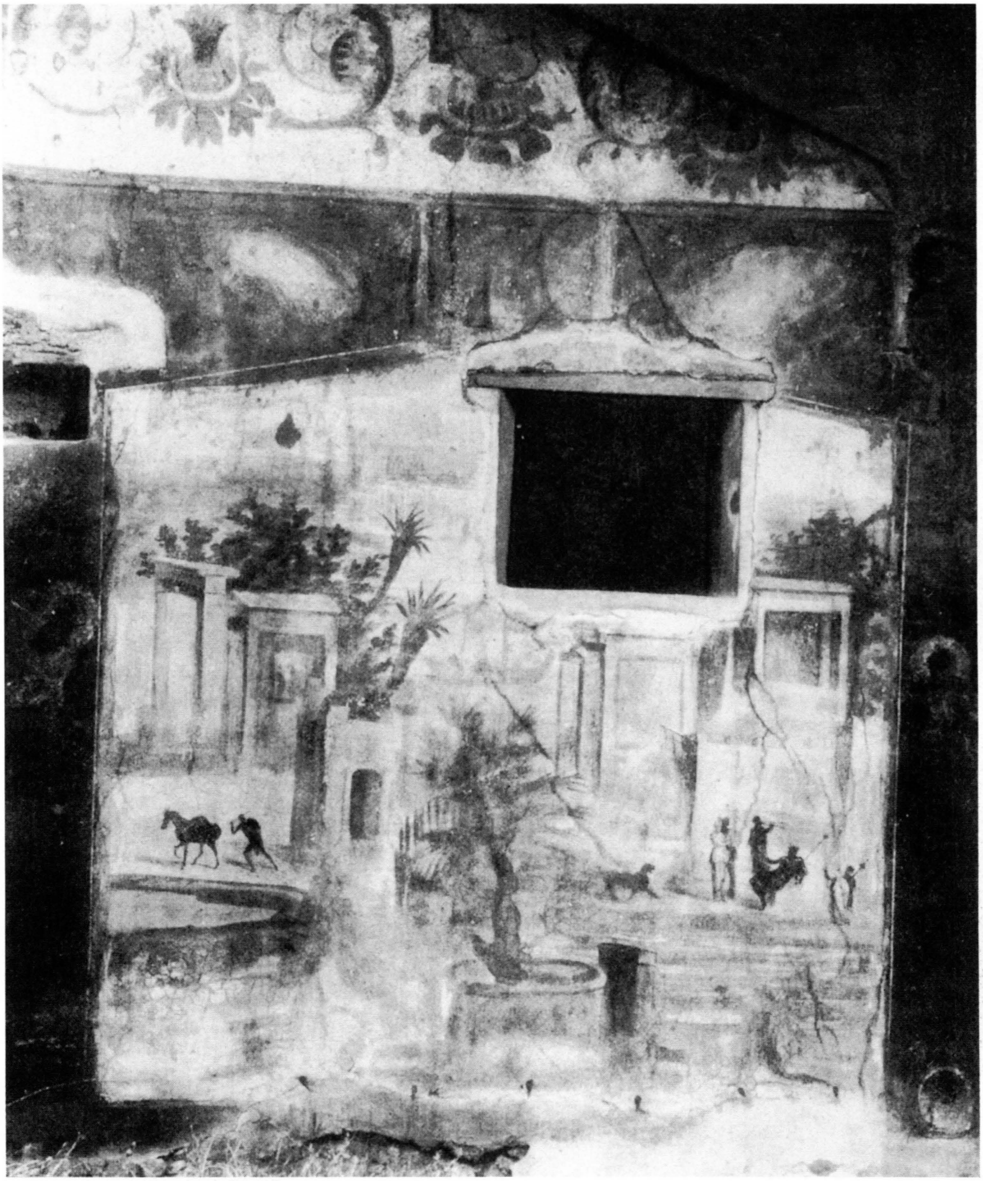
48. Fragment of Alexandrian gold-glass bowl representing a shrine (3rd cent. B.C.; Moscow, Pushkin Museum; photo courtesy of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg; see Ch. III, n. 147; IV, n. 122).



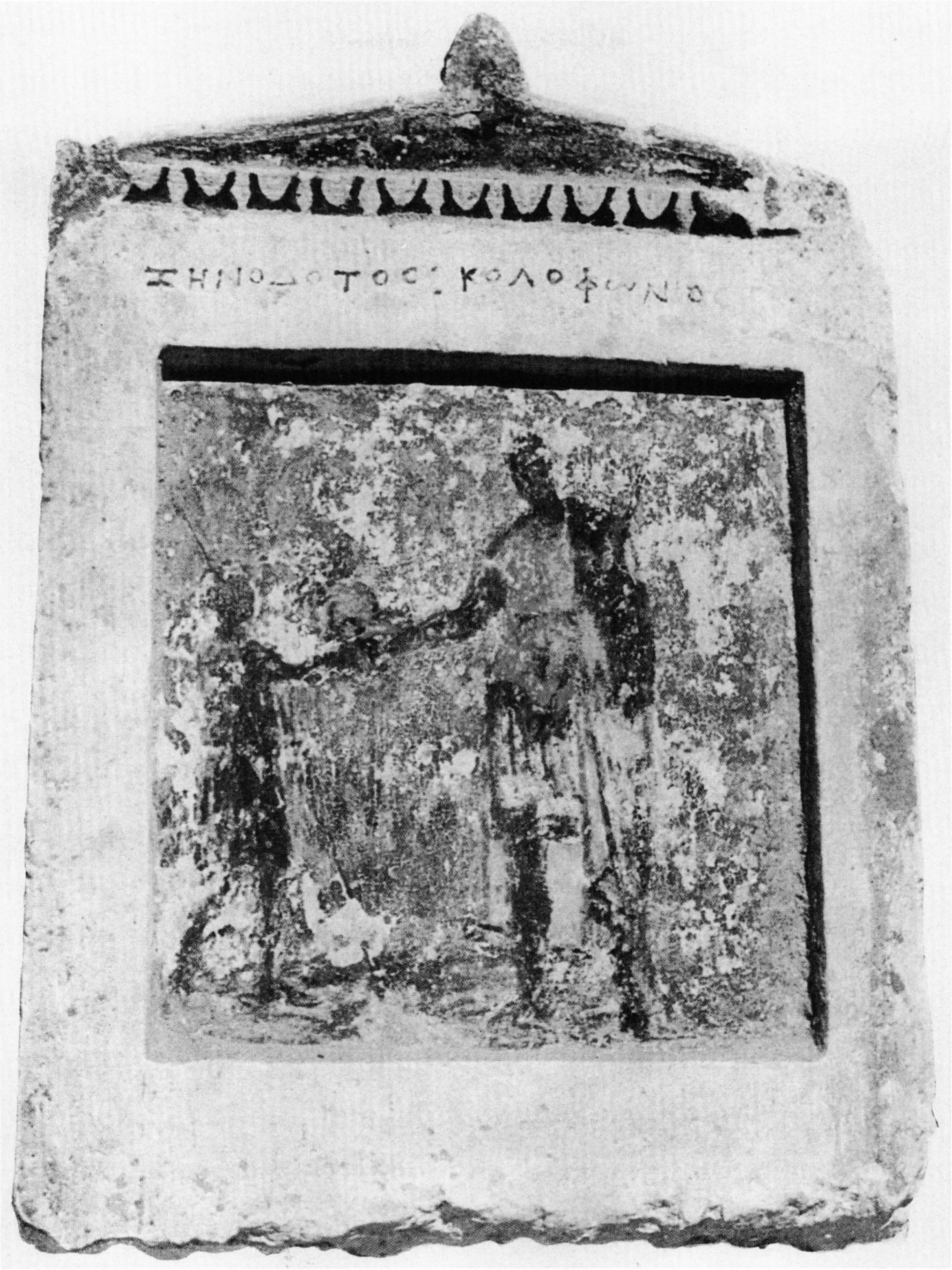
49. Relief depicting Osiris and Isis in the Temple of Isis at Philae (late Ptolemaic period; see Ch. III, n. 151).



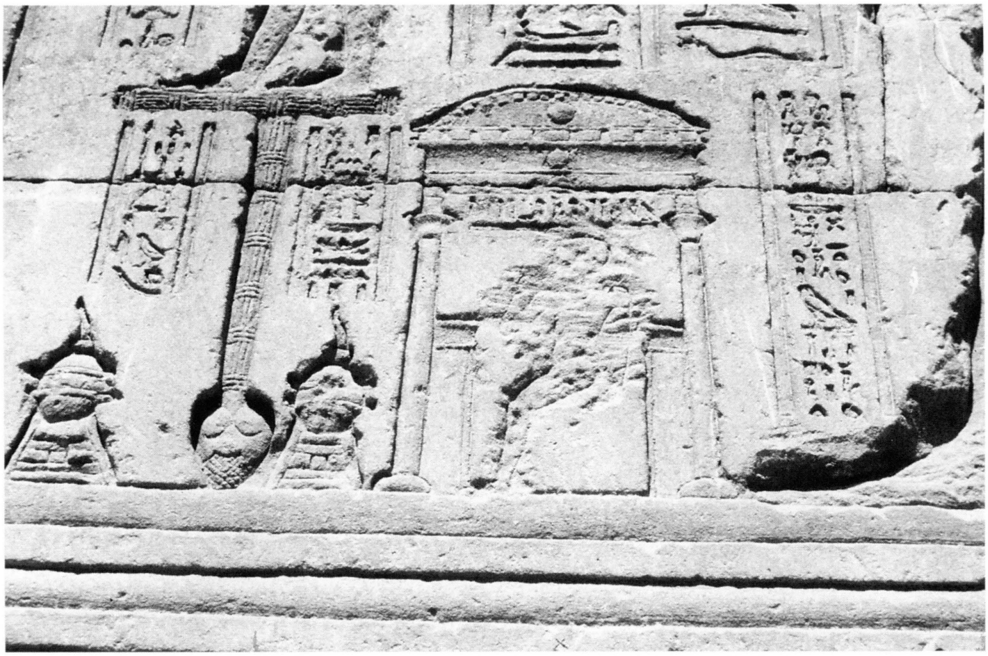
50. Wall-painting with Nilotic landscape in the *viridarium* of the Casa dei Cei at Pompeii (I 6, 15; c. 70 A.D.; see Ch. III, n. 155; Ch. IV, nn. 120, 121; Ch. VII, n. 30).



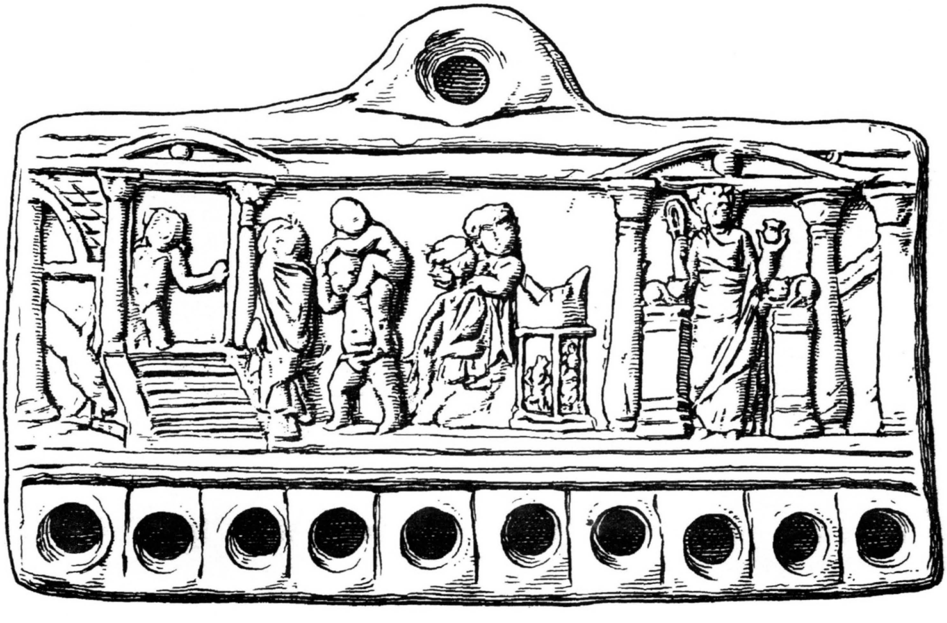
51. Wall-painting with Nilotic landscape in the garden of the Casa di Apolline at Pompeii (VII 7, 23; c. 70 A.D.; see Ch III, n. 155; Ch. IV, nn. 120, 121).


ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΣ

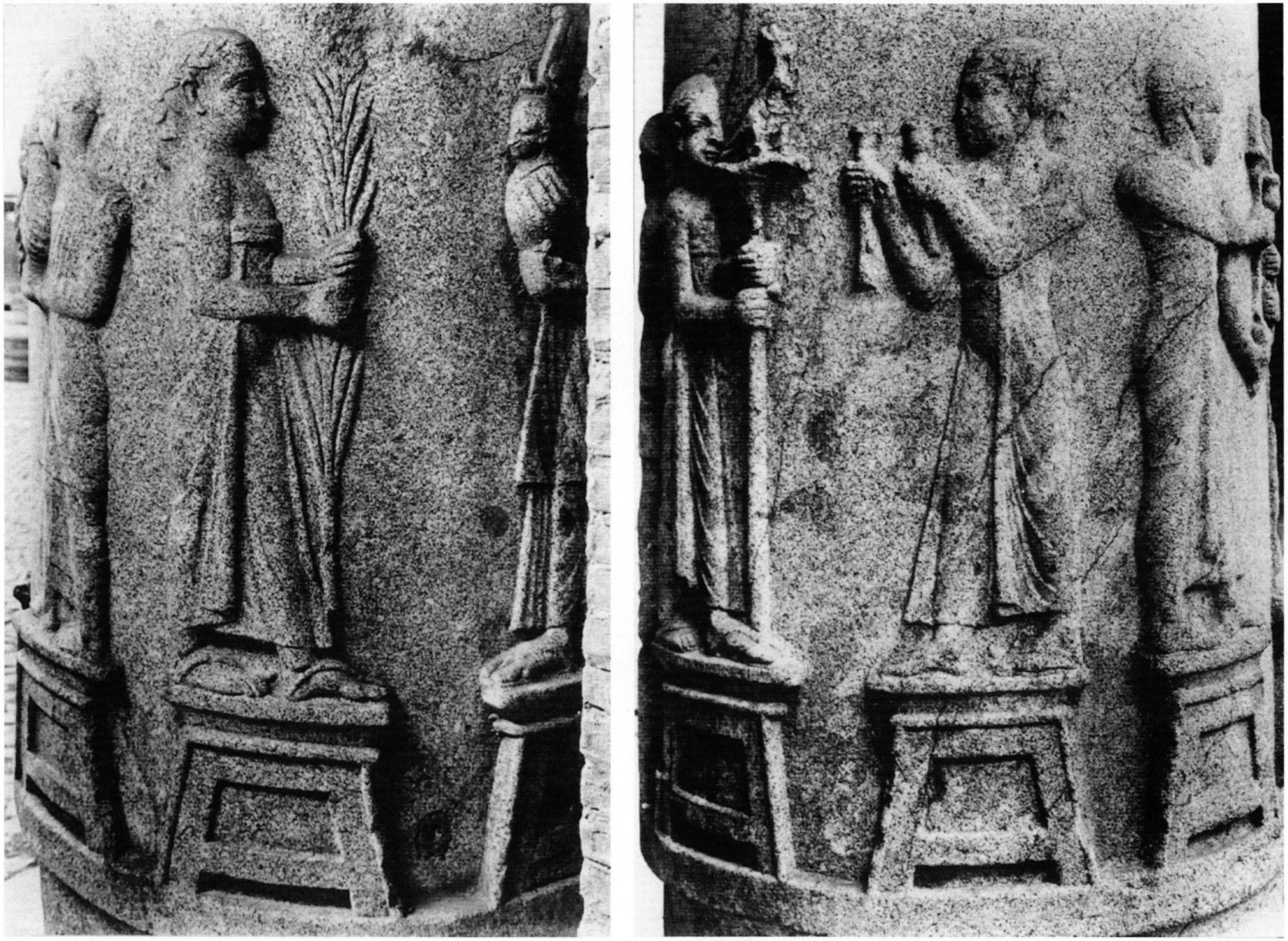
52. Alexandrian grave stele of a soldier (3rd cent. B.C.; Paris, private collection; see Ch. III, n. 162).



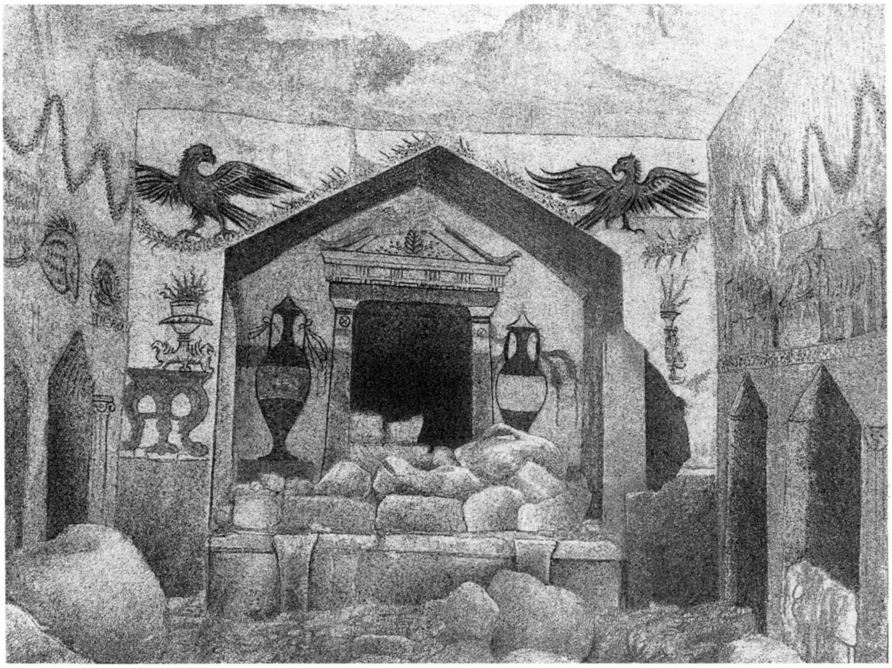
53. Shrine with Harpocrates, relief on the eastern outer wall of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera (Augustan period; see Ch. III, nn. 179, 180).



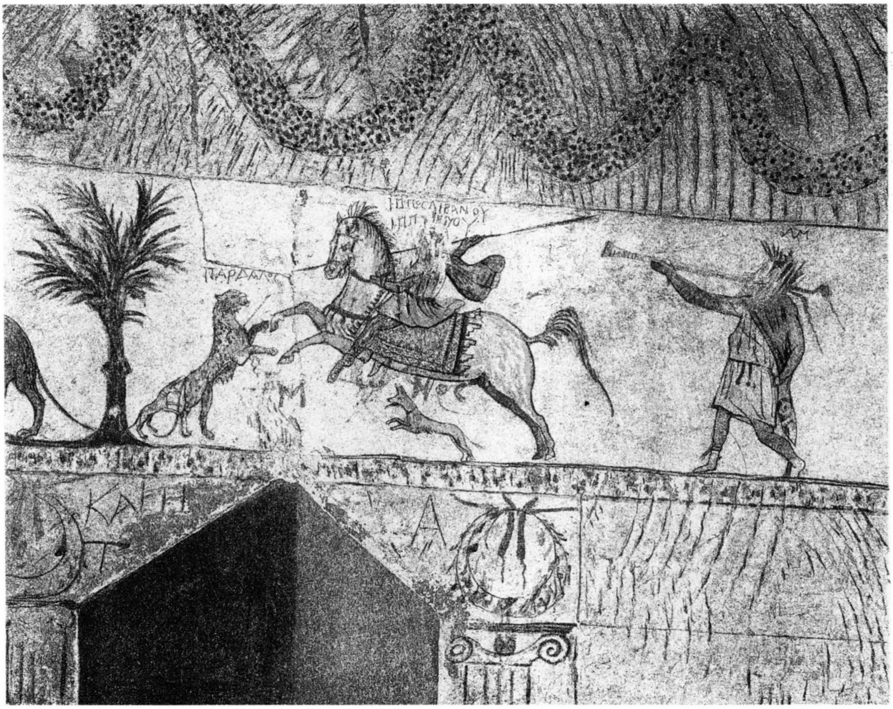
54. Terra-cotta lamp depicting Isis sanctuary (Roman period; formerly collection Bircher, Cairo; after Pagenstecher, fig. 16; see Ch. III, nn. 179, 180).



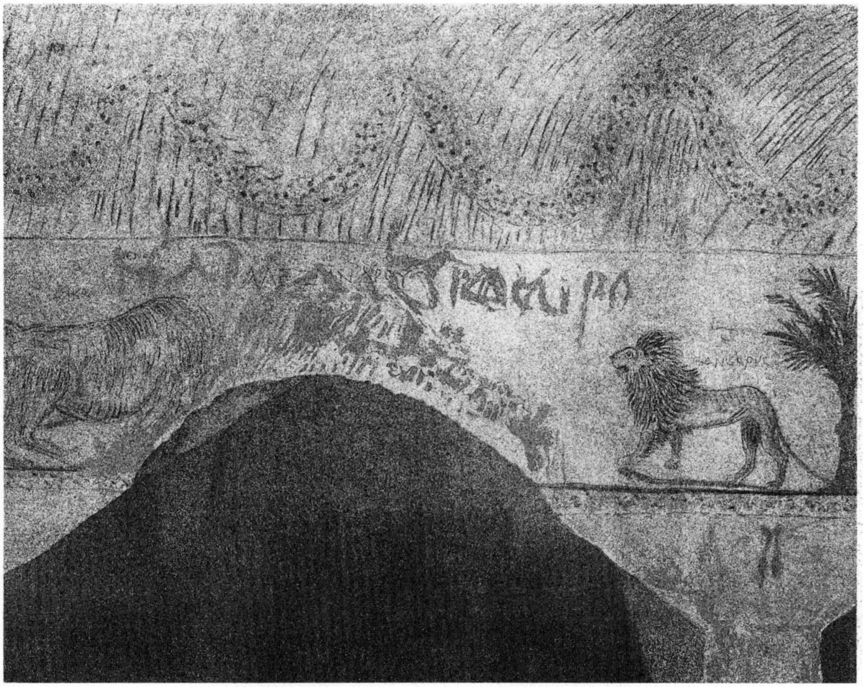
55. Isiac procession, reliefs on columns from the Iseum Campense in Rome (last quarter 1st cent. A.D.; Rome, Capitoline Museum, Inv. no. 1194; see Ch. III, n. 183).



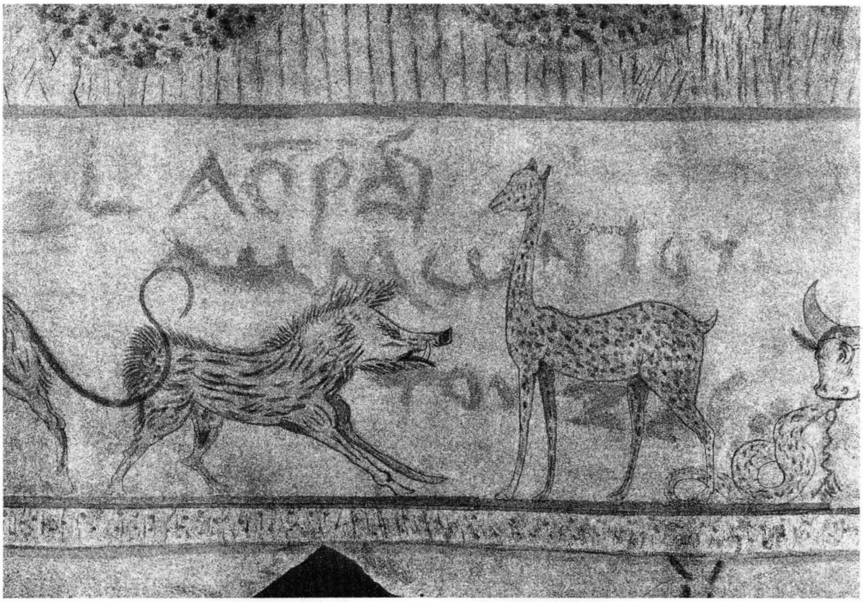
56. Tomb at Marissa (Israel; last quarter 3rd cent. B.C.; after Peters, Thiersch, frontispiece; see Ch. IV, n. 5).



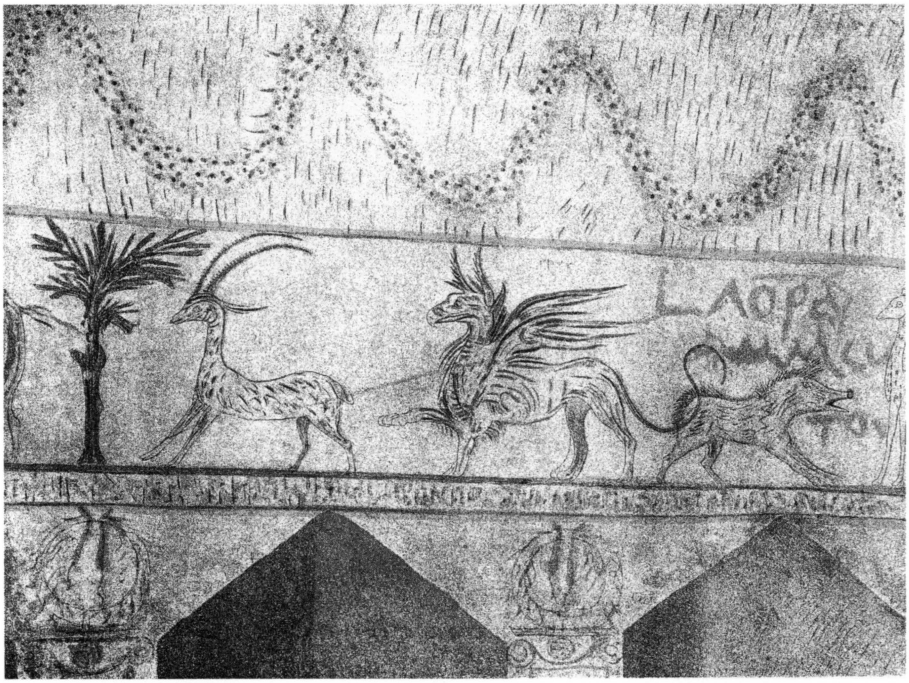
57. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pl. VI; see Ch. IV, nn. 6-7).



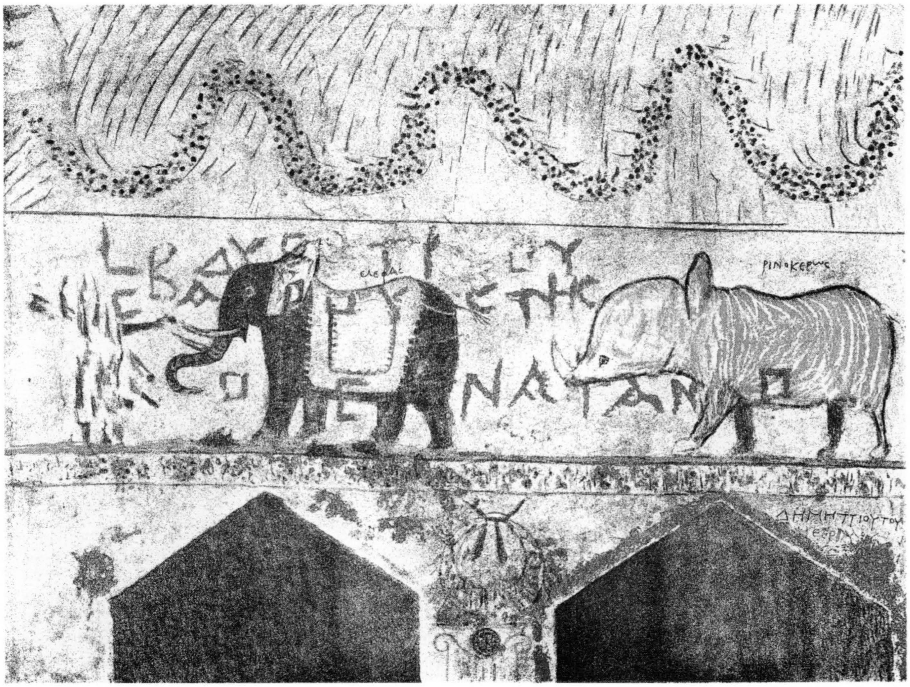
58. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pl. VII; see Ch. IV, n. 8).



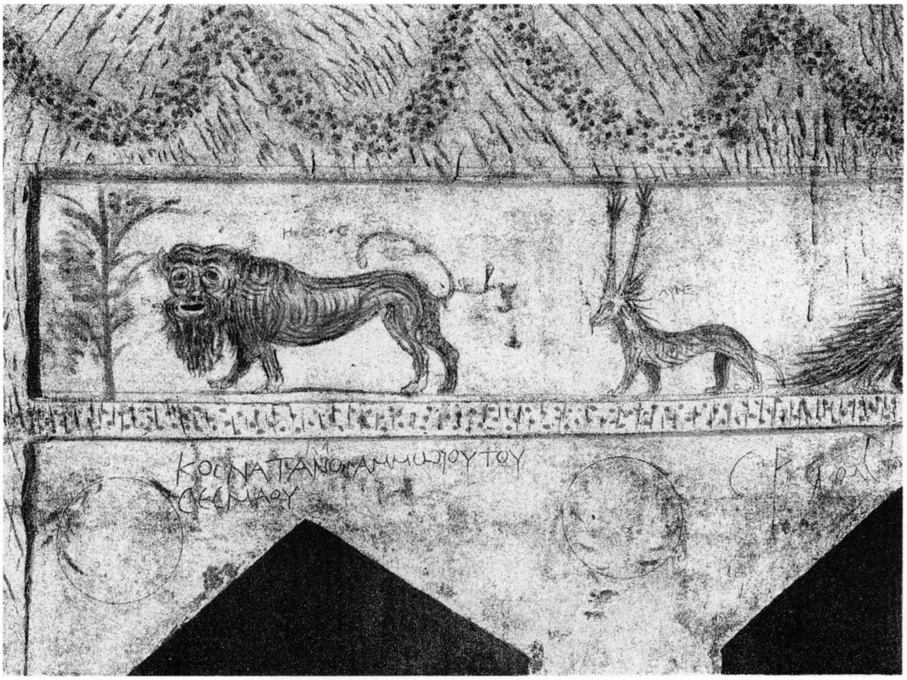
59. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pl. VIII; see Ch. IV, nn. 9–11).



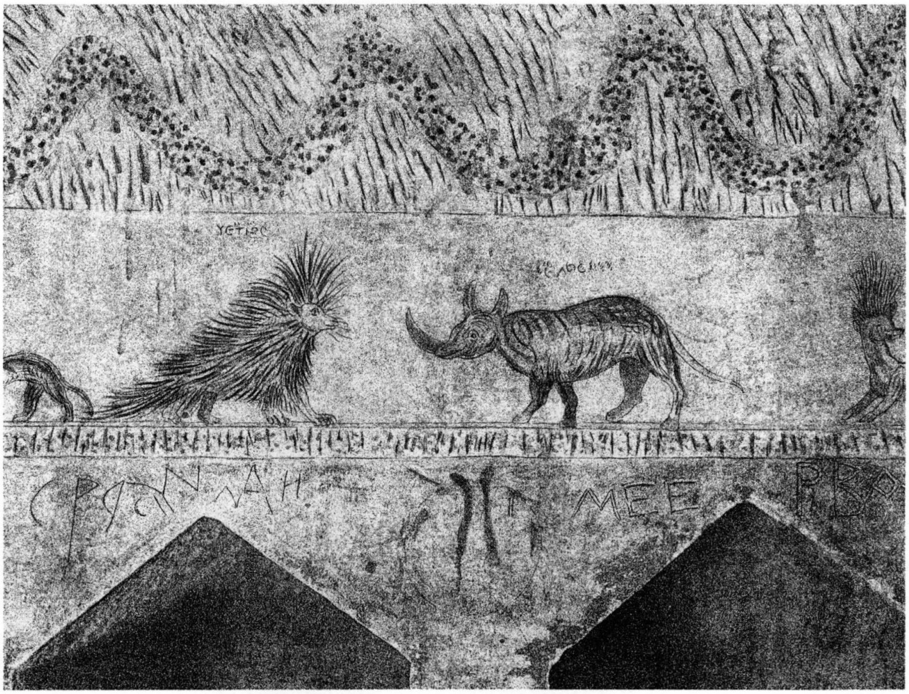
60. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pl. IX; see Ch. IV, nn. 12–13).



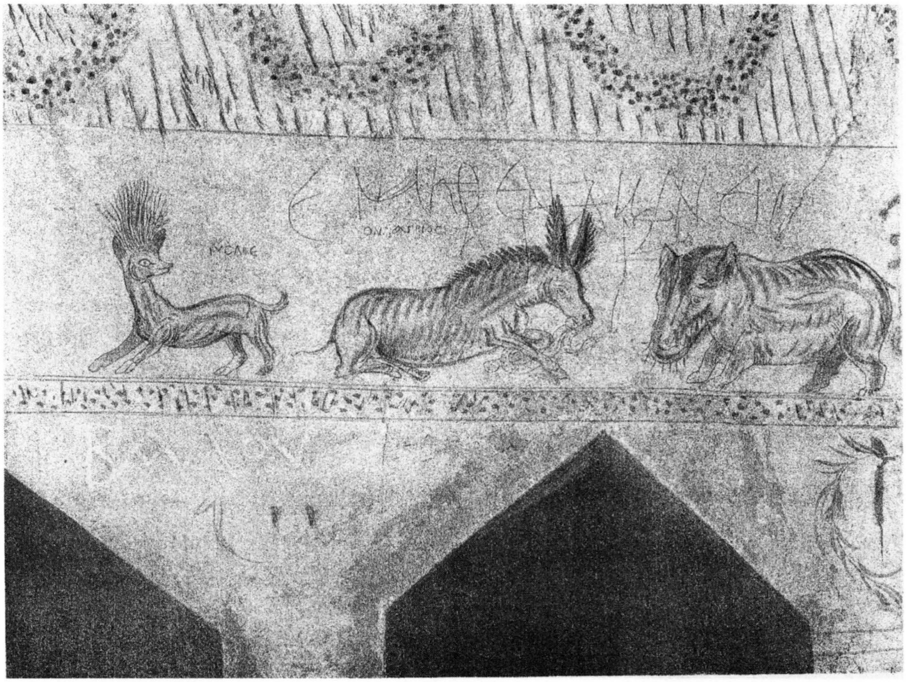
61. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pl. X; see Ch. IV, nn. 14–17).



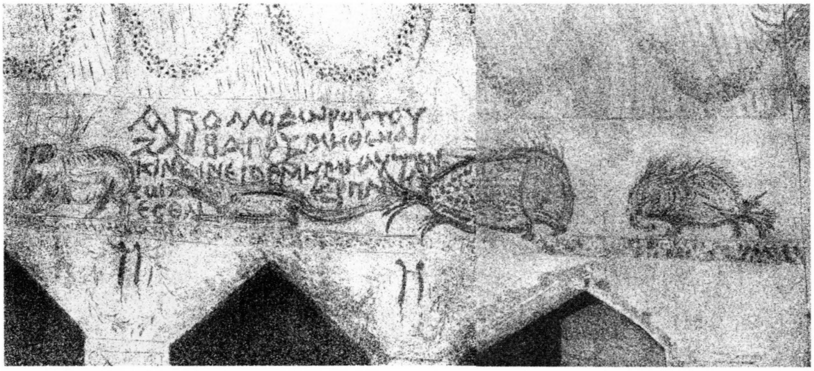
62. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pl. XV; see Ch. IV, nn. 18–20).



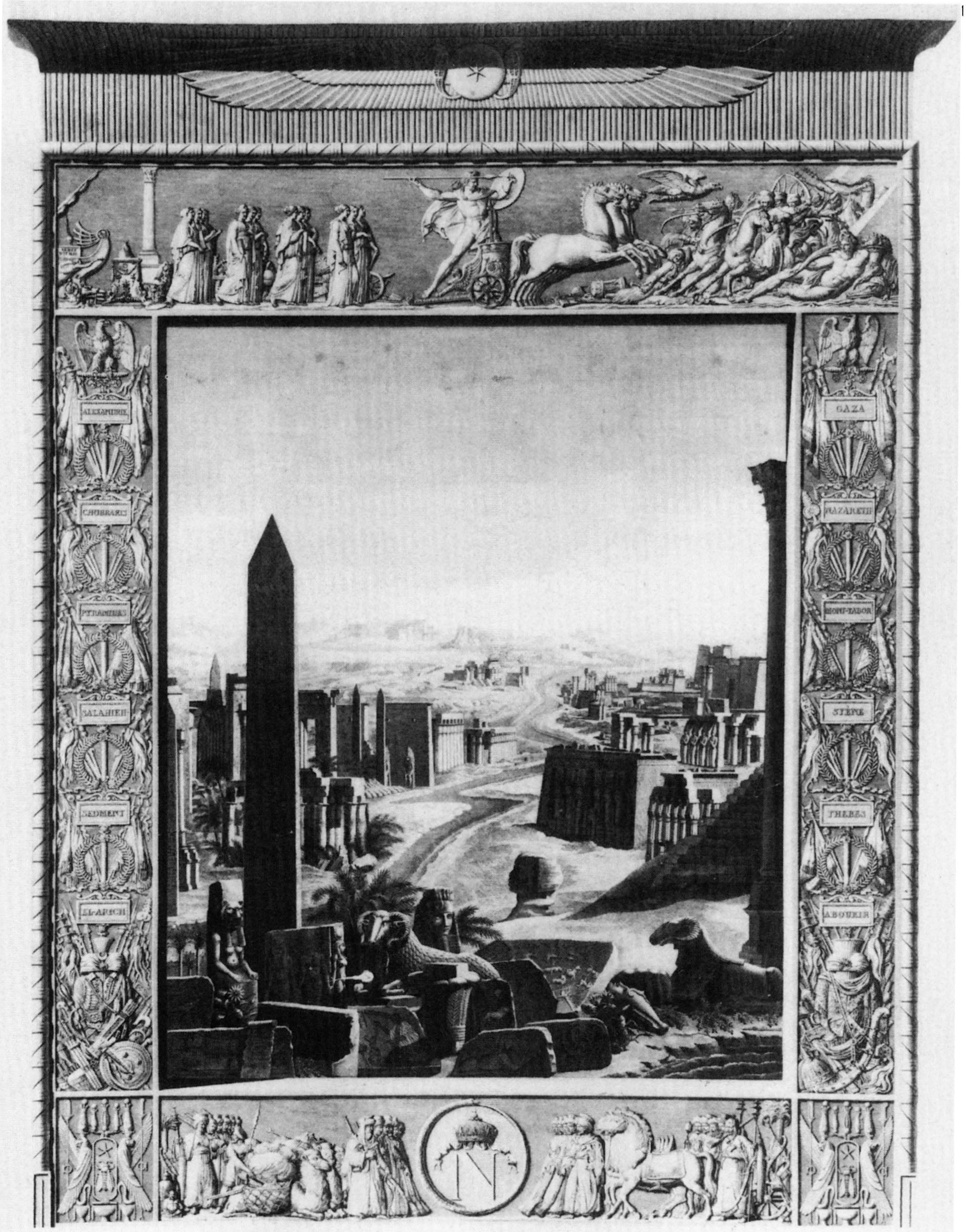
63. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pl. XIV; see Ch. IV, nn. 21–22).



64. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pl. XIII; see Ch. IV, nn. 23–24).



65. Section of the Marissa frieze (after Peters, Thiersch, pls. XI–XII; see Ch. IV, nn. 25–26).


ALEXANDRIE
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SALAHIEH
SEDIMENT
EL-ARICH
GAZA
NAZARETH
MONT-TABOR
SYÈNE
THEBES
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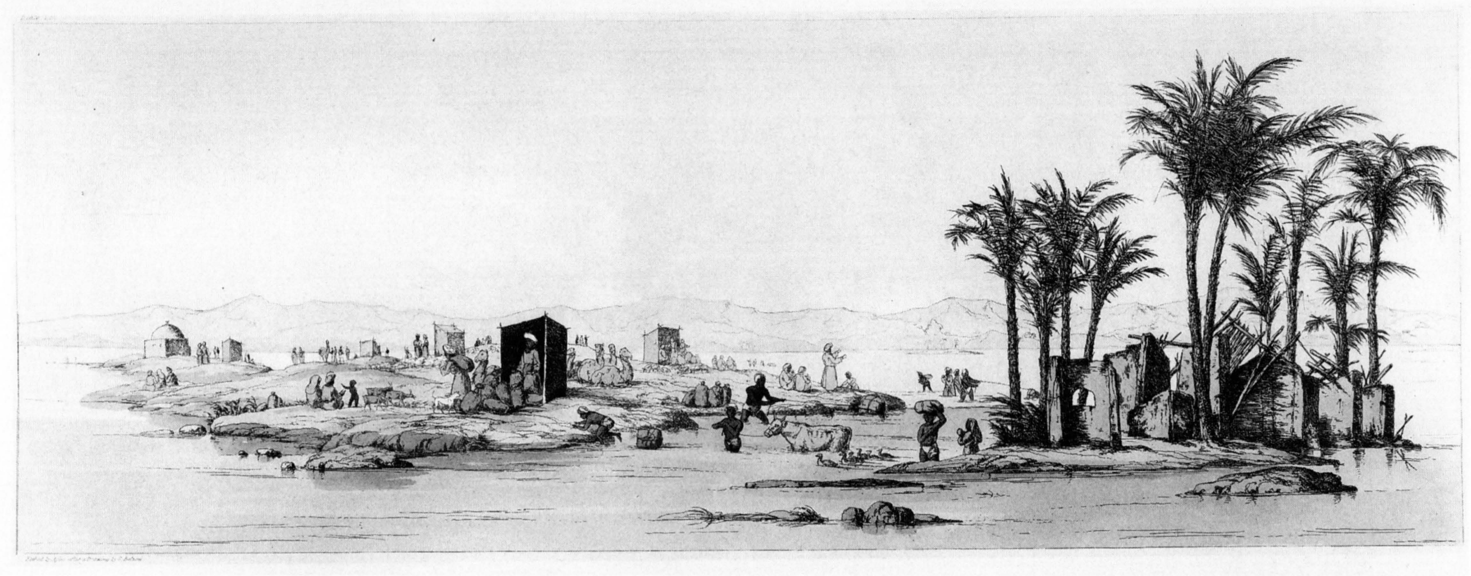
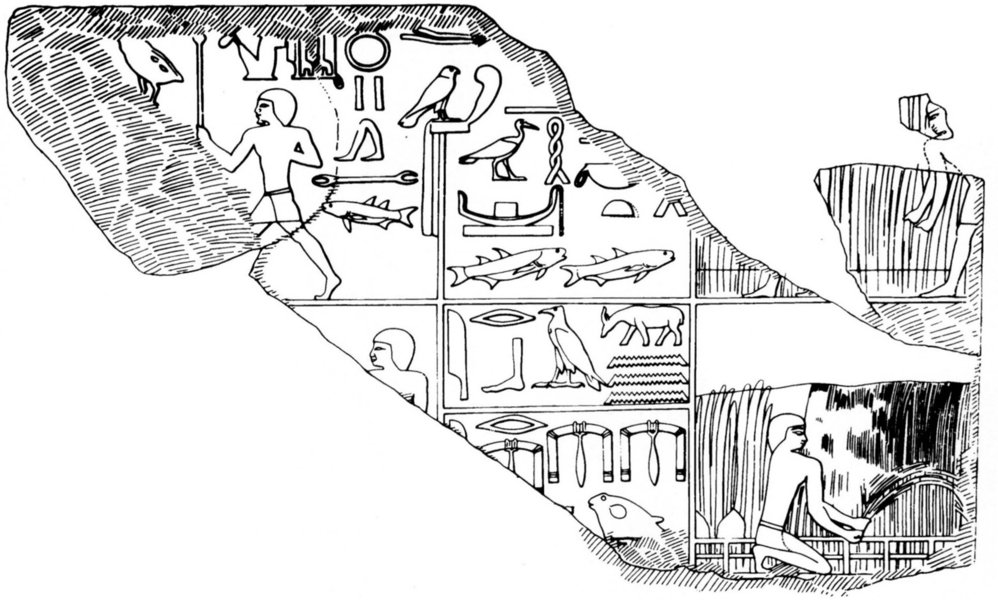
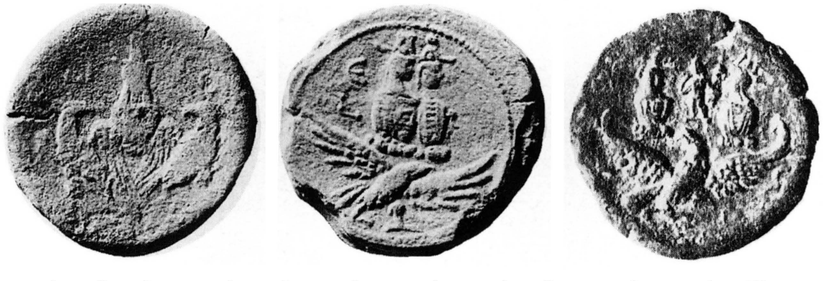
66. Idealized aerial view of Egypt, from the frontispiece of the *Description de l'Egypte; Antiquités I* (1809) (see Ch. IV, n. 2).



67. View of Egypt at the time of the inundation (after Belzoni (1820) pl. 26; see Ch. IV, n. 60).



68. Herdsman announcing the arrival of the grey mullet in one of the season reliefs from the Sun-Temple of Nyuserre at Abu Ghurab (near Abusir; c. 2425 B.C.; Berlin, Aegyptisches Museum, Inv. no. 20039; after Edel, Wenig, pl. B; see Ch. IV, n. 68).

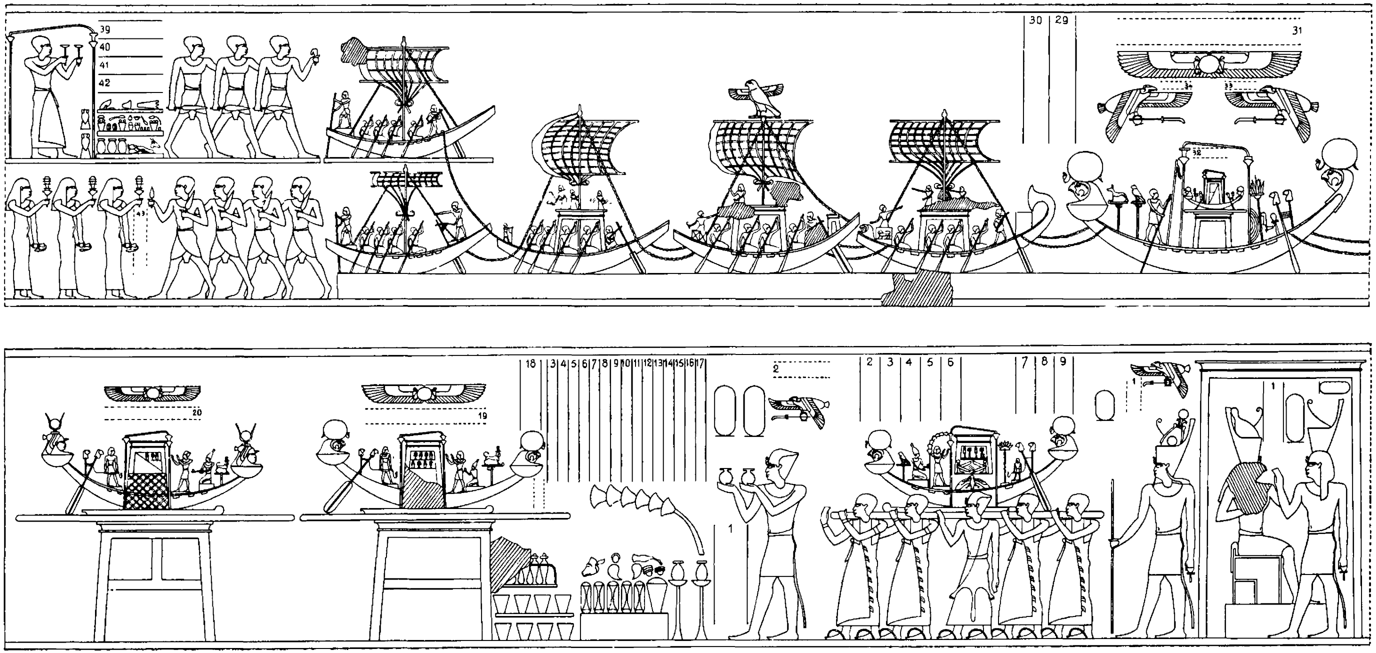


a. piar of eagles carrying Canopus (Trajan, year 13);

b. eagle carrying pair of Canopi (Osiris Canopus and Isis Menouthis; Antoninus Pius, year 5).

c. eagle carrying Harpocrates between pair of Canopi (Marcus Aurelius, year 5);

69. Alexandrian bronze drachms depicting eagles carrying Canopi (see Appendix 7, n. 2).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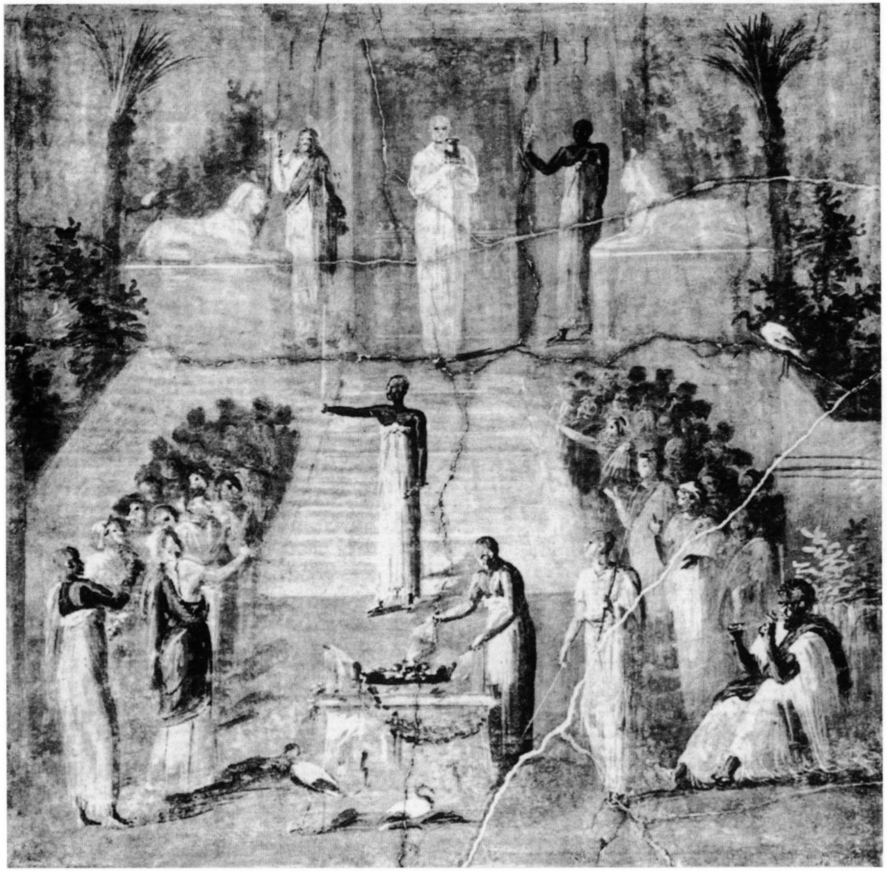
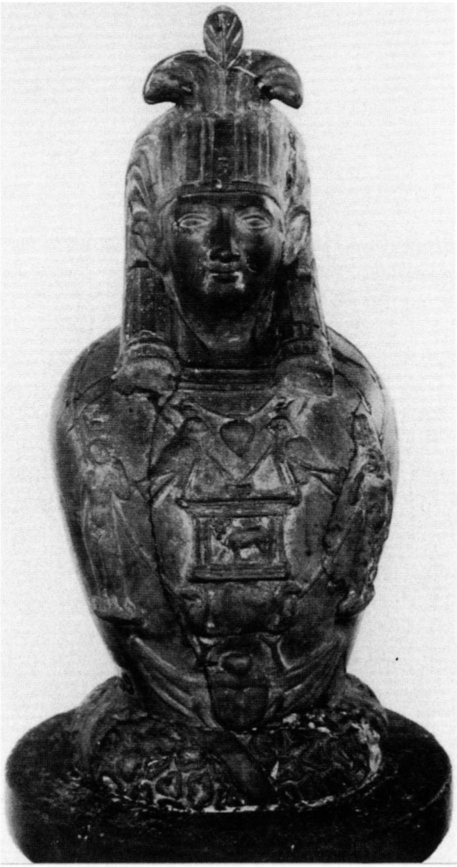
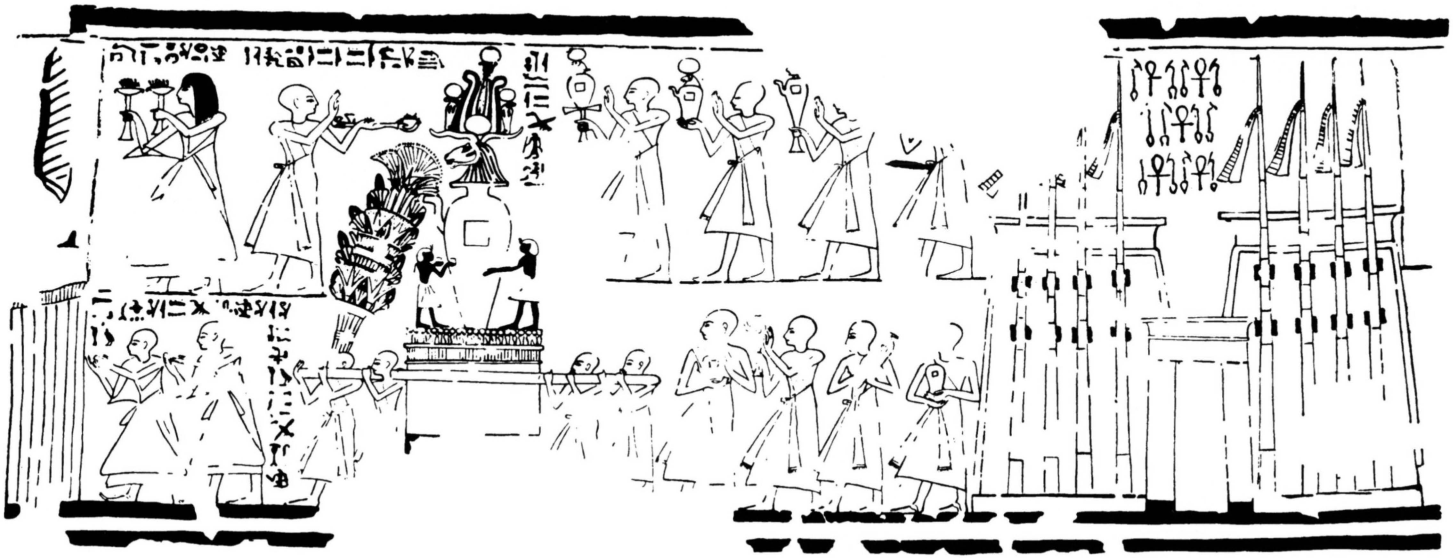
70. Boat-procession, reliefs in the forecourt of the Temple of Horus at Edfu (late Ptolemaic period, after *Edfou* IX, pls. CXXVI,2; CXXVII,1; see Ch. IV, n. 83).



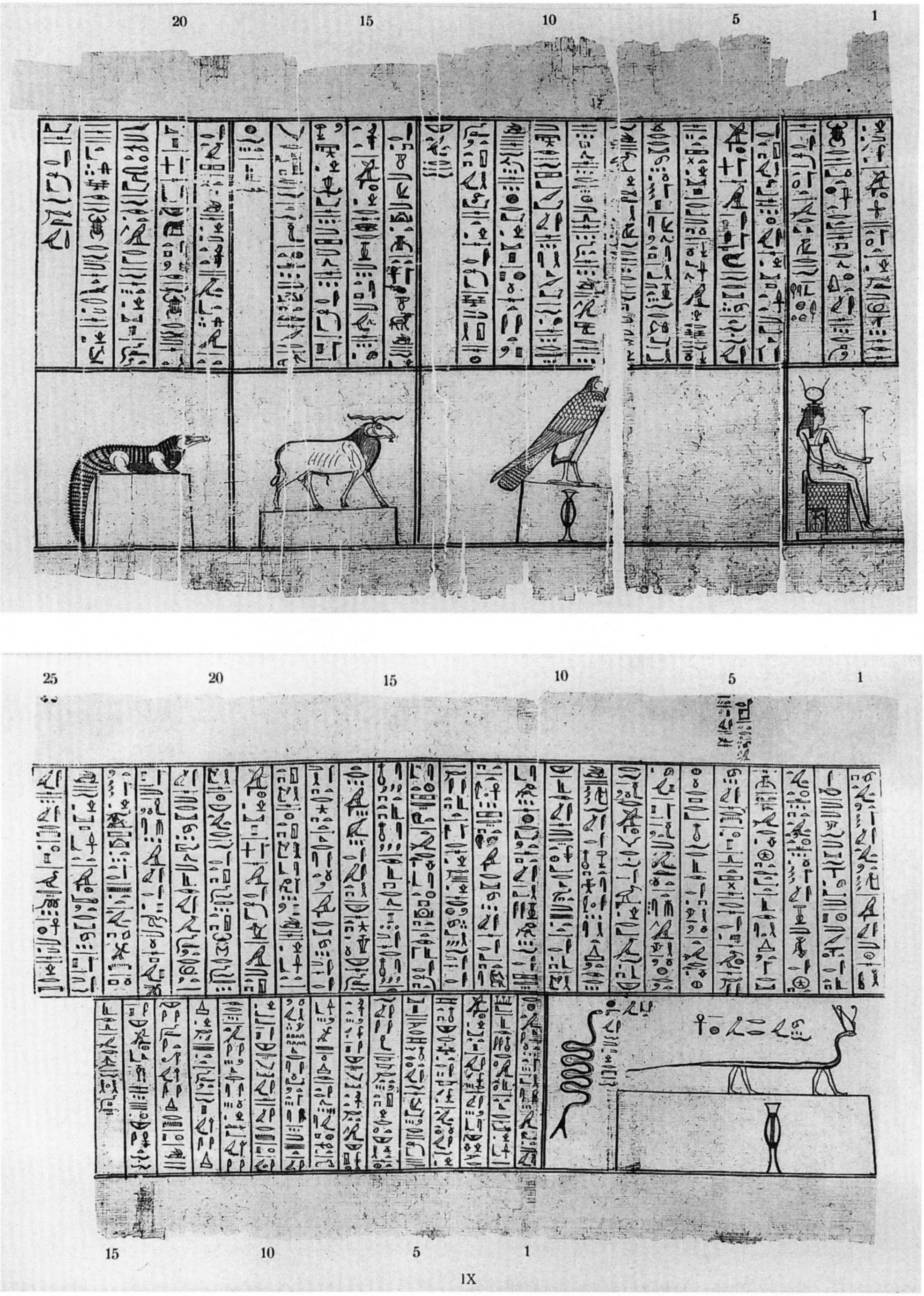
71. Procession with pitcher containing fresh Nile water, wall-painting from Herculaneum (1st cent. A.D.; Naples, Musea Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. no. 8924; see Ch. IV, n. 88).



72. Basalt statue of Osiris Canopus from the Villa Hadriana at Tivoli (2nd cent. A.D.; Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, no. 39; see Ch. IV, n. 89).



73. Procession with the water pitcher of Amon, wall-painting in the tomb of Panehsy, Thebes (c. 1250 B.C.; after *BIFAO* 72 (1972) 227, fig. 8; see Ch. IV, n. 90).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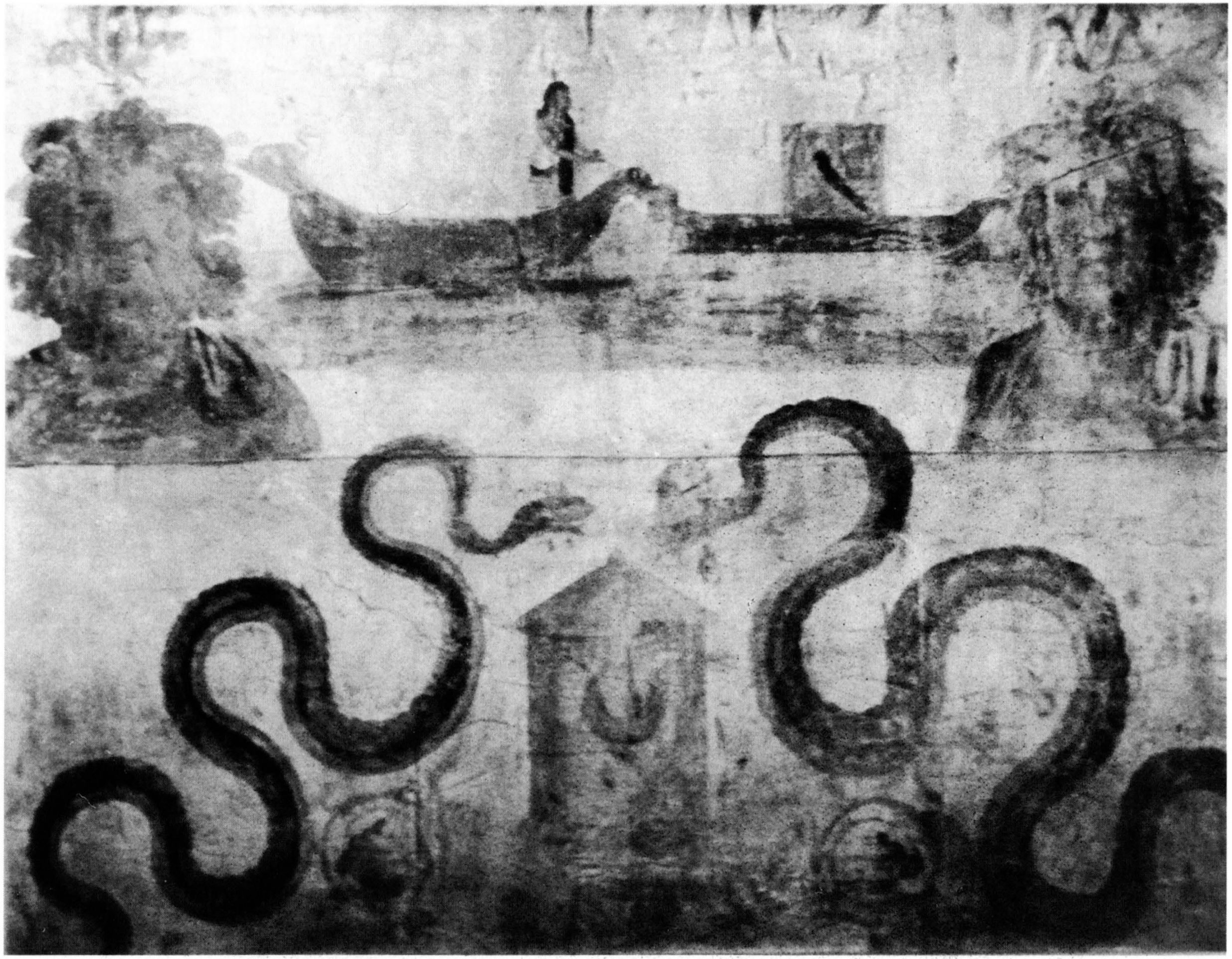
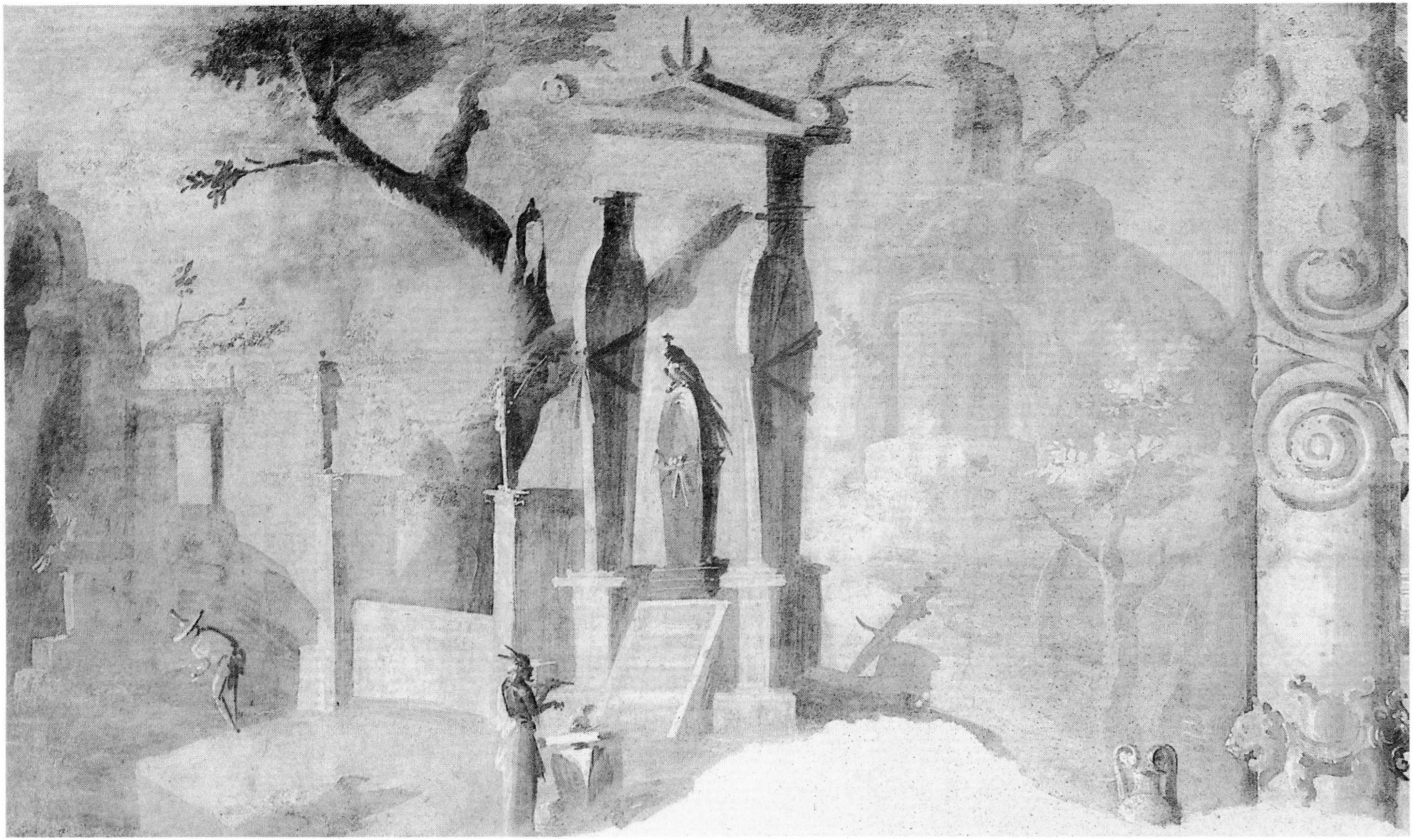
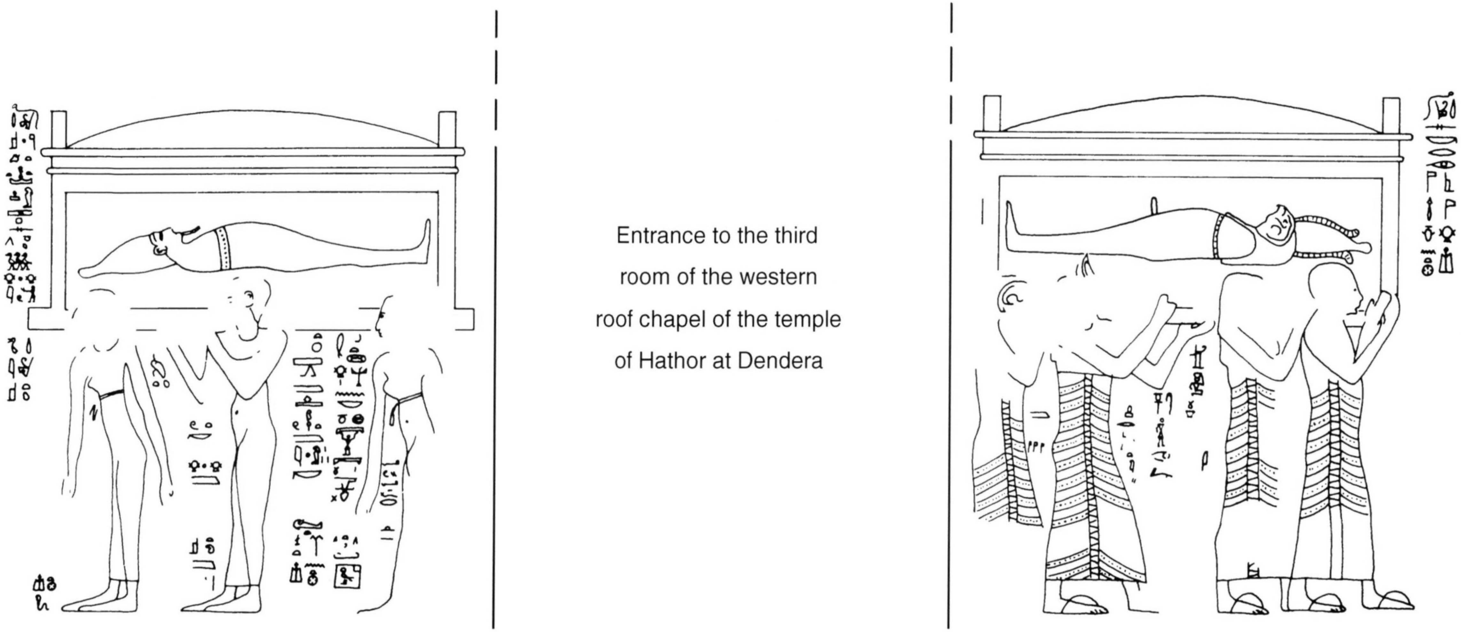
74. Boxes containing pitcher with the efflux of Osiris' body, illustrations in the Pap. Jumilhac (1st cent. B.C.; Paris, Louvre E 17, 110; see Ch. IV, n. 91).



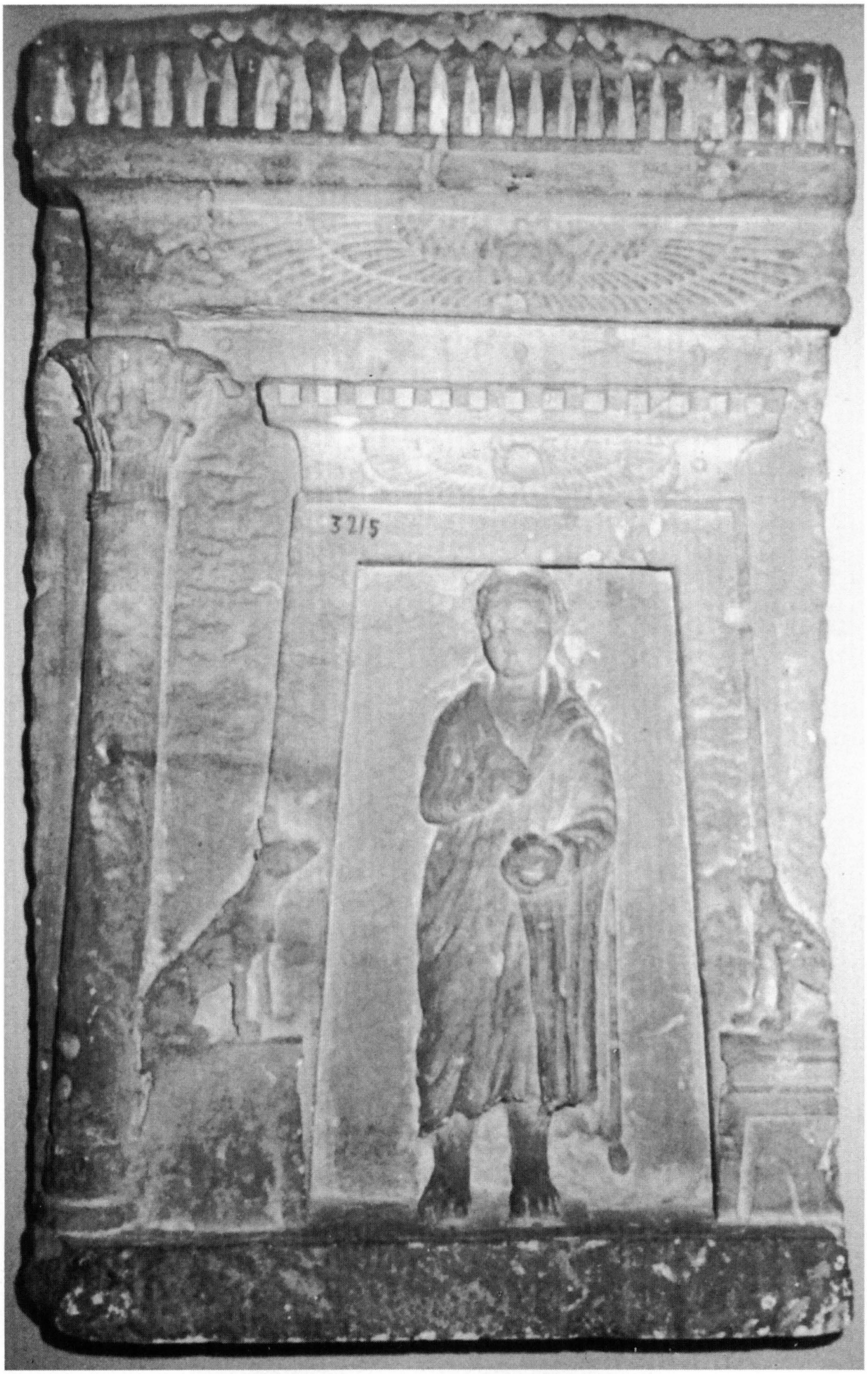
75. Isis finds the remains of Osiris, depicted on the upper part of a wall-painting from the Iseum at Pompeii (c. 70 A.D.; Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. no. 8929; see Ch. IV, n. 97).



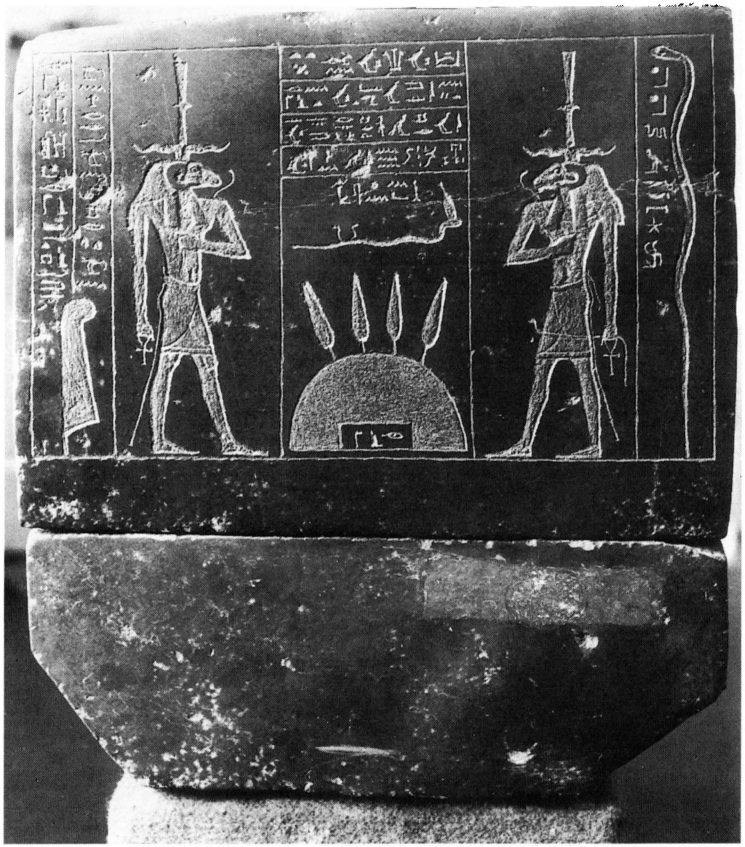
76. Shrine with the sarcophagus of Osiris, wall-painting from the Iseum at Pompeii (c. 70 A.D.; Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. no. 8570; see Ch. IV, n. 97).

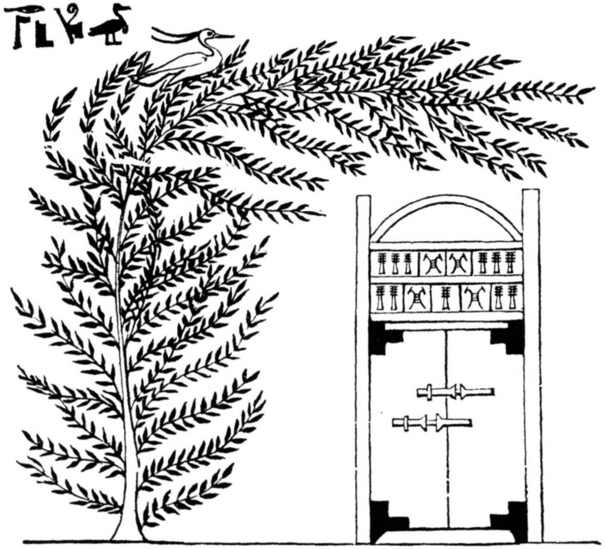

Entrance to the third room of the western roof chapel of the temple of Hathor at Dendera

77. Funeral procession with the sarcophagi of Osiris and Sokaris, reliefs flanking the entrance to the western roof chapel of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera (middle 1st cent. B.C.; after Beinlich, fig. on p. 282; see Ch. IV, n. 99; Appendix 10).



78. Alexandrian *loculus* slab (1st cent. B.C.; Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, Inv. no. 3215; photo H.H.J. Brouwer; see Ch. IV, n. 109).





80. Tomb of Osiris, wall-painting from the tomb of Harsiesi at Hû (Diospolis Parva; 2nd cent. B.C.; after Wilkinson III, fig. 588; see Ch. IV, n. 112).

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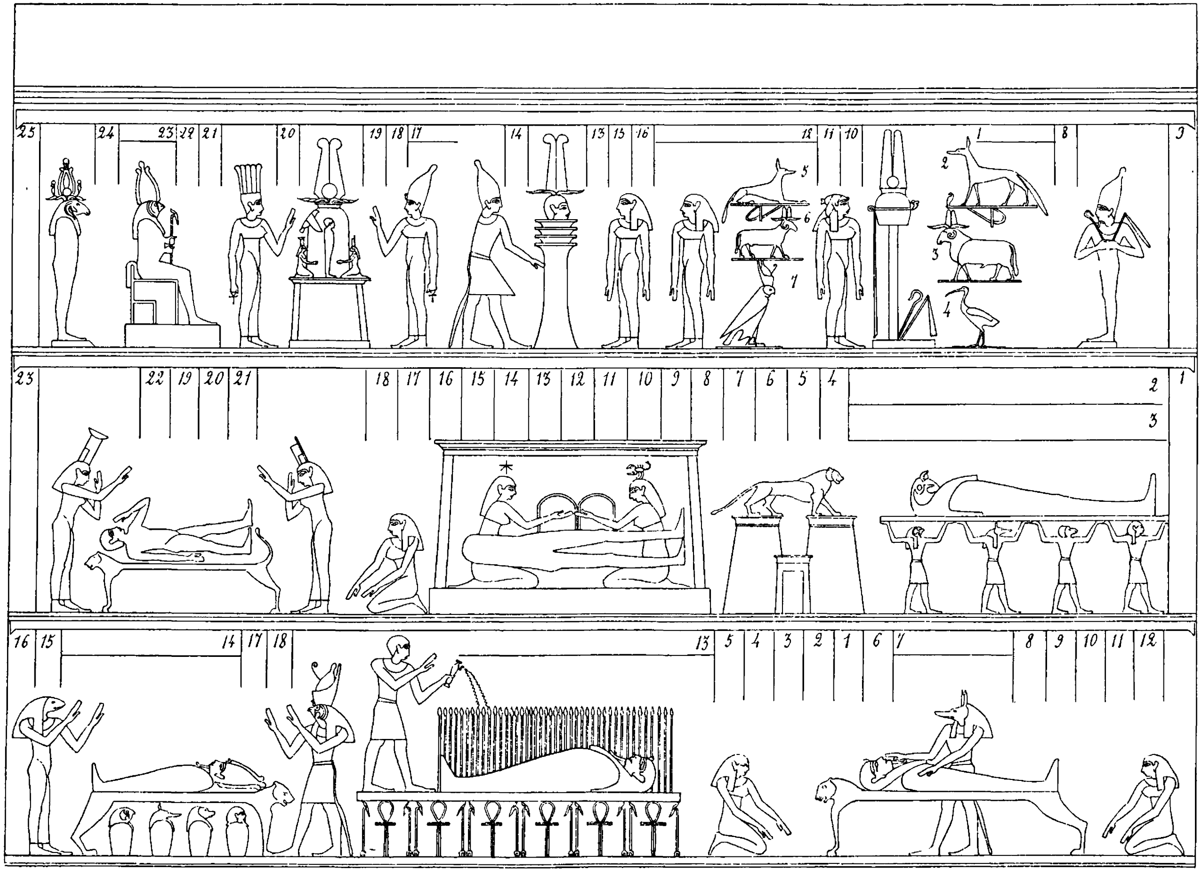
79. Tomb of Osiris, relief on sarcophagus (4th cent. B.C.; Marseille, Musée de La Vieille Charité; photo courtesy of the Museum; see Ch. IV, n. 112).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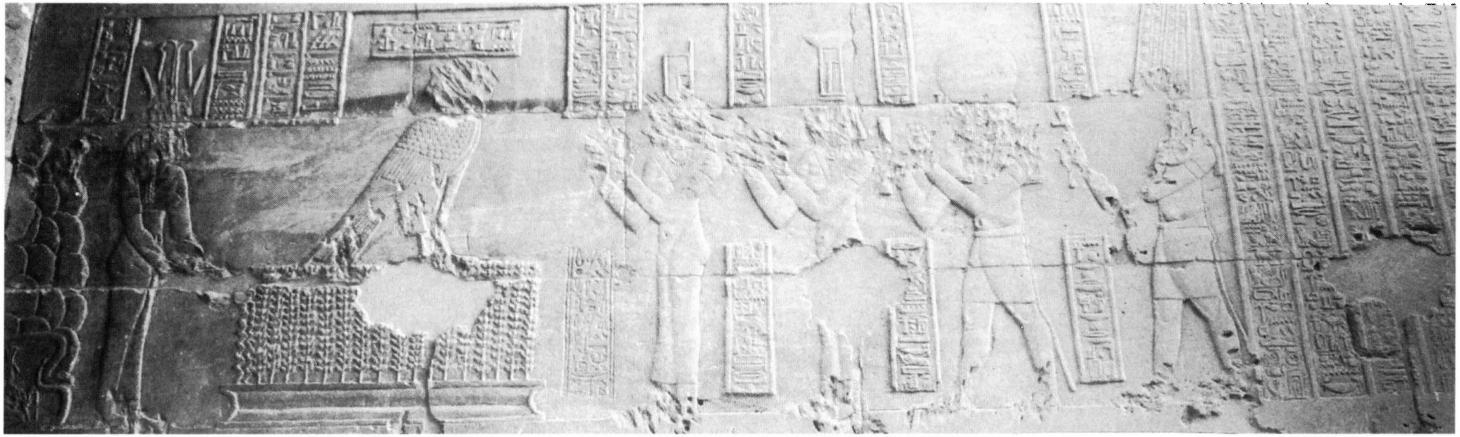
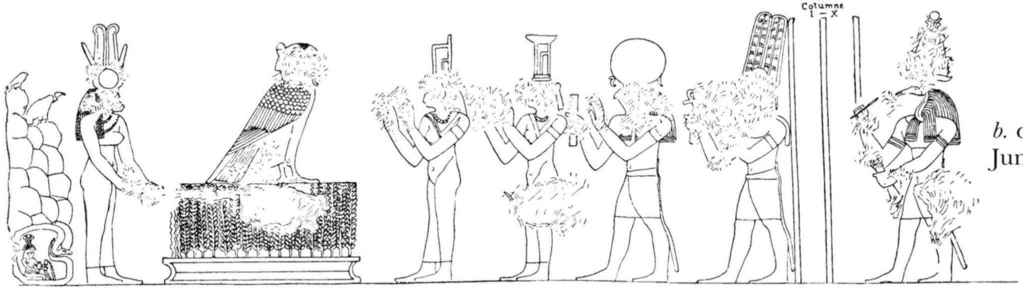
81. Various rites concerning Osiris, relief in the roof chapel of the temple of Isis in Philae (late Ptolemaic period; after *Philae*, pl. XL, see Ch. IV, nn. 98, 113, 116, 127; Appendix 9).

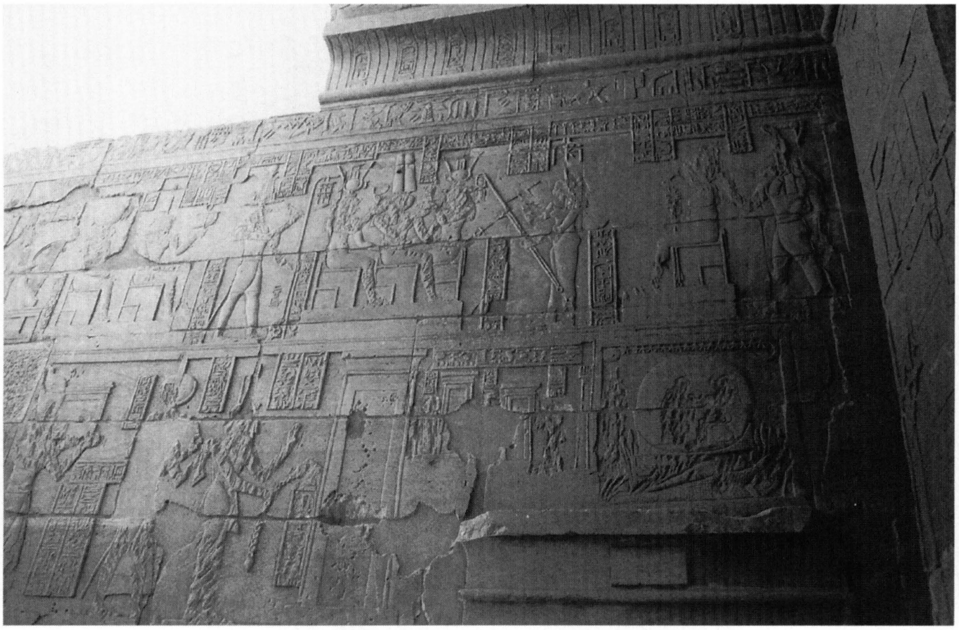


a. photo by M.L. Verhoef;

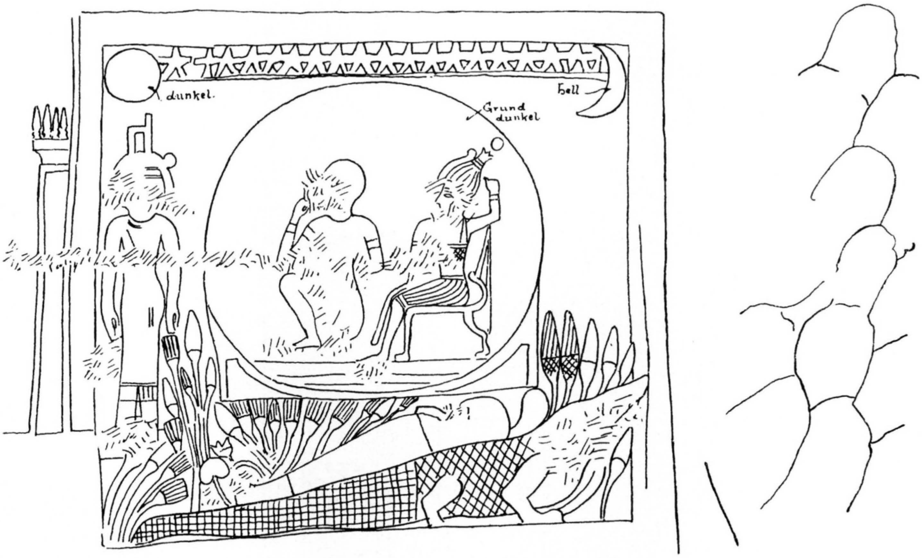


b. drawing, after Junker, fig. 20.

82. The abaton, the tomb of Osiris in the island of Bigeh, relief on Hadrian's Gate in Philae (2nd half 2nd cent. A.D.; see Appendix 8).



a. photo by M.L. Verhoef;



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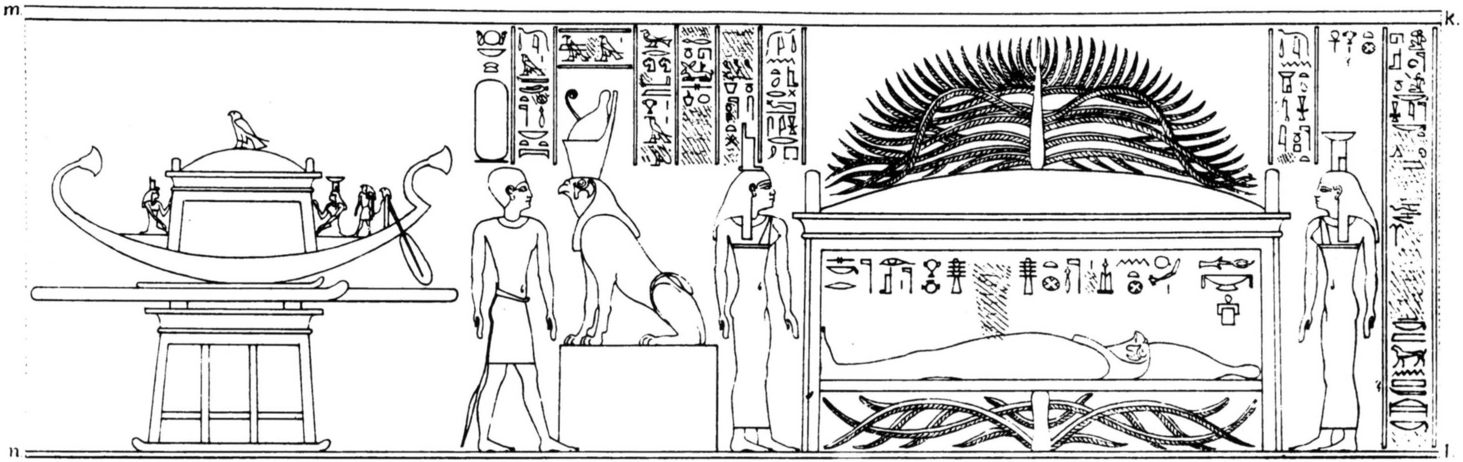
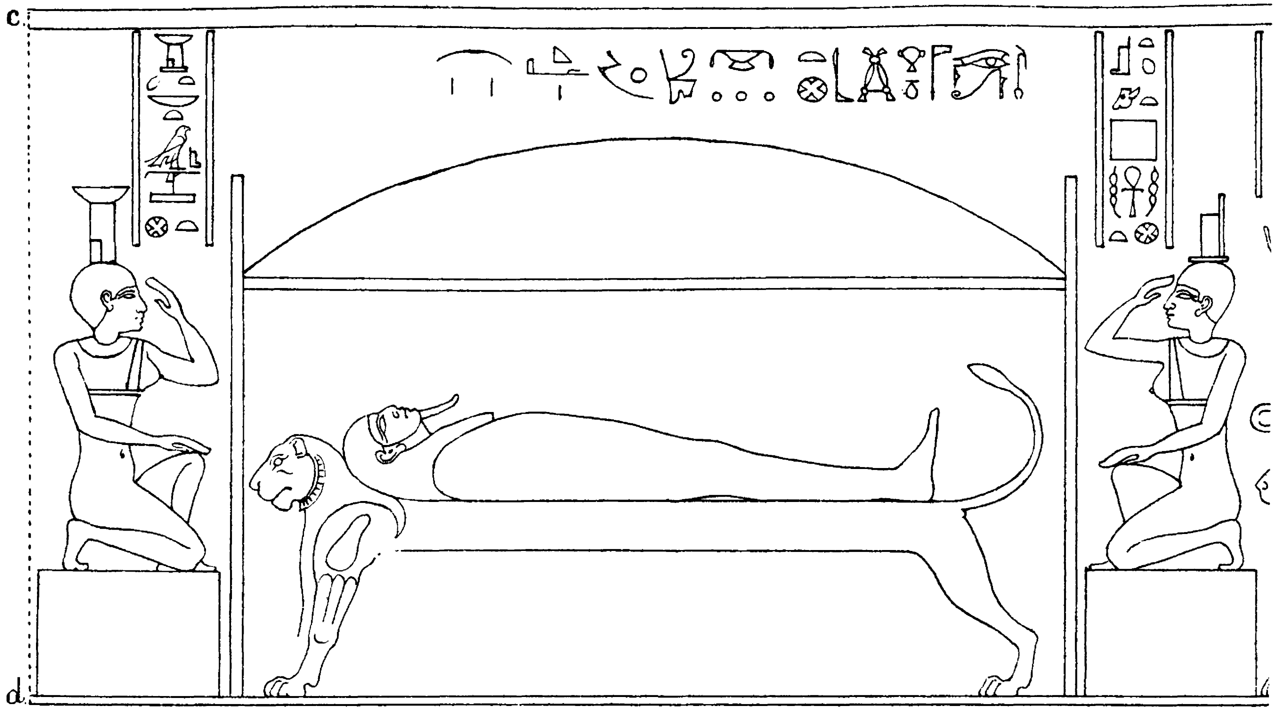
b. drawing, after Junker, fig. 10b.

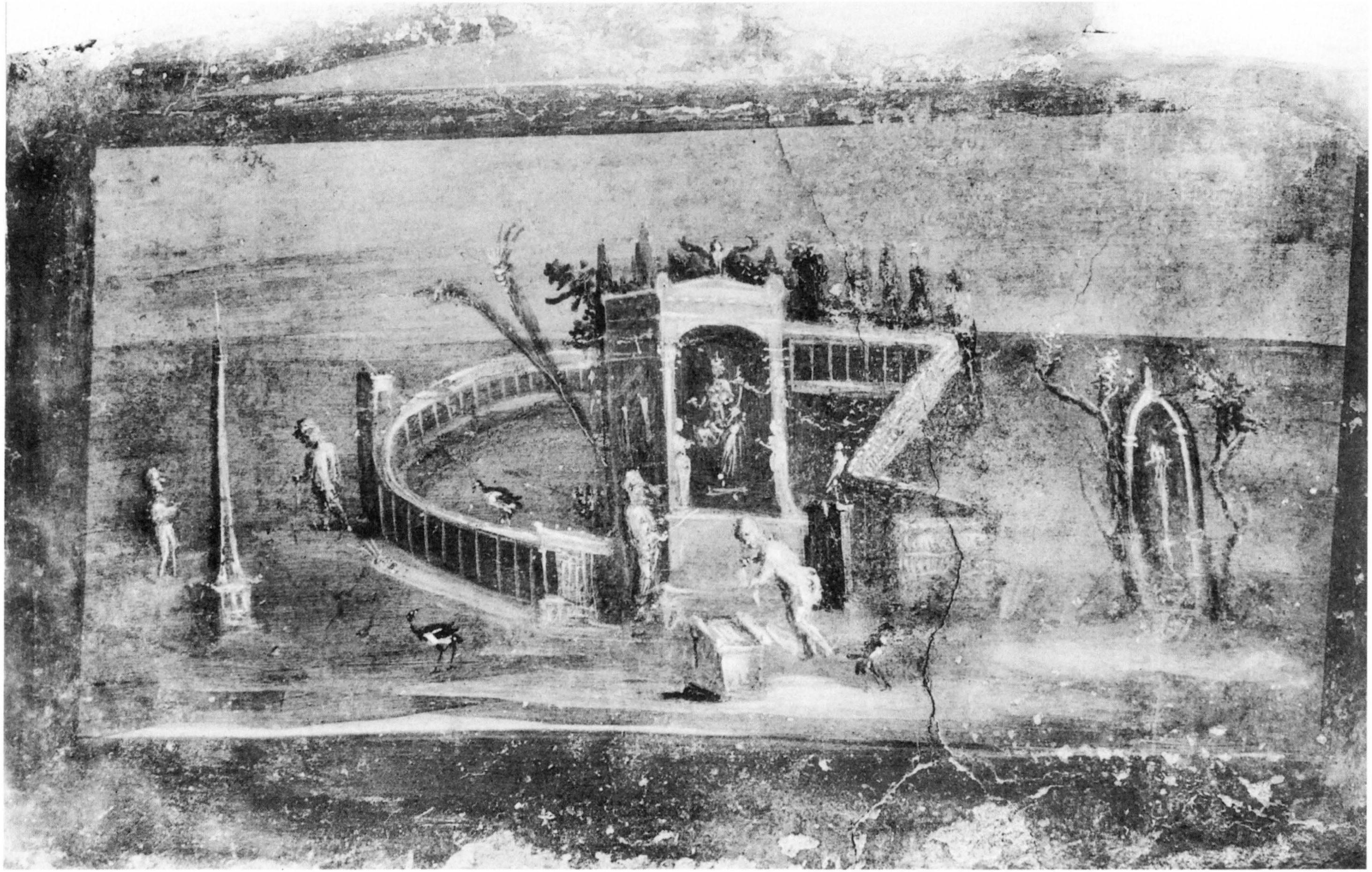
83. The funerary temple of Osiris in Bigeh, relief on Hadrian's Gate in Philae (2nd half 2nd cent. A.D.; see Appendix 8).



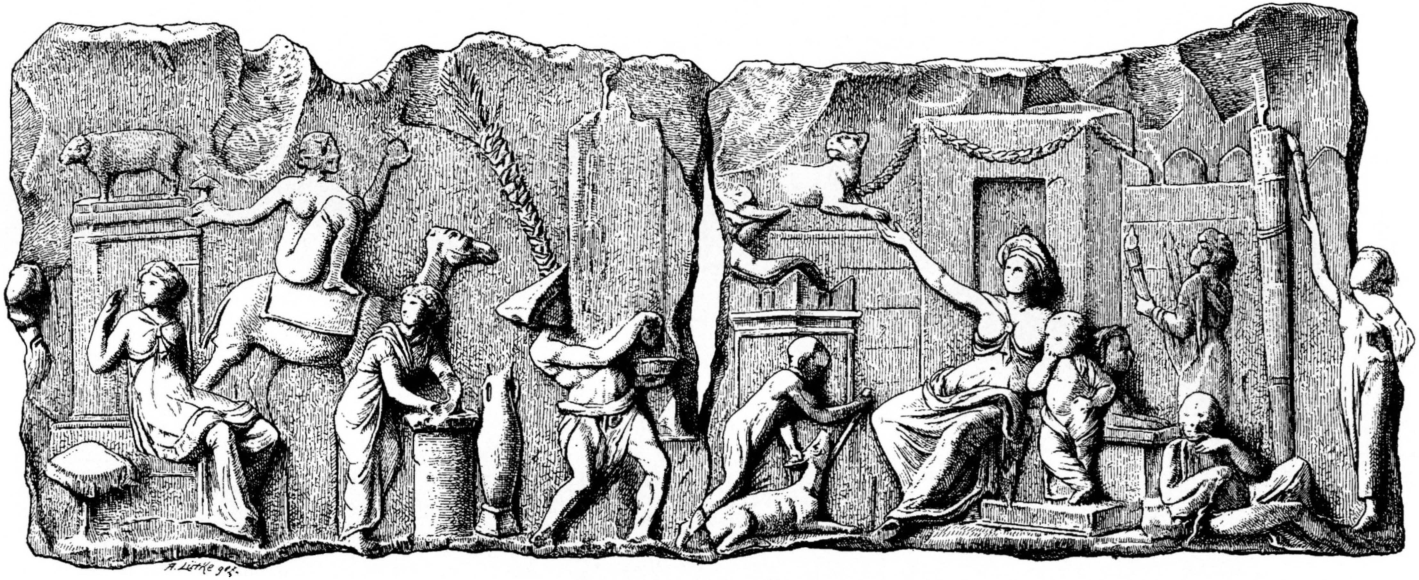
84. Pharaoh leading procession with sarcophagus of Osiris-Sokaris to his tomb, relief in the eastern roof chapel of the temple of Hathor at Dendera (middle 1st cent. B.C.; after Mariette IV, pl. 66; see Ch. IV, n. 118; Appendix 10).



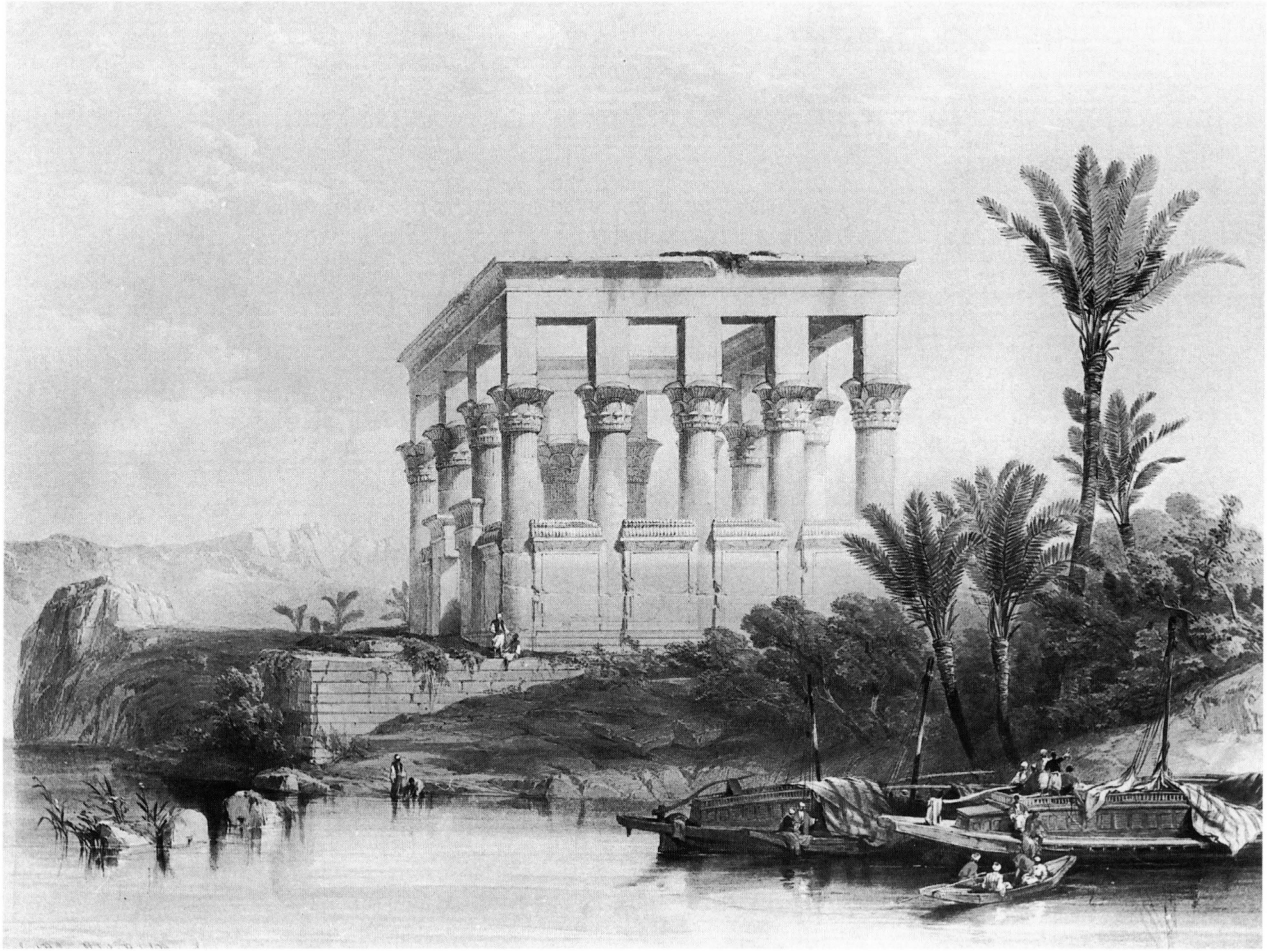
85. Funerary chapel of Osiris, relief in the eastern roof chapel of the temple of Hathor at Dendera (middle 1st cent. B.C.; after Mariette IV, pl. 69; see Ch. IV, n. 120).



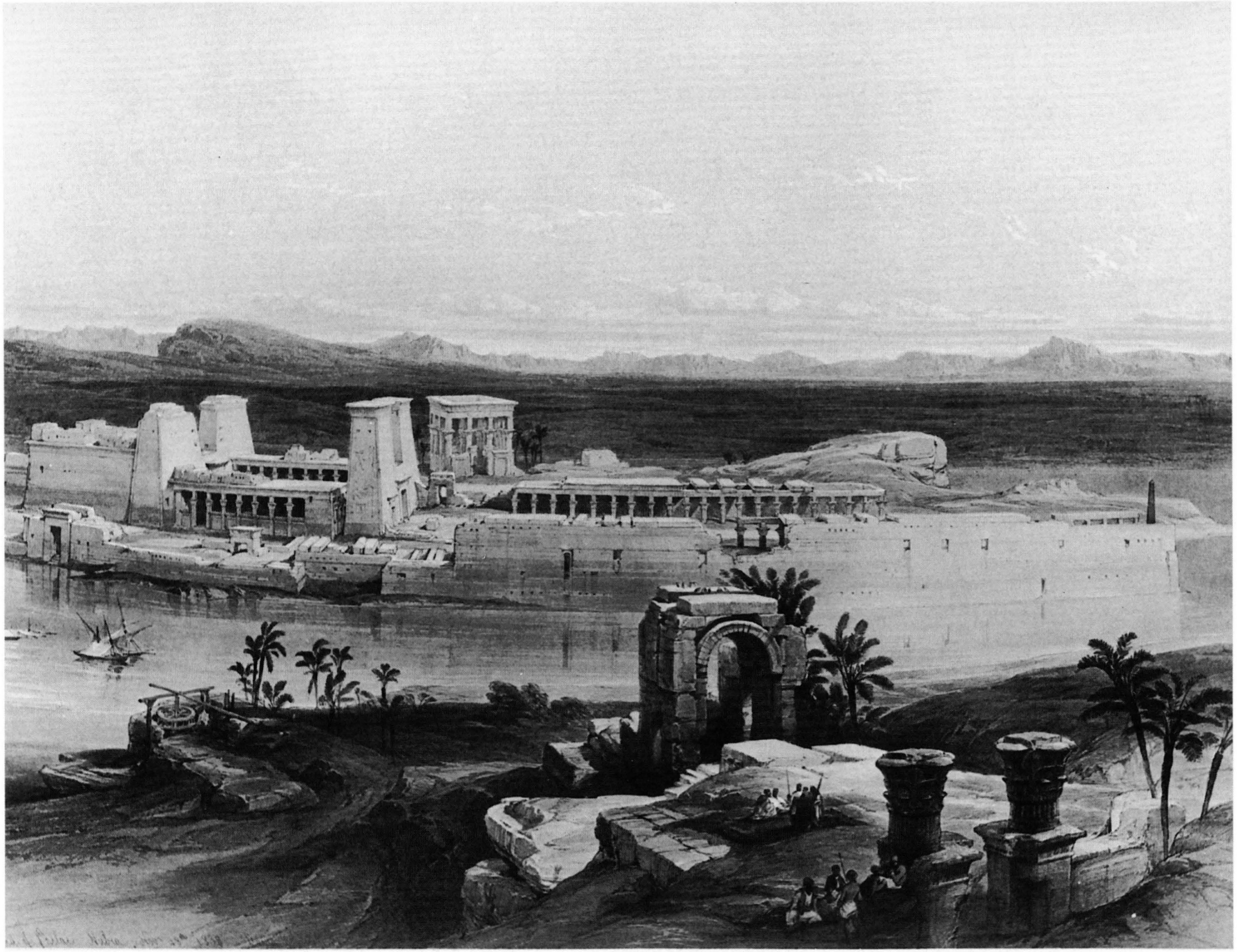
86. Nilotic frieze (detail), wall-painting of the garden *triclinium* in the Casa di P. Cornelius Teges at Pompeii (I 7, 10–12; c. 70 A.D.; see Ch. IV, n. 119).



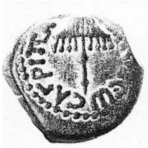
87. Drawing of Isaic procession on a plaster mould for a cup from Athribis in the Delta (1st cent. B.C.; Berlin, Aegyptisches Museum, Inv. no. 1014; after Pagenstecher, fig. 14 M; see Ch. IV, n. 123).



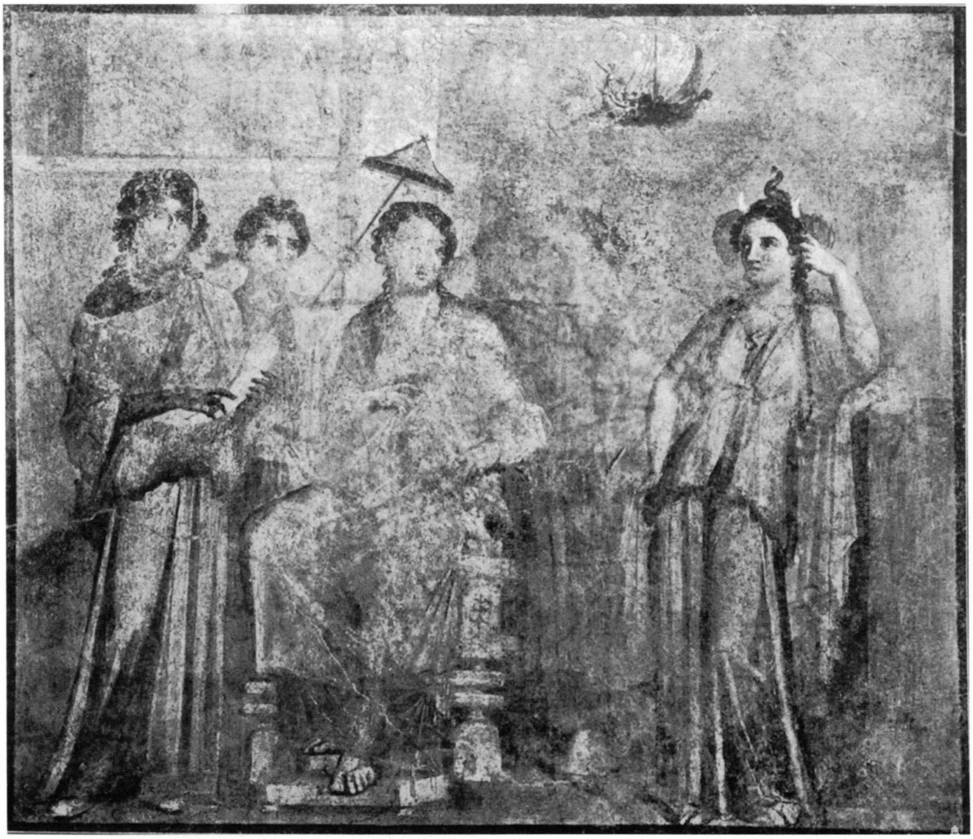
88. View of the Island of Philae with the kiosk of Trajan by David Roberts (1849) (see Ch. IV, n. 125).


Philae Nubia

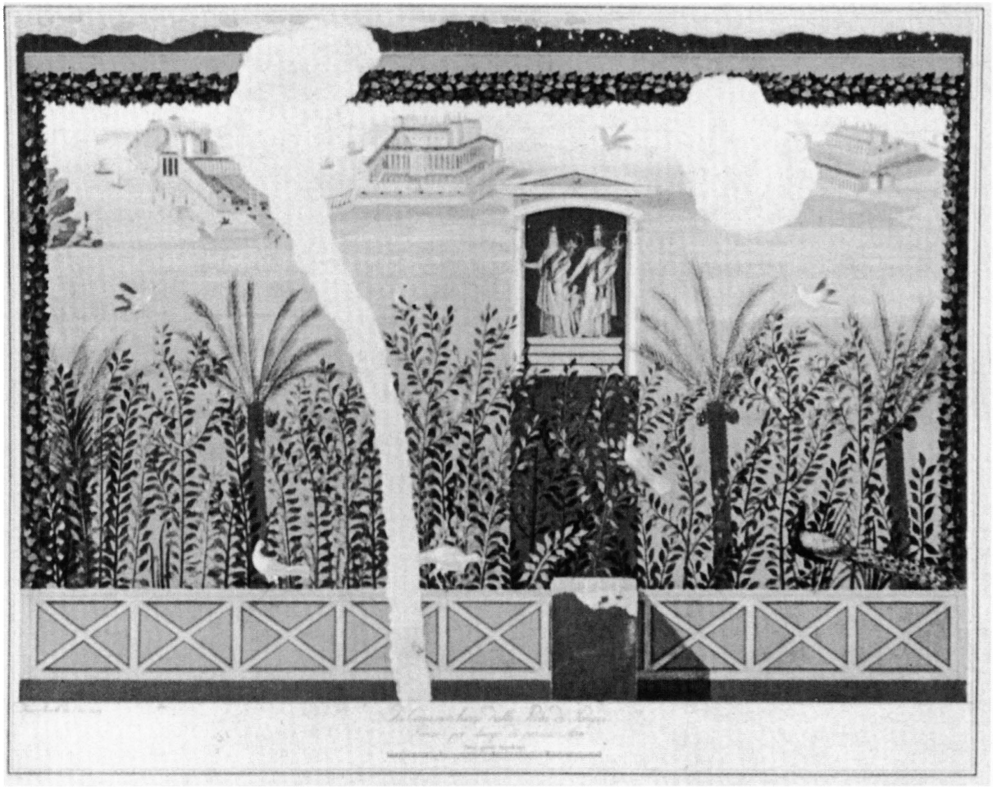
89. View of the Island of Philae from the Island of Bigeh by David Roberts (1846) (see Ch. IV, n. 133).



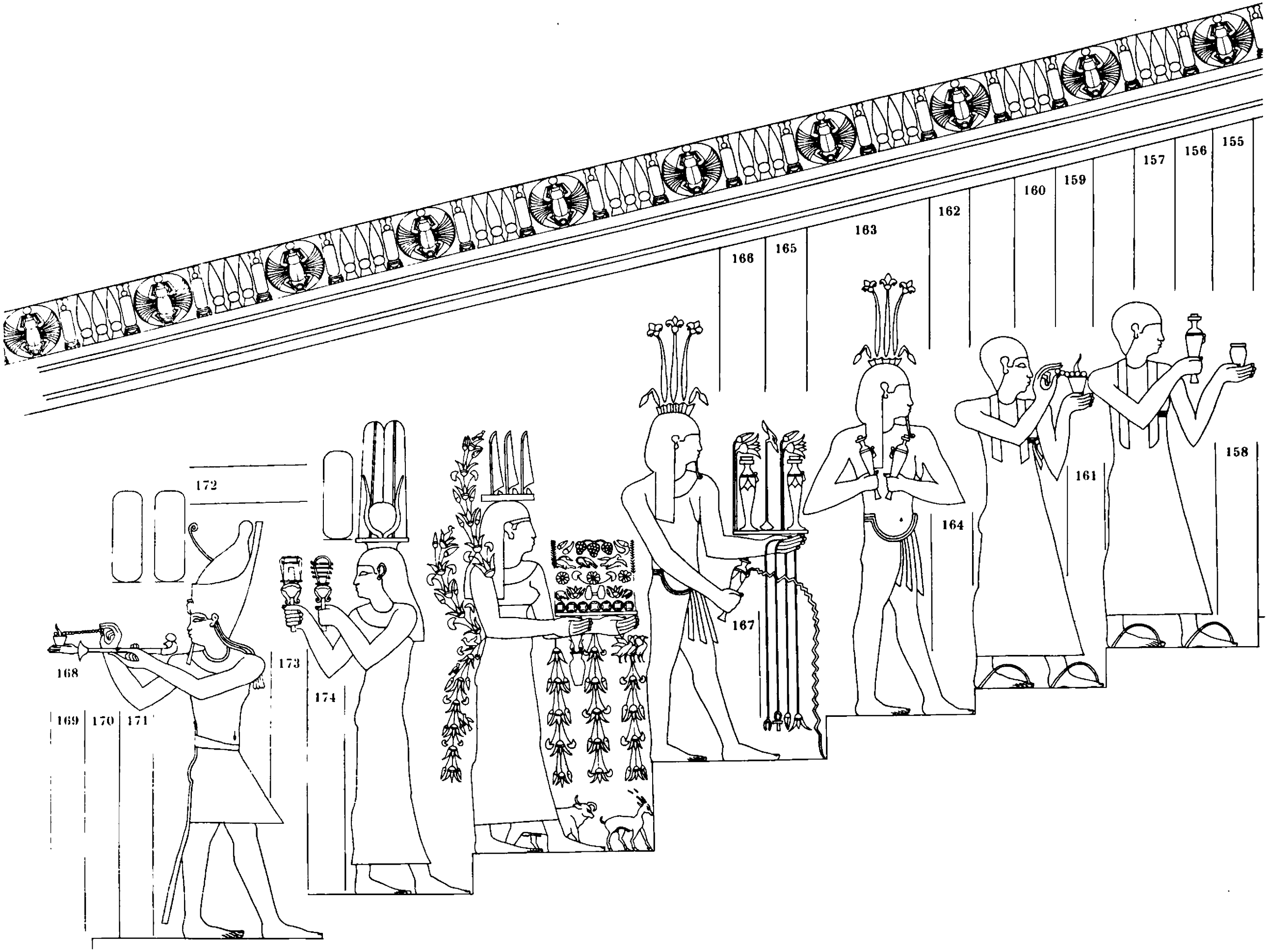
90. Coin of Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 42/3; see Ch. IV, n. 143).



91. Dido between Libya and Alexandria or Africa, wall-painting from the Casa di Meleagro at Pompeii (VI 9,2; c. 70 A.D.; Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. no. 88898; see Ch. IV, nn. 147–149).



92. Shrine with Isis, Sarapis and Harpocrates, in an inundation scene in a wall-painting in the *viridarium* of the Casa delle Amazzoni at Pompeii (VI 2, 14; c. 70 A.D.; after *tempera* by F. Morelli (1812) (Uffizio Tecnico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli; see Ch. IV, n. 154).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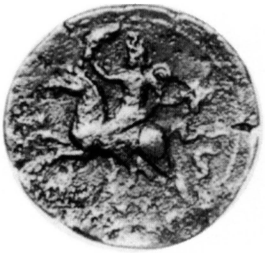
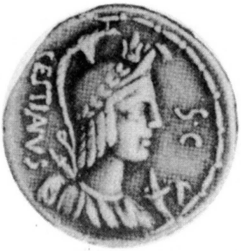
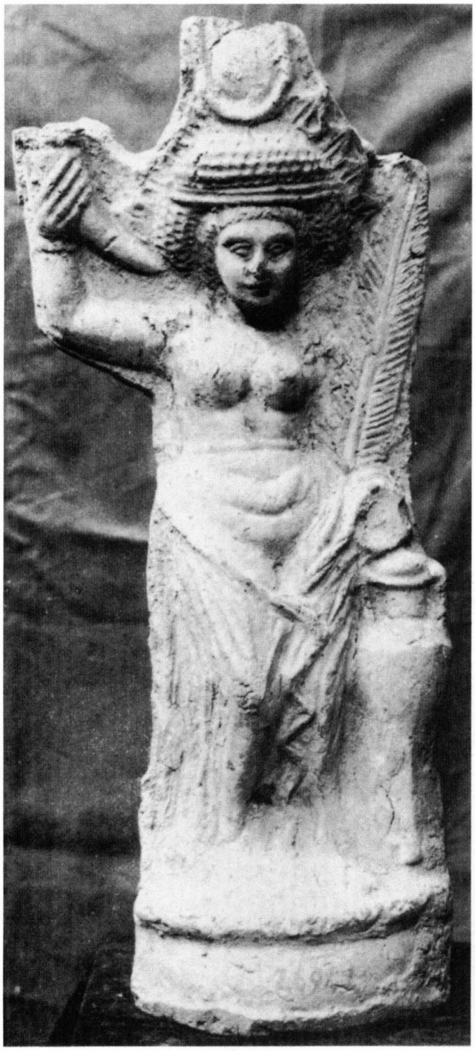
93. Pharaoh and queen, together with Field Goddess and Nile Gods taking part in the new year's procession, relief in the eastern staircase of the Hathor temple at Dendera (late Ptolemaic period; after *Dendera* VII, fig. 1174; see Ch. IV, nn. 156, 183, 186, 201).



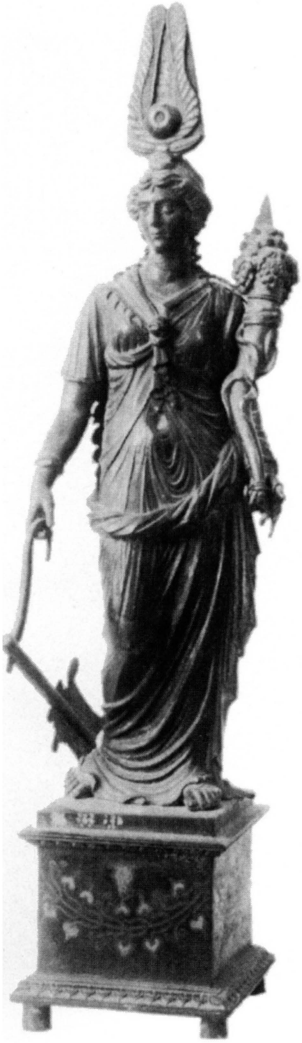
94. Alexandrian drachm depicting the figure of the Semasia (165/166 A.D.; see Ch. IV, n. 179).



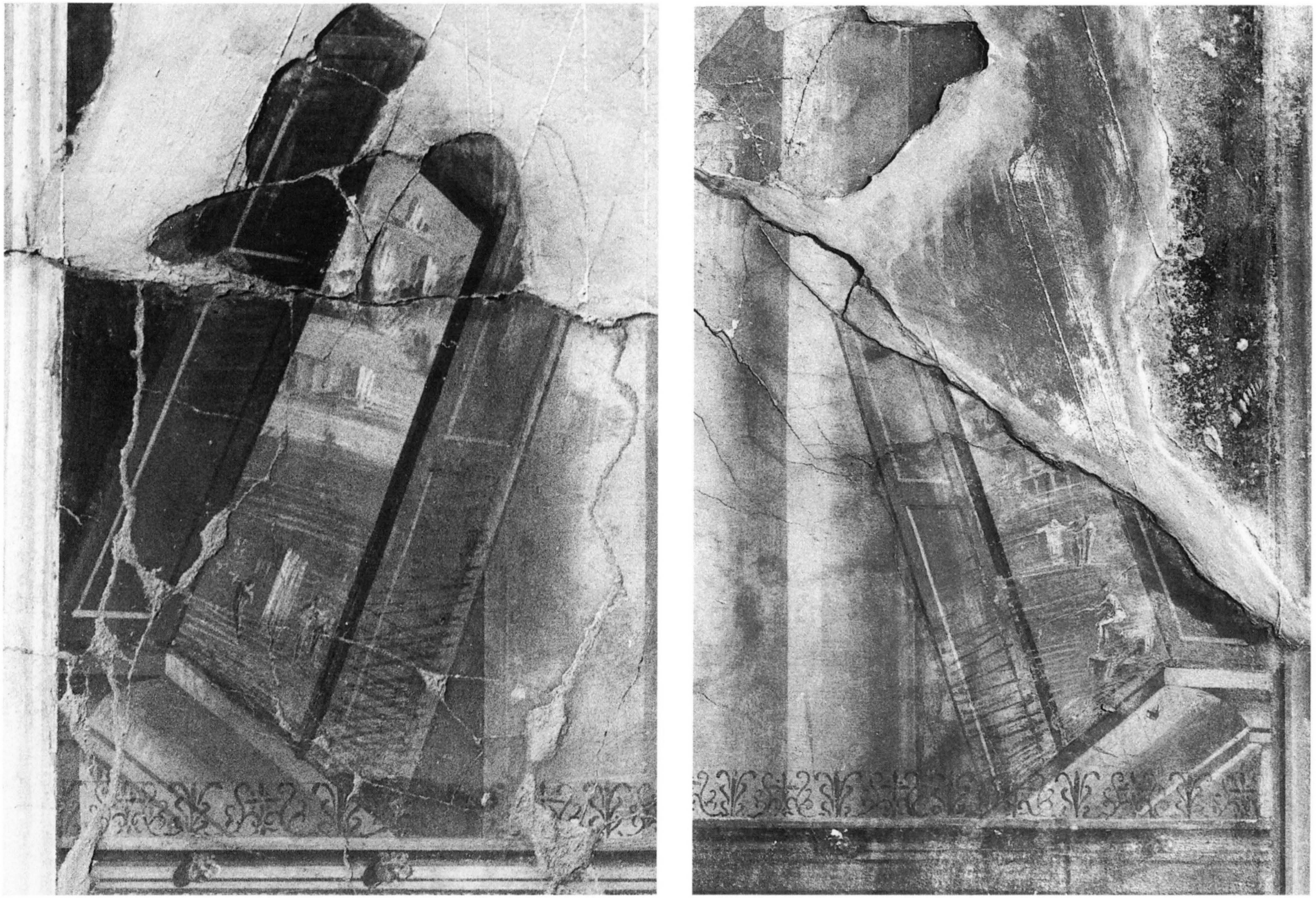
95. Roman denarius with bust of Fortuna (67 B.C.; mint-master M. Plaetorius Cestianus; see Appendix 15).



96. Alexandrian terra-cotta statuette of Aphrodite–Hathor (Graeco-Roman period; Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Inv. no. 26941; see Ch. IV, n. 180).



97. Bronze statuette of Isis–Fortuna (1st cent. B.C.; from Herculaneum; Naples Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. no. 5315; see Ch. V. n. 49).



98. Panel paintings with coastal or river (Nilotic) landscapes, depicted in a wall-painting in the Villa of Oplontis (c. 50 B.C.; photos courtesy R.A. Tybout; see Ch. V, n. 12).